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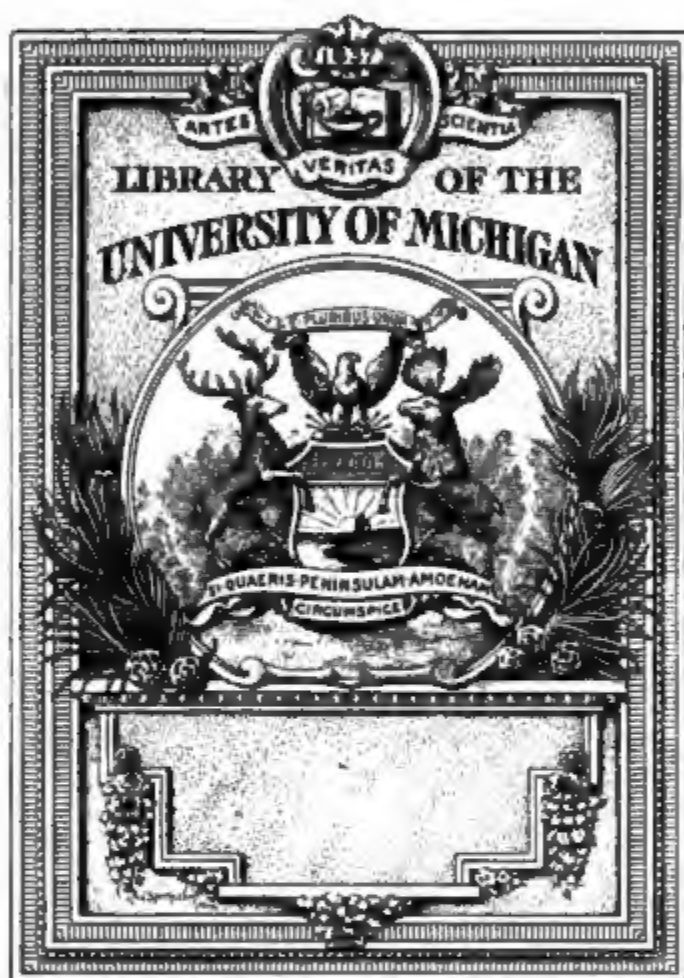
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# THE ENGLISH REVIEW.

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MARCH, 1849.

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ART. I.—*Report of the Association for the Aid and Benefit of Dressmakers and Milliners.* London. 1848.

WE have not altogether shut the door of this Review against subjects connected with the improvement of the female members of the Church. On the contrary, we have more than once addressed ourselves especially to our female readers; and in pointing to the fair examples of saintly churchwomen of old, we endeavoured to provoke those of our own day to a godly rivalry in love and good works, hoping to see them tread in the shining footsteps of their great forerunners. We have had no reason to repent of these digressions from the sterner road of theological discussion; and would rather hope that we raised some sparks of pious emulation, some warm desires to reach a higher standard of Christian service among the daughters of the Church.

But as in our former remarks we concerned ourselves exclusively with the condition and duties of the higher orders, we are now minded to step out of that high circle, where there is so much that is pure and good, and to descend, not only into the lower, but into the darker states of female life. We cannot content ourselves with showing only the brighter and purer side of the female portion of the community, while we are oppressed with the dreadful consciousness, that there is another portion in the midst of us which is given up to the advancement of the mystery of iniquity, which is undoing the work of God's Spirit, and is itself undone, which is hurrying in sin and woe to the fiery indignation of God. It makes the heart ache to think how many tread, and we may add, with unwilling feet, the way of certain death; how many, from the humbler classes, once daughters of the Church, are among the living instruments of the Evil One, and are entirely in his power; how many who have been baptized, are now serving devils and doing the work of hell—ruined themselves, and now spreading ruin. We might wish to cast such a subject into the shade; we might like to pass by on the other side, and to turn away our thoughts from a question so full of pain, so beset by difficulties, so shunned, so feared by the over-refined and over-sensitive spirit of the age. But while we hear on all sides of the improved condition and altered temper of the Church; while we are congratu-

lating ourselves on the infusion of fresh life and activity into a once-dormant body; while, with much complacency, we are fastening our eyes on the tokens of good that shine around us, we cannot but feel ourselves urged to point to one vast and hideous mass of living iniquity, which may well check our over-hasty congratulations and humble us to the very dust. There are, doubtless, signs of renewed and awakened life; there are gleams of hope in the Church's sky; there are the stirrings of heart inspiring us with great thoughts; and we are far from wishing to depress or damp warm and ardent minds that turn from heavy times to the brightening horizon of the Church. But still let us face our true condition, and not throw a veil over the darker parts of our present state. The blots will not disappear, because we refuse to look; neither are we riding on a safe tide, when we shut our eyes to the rocks. And hence, if there are in the midst of us guilty multitudes of fallen women, who are contending daily against the Church, who are undermining those whom the Church is training up, who are sapping out the spiritual life of thousands of the opposite sex, and are themselves a sort of living suicides—but surely it is wise bravely to look this mighty evil in the face.

With fallen women we have hardly dealt at all; the painfulness of the subject, the difficulty, the delicacy, have been among the excuses with which we have tried to shift off our responsibility; but yet the responsibility is on us still. We have but to consider one great office of the Church, to see the burden of unfulfilled duties that rests upon us; we allude to her office as one who should call sinners to repentance; who should supply cells of penitence to returning wanderers; who should go after the lost sheep in the wilderness; who should seek, as a mother, to reclaim her erring daughters as well as her erring sons; who should impose penitential discipline, and preach in all its fulness the great doctrine of Gospel repentance.

Now we cannot but confess, that this office has been but feebly exercised, and this doctrine of repentance but only in part proclaimed, and that with but little system and little discipline. First of all, as regards male penitents, we see them suffered to regain their place without any Church correction, however secret; any confession of sin. Those who have notoriously brought scandal on the Church have but to “steady down,” as it is called, “to turn over a new leaf,” and they are admitted, without any profession of penitence for that scandal, to the very fullest, highest privileges. The path of return is not rough or full of shame: there is no outward discipline for their outward acts of disobedience.

And not only this, but the doctrine of repentance is but partly preached; the need of restitution is left out; it is not insisted on in the cases of those who are known to have transgressed. Of

those who have given themselves to youthful lusts, and now grieve over their stained and dishonoured youth, how few have made restitution!—how few have been pressed to make it! Even when they have been brought to positive seriousness of life, they do not try to heal those very wounds which they have made, or to give alms for the reformation of that very class of sinners which they have helped to swell. They may be merciful to the poor, generous to hospitals, promoters of schools, contributors to churches; in these various ways the feeling of penitence instinctively breaks forth: they want to do something in an opposite direction to their former life, and they seize hold of these more prominent channels in which to cast their penitential offerings. But if the doctrine of repentance were fully taught or fully preached, besides these acts of general mercy, penitential gifts would be required for the advancement of purity, for the restoration of the fallen of the opposite sex. To give to schools is not to make restitution for the lusts of the flesh. Repentance has not borne its own proper fruit. Alas! what little difficulty would there be in supporting ten times the number of female penitentiaries, if male penitents had acted up to the principle of restitution! if, in the very way in which they sinned, they endeavoured to make amends!

In this way then, that is, from this imperfect teaching, the male penitent really suffers; he regains his place too easily, and is not pressed to perform the penitential act proper to his peculiar sin; his penitence finds vents, voluntarily, in self-chosen and less appropriate alms-giving. It would be clearly good for him to concern himself in the recovery of the fallen daughters of the Church; as he has helped to increase that degraded company of most wretched sinners, so in his altered and repentant state should he be taught to lessen, by all possible means, that guilty host of outcast women. But how fearful is the wrong done to these female wanderers, when the male penitent is not urged to restitution! Not only does *he* fail to bring forth the proper fruit of repentance, but *they* fail to have the benefit of his repentance: that fruit would have been for their gain; but as he directs his penitential feelings into other channels, they are left to wander without hope, to sin without any to call them from their sin; nay, as is often the case, when they arise and go to the few penitential hospitals that seem to invite them to enter in, they are driven from the doors for want of room. As it is, we venture to say, that not one among a thousand male penitents has ever done more than *feel* sorrow for his companions in sin.

Not only, however, is the doctrine of repentance softened down towards the men who err, but as it fails in severity on the one side, it exceeds in severity on the other: men are too easily lifted



up, women are too pitilessly cast down; too little of stern discipline is used towards the one, while all the vials of human wrath and condemnation are poured out upon the other. The one suffer too little, the other too much. As the legitimate discipline of the Church is relaxed, so the irregular discipline substituted in its place wants that principle of equity, of impartiality, of pity mixed with strictness, which characterizes all the sentences of the Church. How well might the sin-stained daughters of the Church yearn for the very severest forms of her discipline! The world passes upon them a practical excommunication far sterner, far more pitiless, far more intolerable than the heaviest excommunication of the Church; for, by the one, they are cast out for ever from the pale of social intercourse and fellowship, whereas the other casts them out for a season only, that, being chastened for their profit and put to shame, they may be moved to repentance. When repentance comes, then the door again is opened; the wanderer is welcomed home; the sentence is reversed; the sinner is reconciled to the Church, and, after a certain penitential progress, is admitted into full communion, full fellowship with the elect. How can we compare with this strict, yet merciful, system the conduct of the world towards these offenders? On them, indeed, the world hurls its fearful "Anathema Maranatha," the words of eternal excommunication, and the door of its pardon is closed for ever against youthful sin in one sex, which it over-easily forgives and forgets in the other.

Nay, if we venture to speak of pity, or of milder forms of treatment, we run risks of being accused of a morbid sympathy for the vicious; of encouraging the young to hurry into the ways of vice, by offering them a place of repentance, by preaching evangelical repentance, by holding forth the hope of forgiveness, and by giving them opportunities for the amendment of life. And yet, as though this strange fear of telling fallen women that they may be forgiven were deserving of marked reproach, there is no class of sinners so often specified in the Gospels as receiving our Lord's forgiveness.

While, indeed, we speak of pity, we must not forget the circumstances under which so many fall; we take no true view of the degree of sinfulness in such a sin, if we set it apart from all its surrounding circumstances, and then gaze at it abstractedly. Commonly, however, this sin is considered in an abstract way, or rather, it is looked upon in its worst circumstances; fallen women are commonly supposed to have yielded to an inordinate love of pleasure—to have given rein to their lust—to have been driven on solely by passion, and thus to have fallen. This is supposed to be the ordinary history of those who are now treading an unceasing round of sin. Now, even if this were a true picture of



the state of the case, we should ask for pity for those whom passion has blinded and betrayed: even to them the doctrine of repentance should be preached; they are not castaways or reprobates at once, whatever they may become; one short course of indulged passion is not to shut them out from all sound of the hope of pardon. To have fallen once is not a Gospel synonym for lasting excommunication. Let it be true, that they had good guides in their youth, happy homes, kind parents, holy training, gifts of God's Spirit, stirring voices of conscience in the midst of their sin—still, we say, they should not be utterly given up, though they went against all these restraining influences.

But, as a matter of fact, we are treating an exception as a rule. All the writers who have studied this question, whether English, Scotch, or French, agree in telling us, that we misjudge the case, if we suppose that the mass of women fall simply by the force of unbridled passion, of an unrestrained and unruly love of pleasure. However disinclined we may be to give up our accustomed view of this class of sinners, yet the more we read and the more we inquire of those competent to speak, the more we shall be convinced that, though guilty pleasure may come in as a partial incitement to sin, the stronger tempters are altogether of a different kind. In short, inquiry will help to soften our feelings towards these our erring sisters, by setting before us the many palliating circumstances which have combined in most cases to lessen the wilfulness of the fall.

Thus the writers we allude to unanimously place *Poverty* among the principal and most active causes of female dishonour. Overwork and under-pay stand out as the most prominent temptations to this sin. When, indeed, we are told, that the various kinds of sempstresses yield the largest quota to these sinful hosts, it needs no prophet's eye to detect the hand of Poverty in the act of beckoning them on to sin. Poverty, poverty, we repeat, is often the principal, and pleasure the second, in these cruel woundings of girls' souls. "What,"—we quote from a copy of *The Times* which is before us,—“What,” asked Mr. Norton of the prisoner, “were you paid for making these shirts?”

“Prisoner.—2s. 6d. a dozen, your worship, or 2½d. a piece.”

“Mr. Norton.—What, 2½d. a piece! Well, that seems to be an *improvement*; for I recollect a memorable case which came before me, where two women were paid only 1½d. a shirt for what they made; but, from the exposure that then took place of this system of starvation and hard work, I was in hope the practice was much improved.”

We again take up *The Times*, of the same period last year, and extract another case. “In answer to a question from the magis-

trate, the witness stated that the price paid by the warehouse for making the shirts was only 1s. 6d. per dozen ; and that she was paid at the rate of 1s. 3d. per dozen ; but although, out of that, she had to provide the needles and thread for the work, she allowed the prisoner the same amount as she received. The constable who captured the prisoner said, that upon going to the house where she lodged, he found her in a miserable attic, entirely destitute of either furniture or food, and still stretched upon her bed, which consisted of a heap of rags in one of the corners of the room. She was evidently very wretched, and in the last state of destitution, and handed him a duplicate for the articles, which she said she had pledged to save herself from starvation. When asked if she wished to say any thing, the prisoner, who was very much agitated, assured the magistrate that what she had stated to the officer was the fact. With even incessant application, she could not make more than three shirts a day, which only produced her 3½d.; and as she found it impossible to exist upon that, she was obliged to pledge the work, upon which she obtained 3s. 6d."

Facts like these, which, alas ! might be multiplied to any extent by those conversant with needlewomen's pay in our larger towns, reveal an intensity of trial and a violence of temptation not easily to be withstood. Whether it shall be theft or dishonour to the exhausted frame and the weakened, hunger-maddened mind, seem the only points left for choice, and may depend somewhat upon the natural passion or appetites of the various women ; and we must not think that in such an hour, when the mind is in the midst of vibrations the most terrible, doubting whether hunger can be driven off, or whether sin has become something like a necessity, we must not think that strong religious principle is at the beck of the agonized soul ; we must not think that a tithe of these poor women have had any thing of religious instruction, or any thing to confirm the scanty instruction which had been picked up by short attendance at school. The educational statistics of our larger towns show us how little the schoolmaster has been abroad among the bulk of the population ; while of those who have been able to pick up some scraps of religious knowledge, the greater part have been hurried into busy life too soon to have received any deep impressions, and have been under no religious control in the most critical period of their life. We must not, therefore, lay all the blame upon those who fall into sin under such circumstances : we see defects both in our social and our ecclesiastical system, which, in all fairness, must be taken into account as palliating the errors of the poor.

In speaking of the effects of *Poverty* as a tempter on the masses of women employed as sempstresses, we will turn to another class

which also yields a large number of deserters to the ranks of sin—we allude to the race of inferior servants, who have the hardest places and the worst pay. On this point we will quote a leading article of *The Times* of June last, which was occasioned by a very painful letter, detailing the course of the friendless and orphan children who are reared in our unions.

“Our readers will hardly fail to remember a letter which appeared in these columns the week before last, on the miserable prospects of a large number of the female population in this and other great cities. . . . The writer observes, ‘On attending a short time since at the workhouse of our parishes, I was struck by the happy, contented, and generally prepossessing appearance of a hundred or two little girls, who were playing in the court; and I inquired of the master, in the course of conversation, what usually became of them after leaving the workhouse. His reply was startling and horrifying in the highest degree. ‘Why, sir, he replied, I am sorry to say, that five out of every six, if not nine out of every ten, become street-walkers. They leave here at thirteen or fourteen years of age, and are usually put to the poorer sort of housekeepers, who, for the most part, are uneducated people, and use the poor girls badly, expecting them to do the part of grown-up women; and so they come back to us two or three times over, till they are about seventeen or eighteen, when, instead of coming back, they take to the streets.’ I inquired whether this was the case in other London workhouses. He replied, ‘Yes,’ he thought so. Can any thing be more terrible to contemplate? The Bishop of Salisbury, in his last Charge, made some observations of very much the same melancholy purport. He, too, had been struck with the externals of the Union schools, the neatness, the regularity, the happy and well-fed appearance of the girls, and their progress in their studies. He had, however, subsequently ascertained that, as a general rule, they turn out very ill. So convinced are we that such must be the case, that we have often wished, yet almost feared, to see a faithful record of the future lives of these children. Where children are brought up under the care of parents or friends, their conduct and fortunes are a matter of the deepest concern to a vigilant circle. In these humble materials consists the historical knowledge of the poor. The consciousness of occupying a place in the daily thoughts of affectionate friends or inquisitive neighbours, has a great effect in sustaining the moral sentiment in the hour of temptation. The poorest child knows that in the deepest recesses of life, and the farthest corners of the land, it is surrounded by a cloud of witnesses in those who have known it from its childhood, who will expect to hear of its career, who will ask for tidings, and will judge that no news must needs be the worst. Thus a golden tie still binds to her rural home the poor girl who does hard service in a dingy back street of the metropolis. The unhappy units of life, turned out of the great pauper machine, possess no such aids. To them, heartless functionaries supply the place of parents and friends; and their companions in the race of

life only vie for the priority of their fall. What human eye weeps for the poor workhouse-girl, sunk to her irrecoverable doom? As she falls so must she lie. Down she sinks to the bottom, and the ocean of life rolls over her as if no such thing as she had ever seen the light of day."

In these facts we have been bringing our readers among the stern realities of life and of life's temptations; and some perhaps who have treated female error as though it were all a matter of wildness, may be softened into pity as they place before their mind the starvation of the drudging, dreary needlewomen, or the trials of friendless workhouse girls in the grinding service which they are compelled to take.

While we were writing these lines, an Appeal reached us on behalf of schools in Devonport, with a fresh view of the poverty which tempts another class—the families of sea-faring men in our various ports. The "Appeal" (a very interesting one it is) tells us that—

"The situation of a sailor's family is peculiarly forlorn and unprotected. It is but seldom blessed with a father's watchful eye; added to which, a sailor, from his habits, is proverbially ignorant and careless of domestic concerns. The mother is compelled to eke out the allowance reserved by the Government from her husband's pay, amounting to about 4s. 6d. a week, by employments away from home, as hawking fish about the streets of Devonport and other neighbouring towns; or she toils day by day with her needle at plain-work or stay-making, to add a trifle (seldom more than 2d. or 3d. a day) towards their support. Meanwhile the little ones are generally neglected, exposed to contact with evil in every shape, almost without check or hindrance. A large portion of the girls, after they reach the age of twelve or thirteen years, are lost to God. A few go to service: the greater part either grow up in idle habits at home, or for wages of 1d. or 1½d. a day are congregated together in the houses of persons who take in needlework from the shops: deprived of religion or moral instruction, they contaminate one another. Pride, levity, and fondness of dress, thus fostered, prepare them for entire degradation."

But we will now pass from the power of poverty, coupled with over-work, to the effects of over-work alone on the bodily and spiritual frame. We are told by the writers upon this subject, that not only the inferior ranks of sempstresses help largely to fill our streets with sin, but that the higher classes of workwomen, the young girls in notable milliners' establishments, swell the stream of guilt. No wonder. When we examine the mode of life which the better class of milliners' assistants are wont to spend, we are not surprised to hear of their fall, even though want does not goad them on. Over-work is, of itself, a tempter of great strength; it must be so; God's law of labour cannot be over-

done without loss to body or soul, or both. Once let persons be forced to over-ride their strength, and exceed that sentence of toil which is upon Adam's family, and we must expect, as a necessary consequence, bodily and spiritual prostration : we must expect either early decay of bodily powers or demoralization, or both. The factory inquiries reveal frightful views of distorted limbs, diseased and emaciated frames, weakened minds, and utter oblivion of all religious truth and principle. Now we believe the detestable principles of the old factory system are widely at work at this very hour, in a large number of milliners' establishments ; that is, though the assistants or apprentices may be fairly paid, they are fearfully over-worked.

Mr. Paget's excellent tale of " The Pageant," which our readers may remember, is, we fear, " an ower true tale ;" it holds good at this very day ; and though he erred in pointing to a particular house, and spoke of facts which it was hard to substantiate in law, yet his account of the sufferings of young milliners generally, without reference either to the better or worse class of houses, was not over-coloured. Indeed, with all the exertions which that tale and other revelations caused to be made on behalf of the young dressmakers, the improvement in their condition has been but slight, and that condition is indeed most terrible. Thus, the Report of " The Association for the Aid and Benefit of Dressmakers and Milliners " for the past year tells us, that " the Committees have caused express inquiries to be made respecting the hours of work, both in London and in the country towns ; and the information received justifies them in stating, that, although there are still, unhappily, numerous exceptions, a marked amelioration has on the whole been the result of the efforts made by the Association. The reduction which has already been effected must in itself be satisfactory to all who contributed towards the attainment of so desirable an object." Most rosy and hopeful words ! but we descend abruptly from these cheerful strains to something like a " dead march," a lamentable conclusion. " But," —that chilling, wintry " but," always ready to freeze hope,—*" but the Committees are still more gratified to learn that there is, at the present time, a general impression among those who are connected with this occupation, that at no very distant period the hours of work will be reduced to twelve per diem !"* Can this be true in a Christian land ? Are the delicate frames of mere girls ground down, exhausted, withered, by this inhuman trade,—by labour, that runs over the twelve hours of man's day of labour ? Are all the show and glitter and gaiety and fine apparel and fashionable attire of the women of higher rank bought at the price of such suffering of mind and body as is involved in labours

of such length ! Is it true that the female drudges of the higher female world are oppressed with something that approaches the reality of Egyptian bondage ? Talk of slavery abroad,—surely we want a Wilberforce at home ; surely the step of humanity must now move amid silks and satins, and there find, in the midst of rustling brocades and gay bonnets and wreaths of flowers, the pale victims of English cruelty.

The first causes of all these unholy tasks are to be found in the unthinking crowd of refined women, who flutter in the luxurious and elegant scenes of gay life. With these frightful facts of female suffering, the gay plumage that we see abroad drives our thoughts into the heated rooms where the exhausted and fainting girls prepare the show, and ball-room splendour seems like a guilty sight, as we remember the midnight watches of those who deck the female part of those brilliant scenes.

Alas ! alas ! what is going on in the midst of us ? What under-currents of misery there are, which do not meet the eye as it glances along the glittering shops of our large towns ! The world has a gay frontispiece, but there are hideous pages in the book. Think of these multitudes of girls, living upon “the general impression” which they are to be “gratified to learn,” that “at no very distant period”—some ten years, we suppose—“the hours of work will be *reduced* to twelve per diem ! God help you, poor children of the needle ! sadder words we never read ; surely we may say, that, not only “hope deferred maketh the heart sick,” but that hope is itself an unhopeful thing, when we are to cheer ourselves with the prospect of twelve hours’ toil “at no distant period.” There are indeed exceptions to these fearful practices ; we know of those who rule their establishments in the fear of God, and, being deeply warmed with the principles of the Church, truly care for those over whom they are put in charge. May their number be increased, for they are but few as yet !

And what comes of all this over-work ? for to this point we must return. The results may be guessed ; the young dress makers are utterly unfit to meet temptation ; mind and body being over-taxed, are unequal to contend with the suggestions of evil, whether in themselves or others ; the whole system is in a weak and morbid state, overwrought, and fluctuating between nervous excitement and depression. After more than twelve hours’ toil, can we expect the well-balanced, well-judging, calm, and self-possessed mind ? Can the soul be in its healthful and vigorous state, so as to be able to resist temptation with all the vigour needful for the victory ? Surely the poor victims are caught by the tempter when they are least prepared ; and if any milk of human kindness or equity runs in our veins, we must at least mix pity with reproof



when we see them fall under such trying circumstances. Nor is it surprising that they should in some sort rush to ruin. While some in their weakened state are besieged and fall, others, when the hated wheel of labour stops at last, yearn for some pleasure to fill the little pause, some excitement to stimulate the sinking pulse, some mirth and cheerfulness to brighten the scanty leisure of this dreary, drudging life. This love of pleasure, at all times natural in the young, is of course apt to take a morbid turn when all the frame, bodily and spiritual, is in a morbid state; and we may be sure that excess of toil will always have a reaction in excess of pleasure; the one extreme is the parent of the other; the string of the bow, stretched too tightly, breaks at last; the mind and body, strained beyond their due mark, become disordered and unstrung. Hence, the fevered lip is tempted to quaff the cup of guilty pleasure, which, in its cooler hour, it would have spurned for guileless relaxation.

Having seen, then, another form of temptation which besets the females of the lower ranks of life, we will pass from the fruits of over-work to still another cause of ruin that prevails in our manufacturing towns,—the mixture of sexes in factories. In factories certainly great improvement is taking place; but improvement is a comparative term, and effects the most frightful follow the combination of girls and youths, as it is at present managed. The evils of this combination are indeed aggravated by one of the causes of sin just discussed,—we mean, over-work; there comes an inordinate love of pleasure, especially of sensual pleasure, where the true law of labour has been transgressed. We were lately told by one before whom the painful fact had been brought, that, out of a large number of factory girls, confirmed last year in one of the largest manufacturing towns of the north, not one had kept her purity. All had fallen; all came as penitents to that holy rite. A large portion of this mischief was laid to the mixture of sexes at time of work, or to the congregating of the young when work ceased. We must remember also, as bearing upon this particular point, that the promiscuous living of the poor in their own homes paves the way to ruin, by loosening true notions of purity and decency in early life: the principle of modesty has been diluted at home, and thus, when the girl grows up, and is thrown with companions of the opposite sex, she has not, so to speak, a fair start; she does not come properly armed for the attack; her modesty has already been lowered, and the bloom of natural feeling has been rubbed off. The dwellings of the poor, whether in town or country, lay the foundation of much sin; and we hail the erection of model lodging-houses as one of the greatest and most practical instruments for the improvement



of the morals and modesty of the poor. Mr. Talbot, the secretary of "The London Society for the Protection of Young Females," gives us some fearful facts relative to the condition of the dwellings of the poor. We will furnish our readers with a single sample of these facts. "From a paper read by C. Bowles Fripp, Esq., at the statistical section of the meeting of the British Association, it appears that in Bristol there were in 1839,

556 families, each occupying part of a room.  
 2,224 . . . . . one room only.  
 2,412 . . . . . close and confined apartments.  
 4,752 children above seven years old sleeping in the same room with their parents."

We need not indeed multiply facts of this kind, as even in the best country parishes it is hard to find cottages sufficiently large, or so well arranged, as to accommodate the inmates with due regard to proper separation of sexes. Neither will we speak at large upon the defects of education, the want of schools, the hurried preparation for confirmation, the example of parents, the fascination of attentions from persons of higher rank than themselves ; all of which are to be considered when we pass judgment on the fallen daughters of the Church. Enough, we trust, has been shown to dissipate the idea, strongly fixed in many minds, that the mass of erring women go astray out of mere wantonness and love of pleasure ; and to prove that there is a host of palliating circumstances that greatly lessen the wilfulness of their sin. We think, too, that what we have said is enough to show there is urgent need for considering and for improving the condition of the whole race of women in the lower ranks of life. There must be some great defects in the social system, where vice can fairly claim for itself so large a number of palliating circumstances ; and while we freely confess the need of an expanded ecclesiastical system, to give educational and other direct religious advantages to the poor, yet over-work and over-labour come rather within the scope of civil jurisdiction, guided by a Christian spirit.

Now we must not sit down in the bewildered inactivity of despair, as though all these social evils breaking out into so much vice were beyond a remedy. Many remedies may be required, and many may be difficult to procure ; but still the improvement of the female population is, at least, to be attempted, even though there may seem small prospects of any considerable success. For ourselves, looking to these two great tempters, poverty and over-work, whether acting alone or in concert, we cannot but be convinced that a vigorous, well-directed, and well-managed system of female emigration, stands out at once as the most effectual means

of checking these strong enticements to sin. To drain off to some degree the surplus female population, is the work that at once presents itself to our thoughts. We may increase schools, multiply churches, but these will not raise wages nor buy bread. They may help the besieged to hold out longer in time of siege, but this is all; thirteen or fourteen hours of work in a close room cannot be borne without hurt both to soul and body; and we little know the power of hunger in loosening principle, where principle has taken root. We must reduce the number, to reduce the temptations of women; and if we treat them as so many "hands," the business-like and mechanical view of the sex, we find, that while we have an excess at home, there is a great demand for these living implements of industry abroad. Our colonies ask for female immigration. The last of the colonization circulars issued by Government, furnishes us with the most authentic accounts of the want of women, while so many thousands are pining in England for the very scantiest subsistence. In New Brunswick we are told that "labour, such as the business of the country requires, is both scarce and dear; and that 1000 good and healthy labourers (*with their families*, equal to 5000 souls) would find employment." Of South Australia it is said, that "young unmarried females, who emigrate to South Australia without friends or relations on board, are, on arriving in the colony, at once removed from the vessel, bringing them to a house in Adelaide, where every necessary comfort is in readiness for their reception. They are placed under the immediate control of a matron; and a committee of ladies have benevolently undertaken to assist them in finding suitable employment:" this is proof enough of the demand. In New Zealand we read that "dairy women and respectable female servants were much wanted." When we come to wages, we have evidence of the want, not of needlewomen, but of servants. In New South Wales, a plain cook's wages vary from 24*l.* to 28*l.* per annum; dairymaids, from 17*l.* to 25*l.*; housemaids, from 18*l.* to 28*l.* In Van Diemen's Land the same class of servants varies from 10*l.* to 25*l.* per annum; and needlewomen in that colony can obtain 20*l.* to 30*l.* a year. To a well-governed system of female emigration we therefore look, as the means of raising the price of female labour here to such a height as to supply at least the necessaries of life, and to prevent the exhaustion of the frame by over-work.

As regards the female population that remains at home, many measures for its improvement present themselves. Increased provision in the dwellings of the poor, better arrangement and sub-division of rooms, are points deeply to be considered by all

owners of such property. The matter should be more looked into; country Squires may profitably traverse their estates, and inspect the accommodation which their cottages afford. In such an inspection they will find much to shock them; and, doubtless, many will be moved to lessen the evils which, for want of inquiry, they little suspect to exist. In large towns, so great is the number of friendless and orphan girls who live by the needle, and are condemned to hide themselves in wretched comfortless attics, that we feel, if more cheerful and comfortable houses could be provided for them after their work, many would be saved from the ways of sin. A model-lodging for needlewomen would, we conceive, be a great boon; and if there were a common hall for breakfast and tea, they might, by their combined resources, have sufficient nourishment as well as fellowship. Such a house placed under rule, and conducted on good principles, might save many a lonely girl from seeking for false excitement, and hurrying from her silent dreary garret to gay scenes of dissipation. We will not venture to do more than allude to the more religious preventives that are now urgently required: more schools, increased pastoral visitation and watchfulness, plainer speaking in our pulpits on the lusts of the flesh, according to Apostolic examples, warmer religious instruction in the schools we raise, longer and more careful preparation for confirmation—these are points which press themselves into our minds, but on which we will not trust ourselves to speak at length.

While we are thus hopefully busying ourselves with fair schemes for the prevention of female vice, we feel ourselves drawn back to the consideration of their state who have already fallen. Preventive measures may benefit the children that are growing up in the perilous atmosphere of the lower walks of life, but there are thousands already sick in soul, already under the power of sin, already leprous and unclean. What is to be done for that large mass of women, young in years, yet deeply steeped in sin? We have considered the palliating circumstances under which so many fall; we have required that these circumstances should be fairly weighed in the measurement of their guilt, under the full impression that the just and candid consideration of their case would rouse pity and deep compassion; we are sure that these feelings of pitifulness will rise in those who have hitherto too hastily condemned or left the fallen to lie in the pit, as though it were a wilful and self-chosen fall. But if there is cause for compassion, then surely it is not enough for us to sigh over our fallen sisters, at the thought of all the wasted beauty, and youth, and health yielded to purposes most vile and draggled in the dirt. It is not enough to have aching hearts, as amid our own safe

houses, with all the privileges of our holy faith, our thoughts turn to those perishing multitudes who have been beaten down by temptations we have never known. Surely Christian pity is not to end in sighs or bitter thoughts; surely, with all this sin and wretchedness, these beginnings of hell in the midst of us, we need vigorous, energetic, self-denying compassion; we need some great and active endeavours to lift up them that are fallen, in the Name of Him "Who receiveth sinners," to search out with all earnest love the stray sheep caught in the thickets of this evil world and almost dead. The Church must be up and doing in this cause; the members of the Church must hasten to give holy shelter to those who can be fetched back. All that we can see of practical compassion is here and there some dismal house at the out-skirts of a town, entitled "a Penitentiary," and calculated to receive but a scanty fellowship of penitents. If we put all these Penitentiaries together, we find them utterly unequal in magnitude to the evil with which they cope, ill-supported, scraping on from year to year with a sort of consumptive life, and attracting little sympathy or interest. An increase of penitentiaries is loudly called for, as the first step of practical pity. The sentence of utter, final excommunication passed by the world on fallen women, must not be allowed any longer to violate the plain terms of the Covenant of Grace; mercy must practically be shown, and places of refuge, houses of mercy, supplied for those who are moved to rise up and confess their sins. The Church cannot without peril shrink from taking this cause in hand. It has been pushed aside too long. The subject is not to be dropped by common consent; souls are perishing; a great burden of neglect is on us. A plain duty is plainly put before us.

But not only do we want an increase of penitentiaries, we want the true preaching of the true doctrine of evangelical repentance. We know that this doctrine is not every where taught in this divided land, in all its fulness of severity or of hope; easier and smoother roads have been devised for the feet of those who have sinned; the house that has been laid low by sin is often run up in rash haste, and plastered over with untempered mortar. And, alas! the imperfect views of repentance now abroad have found their way into the greater part of the few penitentiaries that exist; most of these institutions are in the hands of mistaken religionists; and while we give them all praise for sincerity, for zeal, for pure intention, for the conscientious infusion of their own principles, we cannot hide from ourselves the imperfection of their views on the subject of repentance. Hence we see the need for the sound part of the Church taking up this neglected cause, that sounder doctrine may be brought to bear on those who desire

to escape their sins. The true sinfulness of their sin, and the true nature of repentance, and the true terms of forgiveness, and the true spirit of effectual repentance, these great features of true systematic preaching of the Gospel, can only be found in the doctrines of the Church. Unless there is a belief in the doctrine of baptismal regeneration, all is wrongly—all imperfectly done; the foundation is not laid on Gospel truth, but on mistaken and deficient views of it. Those who in Holy Baptism were indeed regenerate, and then fell from grace given, take of course far too tender a view of their sin, if they are taught that they were never new-born, never children of God, never members of Christ, never influenced by the Spirit, but have the regenerating gift yet to receive. We see at once how they can excuse their fall, when they are told they were in an unconverted, unregenerate state; “how could we have stood, how could we have resisted the devil or our own lusts,”—they may well ask,—“when we were carnally alienated from God?” Though they may see that their course was sinful, they will at once palliate it by saying it was natural, and that no grace gave them the power of resisting the motions of the natural man. They fly to a doctrine that dilutes their guilt; they do not see it in its true blackness, as a continued grieving of the Holy Ghost, as the daily desecration of temples of the Holy Ghost; and thus they only repent of lesser sinfulness than that for which they are really accountable before God; repentance, at all times apt to fall short in depth and intensity, starts with too low a standard, and thus falls infinitely beneath the requirements of the case. How grievous is it to think that those who come to houses of repentance should there be checked in their proper task, instead of receiving sound teaching! The Apostle St. Paul teaches the Church the true mode of dealing with those who have fallen into hurtful lusts; he lays down the doctrine of Baptismal Regeneration, as both giving them the real view of the nature of their sin, and of the hope of pardon and renewal of spiritual life, when he exclaims to this very class of sinners (for though his appeal is addressed to the sinners of the stronger sex, it is of course applicable to both), “What, know ye not that your bodies are temples of the Holy Ghost, which is in you, which ye have of God, for ye are not your own?”

In any true penitentiary this should be the foundation, the ground-work of all teaching. The sinners must be told that they have sinned against the Holy Ghost, and their own bodies which He has consecrated; here they see the heinousness of their sin; and in the same words that represent the greatness of their guilt, is contained the call to repentance, and the hope of a revival of their spiritual life. “What?” he argues, “do you see what you

are about? Hasten to quit your sins ; repent of yielding your consecrated bodies to such guilty ways ; the very presence of the Holy Ghost, which is still in you, not utterly quenched or driven out, is a call to repentance, and full of promise of pardon." Penitentiaries deeply imbued with these divine principles are required in these perilous times, that the Church may fulfil its office in calling sinners to repentance. May God raise up friends for the Magdalenes of our day ! We will only add, that we observe with pleasure, that a Church penitentiary is about to be formed.

The details of the proposed measure are comprised in an interesting publication by the Rev. J. Armstrong, Vicar of Tidenham, and author of several valuable works. We cordially wish success to his benevolent efforts.

**ART. II.**—*Florentine History, from the earliest authentic records to the accession of Ferdinand the Third, Grand Duke of Tuscany.*  
By HENRY EDWARD NAPIER, *Captain in the Royal Navy, F.R.S.* 6 vols. London: Moxon. 1846—1848.

“WE judge of the future, divining from the past,” is at once the foundation and the fruit of all physical science and all historical philosophy. But, alas! though this principle holds equally true in the affairs of life as in the phenomena of nature, the passions and interests of mankind exert such a disturbing influence on their judgment in matters of human action, that the stern and cutting rebuke of our Lord, addressed by Him to those who represented the public opinion of that day, may be applied with equal correctness to the thinking majority of almost every age.

“When it is evening, ye say, It will be fair weather, for the sky is red; and in the morning, It will be foul weather to-day, for the sky is red and lowering. O ye hypocrites, ye can discern the face of the sky; but can ye not discern the signs of the times?”

And yet it should not be so; for the laws of Providence are as invariable as those of nature. The principle of cause and effect is as clearly discernible in the history of communities as in that of material forms. As the diseases of the body are produced by the action of particular forces, and recognized by the appearance of special symptoms, so is it with Churches and States—in every instance the same cause, under the same circumstances, must and will produce the same effect. There is no such thing as an exception to a Divine law, whether that law refer to man or to nature, to Providence or to grace. For the laws of God are but the various reflections of His eternal and unchangeable attributes, more or less affected by the medium through which they are transmitted, or the surface on which they rest.

If history be studied with a continual reference to this transcendent principle, with a view not merely to amuse or entertain—not to defend a cause or support an opinion—but to discover, and, having discovered, to attune the mind and direct the conduct of mankind in accordance with the universal laws of God’s providential government—then it is the noblest of studies, always excepting those which bear immediate reference to the salvation of man. By such a course we may arrive, as surely as by a reverent study of nature, at an apprehension and contemplation of the glory



of the Godhead, as manifested in His works. Thus may we learn to train our thoughts and feelings in unison with the attributes of the All-holy; thus may we secure for ourselves and others the temporal prosperity annexed to a certain line of action, by the irreversible decree of the All-powerful.

There is, too, another light in which the study of history may be made available to the highest temporal and spiritual needs of man, in that it develops the strife of human passion, and displays the whole strength and weakness of man; placing before our eyes in energetic action all those forces which lurk in the inner being of every one, with more or less capacity of power; and representing, with clear outline and lively colouring, the virtues and the vices which alternately bless and curse the individual and the community. Studying history in this manner, we see in it a powerful and truthful delineation of man as he universally is; of ourselves as we might become, were we subjected to the same influences, and actuated by the same motives. And thus we learn lessons of moral and practical wisdom, which are equally profitable for a true knowledge either of mankind in general, or of that deeper mystery, our own heart.

With objects similar to these, Captain H. E. Napier has compiled, with great care and great clearness, the six thick volumes of his *Florentine History*, a work which strikingly illustrates the terrible energy and the powerful effects, both for good and evil, of unbalanced principle and undivided power. Monarchy, aristocracy, democracy, and ecclesiastical ambition appear upon the Italian stage; now singly dominant, and now contending at one time for supremacy, at another for existence. And each in its turn changes from the benefactor to the scourge of the people, nay, frequently exhibits, at the same moment, qualities and tendencies which raise whilst they lower, which curse whilst they bless, the state or the town subjected to their influence; affording incontestable evidence that neither of these principles is, without the counterpoise of its antagonistic element, capable of producing either *εὐνομία* or *εὐπραξία*, of ensuring the just regulation and due administration of the laws, or the solid and permanent welfare of the people. The *Florentine history* tells us, like that of every state which has ever existed, that we might as well expel either hydrogen or oxygen from water, as aristocracy or democracy from social and political life; it tells us that we might as well expect a human body to walk erect without a spine, as a state to be permanently prosperous without the presence of monarchy.

Nor is the *Florentine history* less profitable as a picture of human life in many of its most interesting aspects, as a magazine of the most stirring impulses and striking incidents. There is



the wild disorder of the darker ages : there is the heroic lawlessness of the ensuing : there is the creative energy of awakening civilization—awakened by freedom to weep over its fall : there is the dark and dreary despotism of succeeding times : and lastly, there is the glorious reign of Leopold the First, one of the few great men whose greatness is attested, not by misery which he has inflicted, but by the blessings which he has conferred upon his fellow-creatures. Every scene indeed of this five-act drama can furnish instruction to those who seek it.

And then there are tales of vengeance to chill the blood ; and of sorrow to force the tear ; and of wild generosity, and high honour, and passionate love to charm the fancy and enlist the feelings.

Italy has, indeed, ever been the land of all that is wonderful and beautiful either in art or nature ; each province, nay, each town, possesses its own charter of renown, its own claim on the sympathies of mankind. And Tuscany demands pre-eminently our notice and our gratitude, in that she has *twice* been the civilizer of Western Europe.

It was to Tuscany that the able and beneficent Tarchun led his well-appointed and well-disciplined colony, bringing with him the art and science of Assyria and Egypt, and introducing those civil and political institutions, the beneficent influence of which is still felt in the Old World, and has now reached the New. It was to Tuscan wisdom and Tuscan skill that Rome owed all that was valuable in her constitution, and all that raised her in earlier ages above the wild tribes of the mountain and the wood. To Mastarna, the Servius Tullius of Roman romance, she owed those political and municipal institutions, which, however impaired by the sordid self-interest and ungoverned violence of her native barbarians, were the foundation of her greatness, and have been the original from the more or less exact copies of which Europe has thenceforth been pleased to mould her forms of civic order and national strength.— From Tuscany, Rome obtained her public ceremonies and her religious rites. From Tuscany, her architecture. In fact, Tuscany was to Rome what Aristotle was to Alexander, though she requited her as Joash did Jehoiada.

And again, in after times, it was a Tuscan, the Lucumo Mæcenas, whose fostering care supported, guarded, and brought forward the poets of the Augustan age ; Virgil would have been a homeless outcast, Horace a needy adventurer, but for the protection and generosity of that truly great man. Nor was his systematic and universal patronage of true genius in every department of taste and letters his only merit ; he possessed another excellence of equal value, especially in the eyes of a reviewer.

He could not tolerate mediocrity : one could almost imagine that he had dictated the famous couplet of Horace on this subject ; for whilst his heart and his house were open to the literary giants of his day, they were inexorably closed against the dwarfs—the Blackmores, Masons, and Greens of his time—in short, he loved wits, but hated witlings ; distinguishing them much in the same way that some persons do Newfoundlanders and Lapdogs.

And passing over the decline and fall of Roman dominion and European civilization, and the succeeding ages of darkness and disorder, the first glimmer of returning light greets us from Tuscan genius, and the glory of the bursting day gilds the valley of the Arno. It was the Florentine Dante who waked with a master's hand the spell that had been silent for ages ; it was Florence, which, at a later period, became the birthplace of the imitative arts. It was Tuscan taste and Florentine munificence which gently restored to life the long defunct spirit of Roman literature, and offered a secure asylum to the learning of Greece.

And a mere allusion to the fact will serve to remind our readers, how much the earlier poets, even of our own land, owed to the influence of the strains which first arose in the valley of the Arno.

We may well, then, devote a portion of our existence to studying the history of such a people as the Tuscans ; such a city as that of the Florentines ; and though at the first view we may feel almost aghast at the sight of six thick volumes, let us but plunge boldly into the work before us, and we shall soon forget our fears and our qualms. It is written in a simple and easy style ; the narrative is lucid, the pictures are well drawn, great research has been shown in the examination of authorities, and great impartiality in the account of facts, though the opinions expressed are at times far from correct, and we have noted one or two inaccuracies such as must necessarily occur in the first edition of so laborious a work.

Thus, when about to relate the history of the spoliation of Venice, our author prefaces his narrative by saying—

“ Monarchy, although beneficial, and perhaps requisite, to suppress disorder, and calm unsettled states ere civil liberty be planted, yet in all its aspects necessarily tends to evil ; for self-gratification is the main-spring of human actions, and sovereigns with greater temptation, possess, from education, far weaker habits of self-control than other men.”—Vol. iv. p. 136.

We know not which most to admire here—the faulty reasoning or the false conclusion. We should have imagined no surer

remedy for absolute republicanism than the careful perusal, not to say compilation, of the Florentine history; for why was Florence torn to pieces by factions? why did she finally sink under the sway of a tyrant? Simply because she wanted that only sure safeguard of freedom, a legitimate and constitutional king.

As an example of one of those minute errors which must almost necessarily occur in works of this nature, we cite the following:—

“The English Pope, Adrian IV., died in 1159: twenty-three cardinals out of twenty-eight united in choosing Rolando de’ Paperoni as his successor: he was a native of Siena, and became afterwards celebrated under the name of Alexander III.”

Celebrated he was for humbling the two greatest monarchs of his time, Henry II. of England, and Frederick Barbarossa; and he has obtained a less equivocal celebrity as the patron of learning and piety, and the successful champion of Italian freedom, but his name was not de’ Paperoni, his family name was Bandinelli<sup>1</sup>, his father Ranuccio Bandinelli having two sons, the one, Rolando, afterwards Alexander, the other a layman, whose descendants adopted the epithet Paparoni, in addition to their original patronymic, with the view of distinguishing themselves from the junior branches of the family, and of vindicating their claim to be the representatives of the Pope.

Having thus discharged the irksome duty of criticism, let us proceed to give some further idea of the excellent work under consideration. The origin and early history of Florence are involved in much obscurity; its nucleus would appear to have existed from remote antiquity as a suburb of the flourishing city of Fiesole—that city which was destined to fall beneath the rising power of its once insignificant dependant. Neither in the times of Etrurian independence nor Roman dominion does Florence figure in the drama of the world; but in the ages of anarchy and misrule which followed the dismemberment of the western empire, the lily of the Arno began to lift up her head above her companions, and the very tempest which shook her from summit to base, only gave her elasticity of stem and strength of root.

“In a public instrument of the year 774, Florence is mentioned rather as a suburb of Fiesole, than an independent city; and even in 801, a curious document given in Giovan-battista Ubaldini’s history of his own family (by which several of them are made knights of the golden spur), describes it as deserted in consequence of the general misery. This expression related to what then remained of the city, as

<sup>1</sup> See Muratori *passim*, and the inscription in the Church of San Giovanne di Laterano.

the term is '*derelict*,' and not destroyed. Neither was it the custom at that epoch to appoint pastors where there was no flock, or a mere remnant . . . . And yet two bishops of Florence seem to have existed during the time of Narses. Moreover, in the acts past at Rome, confirming those of the sixth general council held at Constantinople in 681, the name of Reparato, Bishop of Florence, is, according to Borghini, to be seen<sup>2</sup>. . . . There is . . . . reason to suppose that Tuscany, under the Lombards and Charlemagne, was governed according to the system of Longinus, in departments presided over by a duke, for as late as 786 we read of a Reginald, Duke of Chiusi, and a Guindibrand, Duke of Florence; but between that epoch and 806, the date of Charlemagne's will, counts were probably substituted, and the higher title reserved for the general governor of Tuscany. . . . . An exposition of the various troubles that afflicted Italy from Charlemagne's death in 814 until the coronation of Otho the Great in 962 is unnecessary: Florence shared in the general misery; yet in this universal darkness the embryo republic was gradually but unconsciously forming and preparing itself for coming events. . . . . During these dark times we have but meagre accounts of Florence: Otho I. is said to have enlarged its territory from three miles to six in the year 962; and his grandson to have appointed Hugo, Marquis of Tuscany, his vicar in Italy, about 983, who established his court at Florence, and was celebrated for his great talent, but extreme licentiousness, until a vision reformed him. . . . . Sigonius affirms that Florence, as well as Pisa and Genoa, began to make a figure about the year 1003. . . . . Whether Florence was or was not so distinguished is uncertain; but that she enjoyed that progressive state of prosperity which justifies the assertion of Sigonius, may be inferred from subsequent indications of national independence, while improving the opportunity afforded to all the infant states for the achievement of their liberty during the wars of Ardoino of Ivrea, and Henry, Duke of Bavaria. . . . . Altogether there appears little reason to doubt the internal freedom of most Tuscan cities very early in the eleventh century; when no efficient governor existed, when the country was convulsed by civil war, and when each town, consulting only its own interests, sided with either monarch, and extracted concessions from both."—pp. 28—54.

In the year 1010 occurs the first great event of Florentine history, the capture of Fiesole, and absorption of the inhabitants of that town among the citizens of Florence. It were a wearisome task, to give a minute and necessarily succinct account of the struggles between the Popedom and the Empire, which continued throughout the greater part of the eleventh, twelfth, and thirteenth centuries—a contest, in which Florence universally sided with the Church against the throne. Yet in reading the fuller narrative of Captain Napier, there is much to interest and improve. The devout and heroic Matilda arrests our sym-

<sup>2</sup> Vol. i. p. 28.

pathy, whilst contending, under the banner of the Church which she adored, for the heritage of her father's house and the freedom of her native land; and we view, with a painful admiration, the mighty chiefs who struggled with an energy and a courage worthy of a better cause, for secular despotism or ecclesiastical tyranny. It is a mischievous notion, and one which has of late years done much evil to ardent minds, that where a struggle is going on, there must be a right and a wrong, *i. e.* that where there are two combatants engaged in a contest, one of them must be decidedly in the right, and the other decidedly in the wrong; so that it becomes our duty to choose our side in the fray. Now, the real truth revealed by Scripture, and exemplified by all countries and all ages, is, that frequently both parties are in the wrong. We might with as much reason be called upon to give a decided preference to one of the three evil principles which contend for pre-eminence in man's heart—the lust of the flesh, the lust of the eyes, and the pride of life—as to determine in every case where two parties are striving for supremacy, which of them is in the right. St. James tells us plainly enough “from whence come wars and fightings amongst us,”—we need seek no further for the motives which actuated either Pope or Emperor.

It is not till the beginning of the twelfth century, that we obtain any incontestable proof of Florentine freedom; the first authenticated act of independent power, is a contract with the castle and town of Pogna, in the Val d'Elsa in 1101, where the two consuls are named as representatives of the Florentine people, who on their part, promise to defend those of Pogna against all enemies except the Emperor or his nuncios, without allusion to Matilda or any other superior<sup>3</sup>. During this century, two destructive fires visited the city, consuming amongst other remains of antiquity, the whole of the archives of the state. These calamities were considered as Divine judgments, inflicted for the heretical and sceptical opinions of many of the citizens, and their various breaches of the moral law. It is pleasing to turn from such subjects, to an instance of that strict and chivalrous honour, which always shines forth most brilliantly, in those cases where it is found in juxtaposition with a prevalent system of outrage and crime.

“Whatever,” says our author, “may have been their private immorality, the Florentines as a people seem, at this time, not only to have had the confidence of their neighbours, but to have deserved it also; the Pisans, who were then in the full tide of military and commercial glory, on sending an expedition against the Saracens of Majorca,

<sup>3</sup> p. 86.

requested them to protect Pisa from an apprehended attack of the Lucchese, its bitterest enemies. The Florentines accepted this charge without hesitation, equipped a strong force, occupied a position two miles from that city, and prohibited, on pain of death, the entrance of any Florentine into the town; the old men, with the wives and daughters of their allies, alone remained there, and the object was to prevent a shadow of suspicion from darkening the minds of absent citizens, which might tarnish the reputation of their women, or reflect on the honour of Florence. Despite of this penalty, one soldier had the audacity to enter the forbidden place, and was instantly condemned to death; the aged Pisans vainly petitioned for his pardon, and to save him, forbade the execution of any sentence on their territory. The Florentine general, in conformity with his instructions, bowed to their commands, but determining neither to suffer a breach of discipline, nor encourage the repetition of a crime which might dishonour his country, he purchased a field from one of the neighbouring peasantry in the name of Florence, and hanged the culprit there in despite of every supplication from the Pisans."—Vol. i. p. 100.

It is interesting to trace the course both of the external and internal history of Florence. Slowly, but surely, we perceive the sphere of her dominion enlarge, till, from having, in the first instance, barely included her own walls, we see it embrace a large portion of Tuscany—like those concentric circles produced by a stone thrown into a pool of water—and, as those circles cease to exist when they have reached their largest circumference, so does the Florentine Republic disappear from view when Siena alone, of all her early rivals, remains unconquered by foreign arms and unenslaved by domestic treason—Siena, the last stronghold of Italian freedom. The internal history of Florence may be summed up in a few words. The people, at first oppressed, but never enslaved, by the nobles, continually struggled forward to acquire, first, freedom, then, power, and, lastly, predominance. The defeat of the Uberti, the most powerful of the aristocratic houses, who had almost monopolized the supreme power, was their first achievement; they next supported one party of the nobles against the other; and they lastly succeeded in overpowering and actually crushing the whole caste, going to the outrageous length of depriving them, with a few exceptions, of the political rights of citizens.

Freedom, however, is not the possession, however it may be the boast, of an unrestrained democracy. That state is not free which is subjected to the absolute authority of any single power, for every unlimited power is, in itself, incompatible with liberty, whether it be swayed by a despotic monarch, an exclusive oligarchy, or a rampant democracy. Nor is this all; even the sem-



blance of liberty, or the portion of it which may for a time be possessed by an ochlocracy, must ere long give place to some more stable form of government; and happy, strangely happy, is that democratic Republic which falls under anything short of a simple and oppressive despotism; we cannot call to mind any instance of so fortunate a lot. The liberties of Florence succumbed through the showy virtues of a succession of great citizens to the base and imbecile tyranny of their descendants; and the house of the Medici in due time was compelled to resign its ill-gotten and ill-used authority to the present family, of whom it is difficult to speak in too high terms.

Returning from this anticipatory summary of events, many of which we shall not be able to notice at greater length, let us survey once more the earlier phases of Florentine existence, and give a few extracts which may show that Italian daily life, both private and public, was in the middle ages that wild, and strange, and romantic thing which poets picture and ladies dream; though full of faults, it may prove a relief from considerations of the three Destinies of modern days. Yes, unpoetic as our philosophers and economists may be, they have their three Destinies—Pounds, Shillings, and Pence.

“In the year 1215, according to an ancient manuscript published from the Buondelmonti Library, Messer Mazzingo Tegrini de’ Mazzinghi invited many Florentines of high rank to dine at his villa near Campi, about six miles from the capital; while still at table the family jester snatched a trencher of meat from Messer Uberto degli Infangati, who, nettled at this impertinence, expressed his displeasure in terms so offensive, that Messer Oddo Arrighi de’ Fifanti as sharply and uncere- moniously rebuked him: upon this Uberto gave him the lie, and Oddo, in return, dashed a trencher of meat in his face. Every thing was immediately in confusion; weapons were soon out, and while the guests started up in disorder, young Buondelmonte de’ Buondelmonti, the friend and companion of Uberto, severely wounded Oddo Arrighi. The party then separated, and Oddo called a meeting of his friends to consider the offence; amongst them were the Counts Gangalandi, the Uberti, Amidei, and Lamberti, who unanimously decided that the quarrel should be quietly settled by a marriage between Buondelmonte and Oddo’s niece, the daughter of Messer Lambertuccio di Capo di Ponte, of the Amidei family. This proposition appears to have been unhesitatingly accepted by the offender’s family, and a day was immediately nominated for the ceremony of plighting his troth to the destined bride.

“During the interim, Madonna Aldruda or Gualdrada, wife of Forese de’ Donati, sent privately for young Buondelmonte and thus addressed him: ‘*Unworthy knight! What! Hast thou accepted a wife through fear of the Fifanti and Uberti?—Leave her that thou hast taken, choose this damsel in her place, and be henceforth a brave and honoured gentle-*

man.' In so saying, she threw open the chamber door and exposed her daughter to his view : the unexpected apparition of so much beauty, as it were soliciting his love, had its usual consequence. Buondelmonte's better reason was overcome, yet he had resolution to answer, '*Alas ! It is now too late !*'—'No,' replied Aldruda, '*thou canst even yet have her ; dare but to take the step, and let the consequences rest on my head.*'—'I do dare,' returned the fascinated youth, and stepping forward, again plighted a faith no longer his to give.

"Early on the 10th of February, the very day appointed for his original nuptials, Buondelmonte passed by the Porta Santa Maria amidst all the kinsfolk of his first betrothed, who had assembled near the dwellings of the Amidei to assist at the expected marriage, yet not without certain misgivings of his faithlessness. With a haughty demeanour he rode forward through them all, bearing the marriage ring to the lady of his choice, and leaving her of the Amidei with the shame of an aggravated insult by the choosing the same moment for a violation of one contract and the consummation of a second ; for in those days, and for centuries after, the old Roman custom of presenting a ring long before the marriage ceremony took place was still in use.

"Such insults were then impatiently borne. Oddo Arrighi assembled his kindred in the no longer existing church of 'Santa Maria sopra Porta,' to settle the mode of resenting this affront, and the moody aspect of each individual marked the character of the meeting and all the vindictive feeling of an injured family. There were, however, some of a more temperate spirit, that suggested personal chastisement, or, at most, the gashing of Buondelmonte's face as the most reasonable and effectual retribution. The assembly paused, but Mosca de' Lamberti, starting suddenly forward, exclaimed, '*Beat or wound him as ye list, but first prepare your own graves, for wounds bring equal consequences with death. No ! mete him out his deserts and let him pay the penalty ; but no delay. Up and be doing. Cominciamo a fare, ch  poi, cosa fatto capo ha.*'

"This turned the scale, and Buondelmonte was doomed, but according to the manners of that age, not in the field, which would have been hazardous, but by the sure though inglorious means of noonday murder ; wherefore at the very place where the insult was offered, beneath the battlements of the Amidei, nay, under the casement of the deserted maiden, and in his way to a happy expecting bride, vengeance was prepared by those fierce barons for the perjurer.

"On Easter morning, 1215, the murderers concealed themselves within the courts and towers of the Amidei, which the young and heedless bridegroom was soon to pass, and he was soon after seen at a distance carelessly riding alone across the Ponte Vecchio, on a milk-white palfrey, attired in a vest of white woollen cloth, a white mantle thrown across his shoulders, and the wedding garland on his head. The bridge was passed in thoughtless gaiety, but scarcely had he reached the time-worn image of the Roman Mars, the last relic of heathen worship then extant, when the mace of Schiatto degli Uberti felled him to the ground ; and at the base of this grim idol the daggers of Oddo



and his furious kinsmen finished the savage deed; they met him gay and adorned for the altar, and left him with the bridal wreath still dangling from his brow, a bloody and ill-omened sacrifice. The tidings of this murder spread rapidly, and disordered the whole community of Florence; the people became more and more excited, because both law and custom had awarded due penalties for faithless men, and death was an unheard of punishment.

“Buondelmonte's corpse was placed on a bier, with its head resting in the lap of his affianced bride, the young and beautiful Donati, who hung like a lily over the pallid features of her husband, and thus united were they borne through the streets of Florence. It was the gloomy dawning of a tempestuous day, for in that bloody moment was unchained the demon of Florentine discord; the names of Guelf and Ghibeline were then for the first time assumed by noble and commoner as the cry of faction, and long after the original cause of enmity had ceased, they continued to steep all Italy in blood.”—Vol. i. pp. 188—191.

However peculiar and characteristic of an age of violence, and a nation of romance, this tale may be, our readers will scarcely enter into the state of feeling which could embroil two powerful and friendly states in war, for the sake of a lapdog. We should have expected that the stern republicans of renovating Italy would have left such brawls for weak women or depraved courtiers, the scions of a luxurious aristocracy, or the minions of an effeminate court. But no; human nature is the same every where, when unenlightened by philosophy or religion—the same in inward reality whatever variations it may show on the surface—and the heirs as well as the votaries of republican institutions furnish us, by their own conduct, with ample proof that their idolized principles do not raise them too far above the level of common humanity, too far, we mean, for the gaze of such mere mortal royalists as ourselves; whether it be from a kind consideration for the weakness of their brethren, or from a desire to attract the sympathy of those who might be repelled by the display of too stern a virtue, too unerring a judgment, too keen a sense of right and wrong.

From whatever cause it happens, certain it is, that if the poor misguided monarchist does, whilst hearing the harangues of the noble-hearted democrat, feel convinced of his own darkness of reason and vileness of heart, he has only to turn from the words of his eloquent instructor to his actions, to derive a store of inexhaustible comfort for his wounded spirit. Does he hear of the expensive nature of regal government, and the economy of free institutions? He has but to compare the expenditure of Pisis-tratus with that of Cleon—the taxes levied by Charles I. with

those imposed by William of Orange. Does he stand abashed as the republican points out to him the immense size of the armies of kings? He has but to place in two columns, side by side, the army lists of Louis Philippe and his pacific successors. Does he quail under the glance of the Chartist orator, as he dwells on the folly, the luxury, the petulance of a feeble and selfish oligarchy, on the whims of kings that have deluged nations with blood, and the private piques of favourites that have ruined mighty states? Let him read the sad tale of the Cardinal's Lapdog:—

“ At his coronation <sup>4</sup> ambassadors were present with magnificent retinues of distinguished gentlemen and their retainers, from all the Italian states, and amongst these the Florentine and Pisan embassies were conspicuous. The two republics were then at peace, but a silly misunderstanding at a private entertainment is said to have caused those wars which, after centuries of mischief, only ended in the second and final subjection of Pisa, when Florence, herself exhausted, was almost at the termination of her race as an independent city.

“ It happened that a certain Roman cardinal invited the Florentine ambassadors to his house, where one of them, struck with the beauty of a little dog belonging to their host, begged it as a present: next day the Pisan embassy was feasted, and the dog, already promised to the Florentine, attracted equal admiration; a similar request followed, and the cardinal forgetting his previous engagement, answered it as graciously. Scarcely had the guests departed when the animal was sent for by the Florentine ambassador; then came the Pisan messenger, but all too late. The two dignitaries met, restitution of the dog was immediately demanded and as decidedly refused: sharp altercation ensued, swords were soon drawn, and an affray succeeded in which the Pisans overcame by their superior numbers. The manners of the age, however, did not admit of such a termination, both Florentine factions united against the Pisans, and even volunteers from the capital came to the aid of the former; the affair had now become serious, almost national, and the Florentines took ample revenge. The Pisan ambassadors complained to their government, and their haughty countrymen trusting to great naval power and consequent influence on the trade of Florence, seized all the merchandise of that state which was within their grasp, and refused any satisfaction, while the latter carried its forbearance to a point of humiliation that proves the great importance of its commercial relations with Pisa. The Florentines offered to take an equal number of bales of tow, or any other rubbish, however vile, in lieu of the goods, and afterwards indemnify their own merchants, so that some shadow of satisfaction might be exhibited to the world for the sake of national reputation; adding, that if this also failed their ancient friendship must cease, and war be the only alternative. ‘*If the Florentines march we will endeavour to meet them half-way,*’ was the contemptuous

<sup>4</sup> That of Frederic II.

answer of Pisa. War was therefore declared, and in July the armies met at Castel del Bosco, in the Pisan territory, Florence being probably assisted by Lucca, as the Lucchese historians assert; for it may be doubted whether the former at that early period could have ventured alone to war with so powerful an adversary. A long and bloody battle ending in the total defeat of Pisa, satisfied the honour and soothed the pride of Florence, while thirteen hundred prisoners, including the greater part of the Pisan nobility, convinced the people that this victory was a palpable instance of Divine retribution for the arrogance and injustice of their adversaries."—Vol. i. pp. 198—200.

But whatever were the follies or the faults of the Florentines, their merits were in many ways transcendent, their high and undaunted spirit, their ardent, though in some degree unenlightened, love of freedom, their wise policy and merciful conduct, these are enough to immortalize them even had neither the awful Dante nor the gentle Petrarca sprung from their race—even had the sculptors and painters, the historians and philosophers of Florence never lived.

By their high and undaunted spirit, they struggled through difficulties which would have overpowered a feebler race; their love of freedom was both the proof and the parent of every manly excellence; by their wise policy they admitted to all the rights of citizenship the people of the towns or districts which they gradually conquered, thus making every fresh acquisition an integral portion of the state, and by their merciful conduct in the moment of victory they have left a name behind them which it is painfully difficult to match in the history of civilized man.

One instance of this last merit we cannot avoid citing from the first volume of the work before us, long as we have lingered amongst its pages. At the siege of Semifonte, a revolted town, great courage was shown on both sides; every exertion had been made by the Florentine consul to ensure success, his reputation was at stake, for he had been commanded to leave the place if it did not surrender within a given time: he however persisted in defiance of his orders. Often had the attack been made and repelled. At length he determined to risk every thing on one general assault:—

" . . . . the storm raged in every quarter: shouts, groans, the crash of ladders, and the fall of steel-clad men, echoed through the streets of Semifonte; the besieged were thinned, faint and exhausted; and could no longer defend the weary circuit of their lines: the enemy kept bringing up fresh forces at every moment with louder shouts and more stirring cheers, until the failing strength of the garrison sank under their gallant efforts; yet at this very moment, old men, women, and even children rushed desperately to the fight, and flying parties hurried from

post to post repulsing new assaults. At last the ramparts glittered with hostile lances, the enemy pushed bravely through the breach ; some entered the gateway, already dashed to atoms ; others hung from the battlements, or strode the walls, aiding their comrades, or dropped, arms and all, into the devoted town. Terror spread wildly and universally ; the people disperse ; they fly to the towers and temples ; women and children cling trembling to the altars, or clasp the sacred cross, or fling themselves shuddering on the pavement ; the clergy issue forth with the holy symbols of their faith, and trusting in the God of all, implore the compassion of their conquerors : sobs, screams and wailings, fill the air, and '*Mercy ! mercy !*' is wildly shrieked and wildly answered. Universal carnage was about to begin, when the consul was suddenly beheld standing among the prostrate multitude : the sight calmed him ; humanity conquered ; and stifling all anger he allayed their terror by the promise of universal pardon. It was doing much to overcome passion in the heat of battle ; more to control a fierce exasperated soldiery in the moment of victory : both of them are honourable to the general, the military discipline, and the manners of an age which we are, perhaps, too ready to believe, was exclusively barbarous."—pp. 165, 166.

Bold against their standing, and gentle to their fallen, foes, the Florentines advanced towards the summit of their power, notwithstanding the temporary check which they received in the fatal defeat of Monte Aperto. We shall, however, leave for a moment the current of public affairs to take a short glance at the progress of those arts which were as much the glory of Florence as her arms :—

"In taking leave of this century," observes Captain Napier, "we are reminded that at certain epochs in the world's progress, there is sometimes a majestic race of spirits that suddenly cross our view, and carrying every thing they touch to perfection, they then gradually disappear, and leave their fame for future ages to admire and fully appreciate. The fourteenth century, and part of the thirteenth, was one of these glorious periods in Florentine history ; and the mind is struck with wonder to behold from one small city, in one single century, shine out so bright an assemblage of fresh and lofty intellects. In law, in physic ; in theology, philosophy, and rhetoric ; in prose and poetry, in history, ethics, epistolary writing, sculpture, architecture, and painting ; it produced, not one, but several of the highest order of genius, men of no doubtful fame ; some of whom feared the point of Dante's poetical aphorism scarcely more than the bard himself.

"The four Accorsi, the two Del Garbos, Alderotti, Torregiano, Casini, Bardi, Dino di Mujello, Barberino, Bonifazio Uberti, Francesco Cieco, Giotto, Orcagna, Cavalcante, Boccaccio, Petrarca, Dante, Zenobi, Giovanni Andrea, 'the Prince of Canonists,' the three Vellani, Dino Compagni, Coluccio Salutati, Sacchetti, Pandolfino ; and other noted,

though inferior, minds, such as Paulo and Bonatti, in mathematics and astronomy, present altogether a constellation of such intellect as dazzles the understanding, and makes us marvel how one small community could produce so much so quickly."—Vol. ii. pp. 664, 665.

The causes which led to this great burst of genius are thus developed by Captain Napier :—

"As in private society, when decency is discarded, the range of humour is extended, so in that of nations we sometimes see that where honesty is trampled upon human energy is in more vigorous, though pernicious, activity ; no wonder then that this age was bold, daring, and energetic. Ambition and rapacity were the ruling powers, but the former was local, dispersed, broken into a thousand fragments ; each predominant spirit was great within the narrow limits of its country ; yet few filled all Italy with their fame, and scarcely any had a general European reputation. A multitude of fierce and brilliant fires were burning, both for good and evil, the common illumination was splendid and equalized ; Europe gazed at it from afar with admiration, perhaps respect, but only knew it as a whole. In this state literature alone became the object of general interest ; it spread with a universal light, it belonged to all countries and no faction ; tyrants, kings, and republics equally honoured it, and the fame of its leaders overspread the earth. The conjuncture favoured it, for the Italian language was yet in its infancy, Latin corrupted, and it became an object to separate the child from a vitiated parent, and reform the latter. A host of intellect burst upon the world, and, led by Dante, permanently stamped its character on the fourteenth century."—Vol. ii. p. 650.

"In this way," continues Captain Napier, "Petrarca became the property not only of Italy but of Europe. In an humble and retired cottage at Vaucuse, attended only by his rustic old man and woman, he received on the same day letters from the Roman senator and the chancellor of the Parisian university, calling upon him, as in rivalry, to receive the laurel crown, one at Rome, the other at Paris. The venerable name of Rome, her antique glory, and his own reverence for the Eternal city, finally prevailed, and in his six-and-thirtieth year Naples received him with honour on his way to the Capitol. There a new triumph awaited him, for Robert, the most learned monarch, and one of the most learned men of the day, after some severe examinations, added his testimony to the general voice, and entreated that Naples might be the scene of his coronation. But Rome still prevailed, and on the twenty-third of August, 1340, Petrarca received the laurel crown."

We cannot linger as we should like on this chapter, one of the most interesting in the whole work, from the retrospect which it takes of the arts and sciences, the manners and customs of the fourteenth century. For stirring events and mighty changes are coming, and the final struggle with Pisa demands our attention. Our readers will recollect how, through the instrumentality of a

lapdog, the Florentines and Pisans had changed from warm friends to determined enemies.

A long course of rivalry and hostility had more and more embittered the enmity between Florence and Pisa. The conduct of the Pisans in uniting with the Visconti, and actually submitting to their sway, from hatred to the Florentines, still further exasperated the latter people; and no sooner had the death of Gian Galeazzo Visconti, and the sub-division of his dominions, taken place, than they determined, at every risk and at every expense, to make themselves masters of their ancient enemy. Though basely deserted by the pope and the rest of the allies, who had leagued with them against the Milanese, they still fought on; and at length a conjuncture of affairs favoured their project.

“The acquisition of Pisa was a serious affair at Florence, and great efforts were made to secure it; a mere licence to undertake this conquest had already cost much, and as yet (A.D. 1406) no more ground was cleared for active operations; the remaining obstacles were Ladislaus, King of Naples, a young, warlike, and ambitious monarch on the one hand, and Ottobuon Terzo, an able, unemployed Condottiere, in possession of Parma, on the other. Ladislaus, then aiming at the subjugation of Rome, at that moment almost in anarchy from civil war, was quieted by a promise not to be thwarted in his enterprise; and Ottobuon Terzo was similarly paralysed by a large subsidy. These points settled, it was determined to invest Pisa so closely by sea and land, that every hope of provisions or succour should be vain. The Florentine camp was accordingly pitched at *San Piero in Grado*, on the river side, a little below the town, under the Florentine commissioner, Maso degli Albizzi, but more especially Gino Capponi, whose commentaries furnish all the particulars of this memorable siege. There were Florentines who would willingly have relinquished the enterprise, but strong temptation and the majority prevailed; it was popular as a commercial, a political, and a personal object; for Pisa had ever been a secure position for all the enemies of Florence; it was the great portal of her foreign trade, and the object of a bitter, long-enduring, and hereditary hatred. The Pisans’ first care was to reconcile internal factions, and to concentrate all the various flashes of party spirit into one bright flame of patriotic indignation against a common foe: the Raspanti were then in power, many of the Bergolini, with their leaders of the Gambacorti family, in exile; all were recalled, and ancient quarrels lulled into present repose by the mere threatening of the storm; peace was sworn to by adverse chiefs upon the sacramental bread, and made more solemn, if not more binding, by a mixture of their blood with the consecrated wine. But Giovanni Gambacorta returned as full of vengeance as before, and, in contempt of every oath, after being elected captain of the people, put Giovanni Agnello to death, imprisoned Riniere de’ Sacchi, and many others, all chiefs of the rival faction, and afterwards secretly drowned most of them in the sea.”—Vol. iii. pp. 11, 12.



The most fearless daring was shown by the besiegers, the most desperate courage by the besieged; and many traits of individual heroism have been recorded. Examples, too, of the ferocious cruelty, then commonly practised, were not wanting on the part of the invaders; whilst, day by day, the hopes of the Pisans grew fainter and fainter, their provisions more and more scanty, and the tyranny of Gambacorta more oppressive. At length, that miscreant, finding that every chance of rescue was gone, made overtures to the enemy. He offered to surrender the city, provided that all the personal enemies of his family, with all their living children, should be declared and treated as public rebels. "He was, moreover, to have 50,000 florins, the government of Bagno, the citizenship of Florence, exemption for himself and family from all tolls and taxes, to be under that state's protection, besides several other advantages; and his brother was to be made Bishop of Florence, or that failing to have a pension instead. These and other private aggrandisements formed nearly all the articles of capitulation, those regarding the public comprising only a general amnesty, except for Gambacorta's enemies, and exemption from blood, plunder, fire, and devastation, both for the city and contado."

A military council was immediately summoned by the Florentine commander; first, to reconcile two officers of distinction who had quarrelled; and secondly, to settle the mode of taking possession of Pisa.

"In this, the two rival captains differed, and each being well supported there was much confusion, until Gino Capponi (the commander-in-chief) impatiently rose and thus shortly but sternly addressed them:—

" ' You have often declared that you would conquer Pisa by your personal valour, and now when it is in our power to open whichever of her gates we please, do you still hesitate, you vile and worthless gentry, for fear of assassination? Are you terrified at a besieged and starving people? No more of this trifling: it is our pleasure that you enter by the gate of St. Mark, and each of you will give strict command and formal warning to your soldiers that no tumult will be suffered; and all of you are now commanded, on pain of death, to conduct yourselves as if marching through the streets of Florence; you will, moreover, be held personally answerable for the behaviour of your troops and servants; therefore issue such orders as will ensure prompt obedience to our commands.'

"To this Franceschino della Mirandola replied:—

" ' You give us rough and rigid orders! But if the Pisans chance to turn on us, how are we then to act? If this happen, will you not then suffer us to repel them by every means? by fire and by plunder?'

"Gino, whose impatience would hardly suffer him to wait until this

officer had finished, turned sharply towards him, and with an angry countenance, replied :—

“ ‘ Franceschino, Franceschino, we will permit no robbery in any form ; and if the people turn on us or other accident occur, why we ourselves will be there as well as thou, and will command thee and all the rest as to what may be expedient at the moment ; wherefore thou mayest spare thy labour, for what we have commanded shall surely be obeyed.’ ”

“ After this resolute conduct Gino repaired to Florence and explained all to the seignory ; he informed them that Pisa might be had with or without a capitulation, for it could not hold out much longer. If by capitulation, he said, they would save an unhappy people from the multiplied horrors of a storm ; they would receive an uninjured town ; they would acquire merit with God and man, and they would perpetuate their fame amongst distant nations. A council was immediately assembled, and out of forty-seven secret votes, there were forty-six black beans in favour of capitulation. Discontented at this slight want of unanimity, the question was again called for by acclamation, and a second ballot gave an unmodified decision for the more humane course of policy.”—Vol. iii. pp. 15—17.

“ Gino, having returned with full powers, Gambacorta, afraid of the consequences should his treason transpire, wished the city to be taken possession of by night. The Florentines, however, only occupied a single gate until dawn of day, when the whole army moved steadily forward with colours flying, and at sunrise appeared before the gate of St. Mark, where Gambacorta awaited them, and presented Capponi with a ‘ *verrellone*’ or light dart, in token of surrender—and the troops immediately occupied the market-place, whence they quietly paraded the streets in military array, at that time a very common mode of taking possession, while the whole population gazed in fear and wonder from their windows, few being aware of what had occurred, so well concealed was the whole transaction. Nor did the soldiers marvel less at the pale emaciated faces that, fearful and doubting, gazed with famished looks upon their bravery : some more considerate soldiers had brought with them a few loaves which they threw to little children at the windows. . . . Gino ordered abundance of provisions to be supplied, and crowds of every rank rushed madly to the banquet ; many killed themselves by sudden repletion ; the priors and Gambacorta himself had long lived on linseed cakes ; there was no more grain or flour, only a little sugar and cassia, and three famished cows in the public stores ; all else was eaten, even the very grass of the now desolated streets, was dried and pulverized and kneaded into something resembling bread.”—Vol. iii. p. 18.

Capponi then formally commenced Florentine rule ; but so mild was it and so unusual in those times, during the first moments of conquest, when horrors alone were expected, that the people still



remained in doubtful and anxious apprehension till reassured by a noble speech which that illustrious man addressed to them.

Thus had Florence triumphed ; and we may surely say that a people who could act so bravely in the day of adversity and so gently in the very flush of conquest, deserved to triumph. But, alas ! she had now reached her culminating point ; the faults of her constitution were about to develop themselves in all their fulness ; and Florence, the noble, the glorious, and the free, was to become the degraded heirloom of a race of base-born and false-hearted tyrants.

We have already alluded to the struggles between the Florentine people and their ancient nobles, and the final triumph of the former and the utter prostration of the latter—a prostration so complete that the greater part of them were actually deprived of the rights of citizenship.

A different state of things now existed ; the affairs of the commonwealth were conducted by the Uzzaneschi, under the presidency of the great family of the Albizzi, who held an influence somewhat similar to that possessed for two or three generations by the Alcmaeonidæ at Athens.

Discontent had, however, arisen amongst the people, and dangers of various kinds were apprehended to the commonwealth, when the celebrated Maso degli Albizzi expired.

The bell that tolled his funeral knell was the saddest sound that Florence ever heard, for his death removed from the stage the firmest friend of Florentine freedom, and the only man who, from ability and standing, was able to cope successfully with the rising power of the Medici.

As has frequently been the case, the political crisis was hastened, or rather produced, by a financial one ; and, as also has been the case, the man who paved the way for the ruin of his country came forward as a financial reformer.

“ The Uzzaneschi had for a while monopolized all the offices of the state. Their aim,” says Captain Napier, who is very impartial in his censure of everything approaching to aristocracy ; “ was to perpetrate despotism<sup>6</sup> by repressing the middle and lower classes of artizans, and

<sup>6</sup> The following observations, extracted from a later portion of the work, are very just. Speaking of the Revolution of 1494, he says :—

“ So ended for a season the Medician rule in Florence after sixty years’ duration, but only to be revived with greater vigour, greater tyranny, and more fatal permanence : for two-and-fifty years before had the exclusively Guelphic sway of the Albizzi endured, and thus two private families domineered over the Florentine republic for the long period of a hundred and twelve years. The Albizzi ruled with some consideration for public liberty in all that did not directly affect their political power, and certainly with less vindictiveness than the Medici ; the latter with an incipient moderation that gradually swelled into a total contempt even of the meagre

subduing their leaders amongst the noble popolani ; such, for instance, as the Rieci Alberti and others, but more especially the Medici, who had acquired a dangerous distinction by the reputation of Salvestro and Vieri, by popular attachment, and by the enmity of their political antagonists. This policy was for a while most rigidly pursued ; but finally the confidence arising from undisputed power, disagreement amongst themselves, mutual jealousy, and, above all, the death of Maso degli Albizzi, altogether slackened their vigilance, and the Medici, who had gradually been increasing in opulence and public estimation, became again politically conspicuous, and were silently creeping into the highest official dignities, when, as it were to crown their triumph, Giovanni di Bicci appeared as gonfalonier of justice in 1421. This re-opened the door of public honours and employment to that family (and) ended, as Niccolo da Uzzano had foreseen, in the Albizzi's destruction and the ultimate downfall of their party."—p. 104.

At length the leaders of the Uzzaneschi decided on having recourse to a reactionary measure to check the growing power of the plebeians, protect their own exemptions, and perpetuate their own influence.

" Thus determined, they waited for a favorable occasion ; and this came with the election of Lorenzo Ridolfi and Francesco Gianfiglazzi respectively as prior and gonfalonier of justice, in July, 1425. Seventy principal citizens of their party assembled, by permission of this chief magistrate, in St. Stephen's Church, where Rinaldo degli Albizzi, in a long oration, implored them to sink all former quarrels in oblivion and unite for the common good."

After expatiating on the evils arising from the continually increasing power of the mongrel-bred rabble, many of whom were not Florentines by birth, and none of whom had any stake in the republic, any interest in its welfare, or any sympathy with its greatness, he proceeded to propose a law which would, in his opinion, meet all the exigencies of the case.

" You know (said he) that the city is divided into three conditions of men, namely, the '*Scioperati*<sup>6</sup>,' the merchants, and the artificers ; you are likewise acquainted with the laws of your ancestors, which declare, that in the number of priors, there shall be two of the minor, and the rest of the major arts and *Scioperati*, and the same in the

forms of liberty. The ambition of the first was to be chiefs of a republican community, to direct the energies of a free people, but not reduce them to servitude : they were a faction, but one of great vigour, great ability, and some real patriotism. The desire of the last was to become sovereign princes of Florence, and, for self-aggrandisement, the destroyers of its political liberty."

<sup>6</sup> " *The Scioperati* were those who lived on their rents, or funded property, or other means, without exercising any profession, trade, or official employment, for a livelihood."

colleges. But in the council of the people, where all votes centre and where all acts terminate, there are out of twenty-one trades, seven of the greater and fourteen of the lesser<sup>7</sup>. Now take notice, that there, two parts out of the three are of the inferior arts, and the remaining third only of the superior; and thus the law is infringed. And so you will find every council in like manner corrupted, the law unheeded, your measures unsuccessful, and the people hating you, but with a majority of votes in their hands; and thus do you peril your own power and the public liberty! The remedy now sought for is, that these fourteen trades should be reduced to seven, and their place in the government be filled by the *Scioperati* and greater arts; for thus we shall exclude them from the magistracy, and none of your measures will be defeated. You know how our fathers strengthened themselves by reducing the two additional arts (in 1382); let us follow their example, and be ye sure, that if the reduction of two so helped them, what may not we expect from a diminution of seven? It will enable us to restore the old nobility, now no longer formidable, to their just place in the commonwealth, and thus increase our own power of keeping down the people, who can never stand against such union; and lastly, it is the province of reason and prudence, to make a various use of men in various times and circumstances; to our ancestors their abasement was expedient, and so to us is their restoration."—Vol. iii. pp. 110, 111.

When Rinaldo had concluded with the words "Let us to work, then; let what is uppermost in the mind be efficiently carried out, so that liberty may yet remain to the commonwealth and its citizens," all eyes were turned on Niccolo da Uzzano, whose age, wisdom, and experience stamped him as their Nestor in times of difficulty. Niccolo approved the project, but advised that an attempt should be immediately made to gain over Giovanni de Medici, without whose consent it would be difficult, if not impossible, to carry the measure. Rinaldo himself undertook the mission: Giovanni, however, was immovable; he enlarged on the liberal measures of Maso degli Albizzi; and exhorted Rinaldo to follow in his father's steps, telling him that, as unequal taxation was the cause, so a system of just imposts would be the only cure for discontent.

The plebeians, who heard of what was going on, rallied round Giovanni, beseeching him to take the lead at once and rule the commonwealth. He was, however, too politic to attempt any thing of the sort, but slowly and quietly he and his son Cosimo, and nephew Averardo, moved forward in their course of crafty ambition—a cowardly species of treason, which is far more dangerous to the state than an avowed aim at rebellion or usur-

<sup>7</sup> The councils . . . were that of the *two-hundred*; that of the *commune* . . . , and that of the *people*.

pation. It cannot however be denied that Giovanni did confer one great boon on Florence in the *Catasto*, which was mainly carried through his influence, backed by the whole voice of the poorer citizens.

“The *Catasto* was a property tax measured by the income, at the rate of half per cent. on capital: whoever possessed 100 florins of property, *above the cost of living*, paid half a florin; whoever had 1000 paid five florins; seven florins of declared income being settled as the representative of a hundred of principal, either in goods or money, and fourteen florins of untaxed income were allowed as the estimated cost of maintenance for each individual, but subject to some after modification, according to age and circumstances.”—Vol. iii. p. 118.

And now commenced in earnest the rise of the Medici—a family which, like many others, has been saved from the infamy which it deserves by the specious qualities and brilliant accomplishments of some of its members. Weighed in the balance of the sanctuary, or judged of even by the simplest rules of morality, that evil race will find little to recommend it. Cosimo, the son of Giovanni, was cold, crafty, and vindictive; Lorenzo, the magnificent, was a mere epicurean; Piero, his son, was weak and wilful, devoid at once of the peculiar faults and talents of his race; Leo X. was a disgrace to the Church over which he presided; Clement VII. a blot on Christianity itself; nay, if we wish for examples of every most revolting crime under heaven, we have but to turn to the cardinals and princes of the Medician race. In fine, can the warmest admirer of that family point out one amongst its distinguished members, with the exception of Giovanni, whose piety has ever been suspected, or whose profligacy has once been questioned? Is it wise, is it right, is it seemly, is it decent to hold up such a race as this to public admiration, because their manners were pleasing, their taste refined, and their patronage of the arts munificent?

“Giovanni and Cosimo di Medici moved onward with increasing power until 1428, when the health of the former began to decline. . . . (at length in 1429) feeling the approach of death, Giovanni assembled his friends and kindred, and addressed . . . (his two sons) Cosimo and Lorenzo (in an exhortation to the practice of prudence, virtue, and domestic affection). ‘To your care (said he, in conclusion) I commend Nannina, my wife and your mother; see that my death diminish not her accustomed honours and respect; and when I am no more, do you, my children, pray to God that he may be the salvation of my soul; and now take my paternal blessing; and thou, Cosimo, be kind to Lorenzo; and thou Lorenzo be obedient to Cosimo, as if he were thy father.’ Having concluded this discourse, after a few hours he died. Giovanni must be considered as the founder of Medicean greatness; before his time, although an illustrious, influential family and occasionally distin-

guished in national politics, they were, with the exception of Salvestro and Vieri, historically unimportant. After Giovanni their star shone with fitful but enduring brightness. . . . His ambition was, perhaps, less personal than prospective; less for himself than his posterity; for he well knew the talents of Cosimo. . . . His own interests were apparently so identified with the public good that his measures were generally popular, and he thus laid the foundations of that edifice of family greatness which Cosimo was destined to erect and Lorenzo to finish." —pp. 135—138.

A doubt rests on the motives and character of Giovanni de Medici; and looking at the long and dark list of his descendants, we may well give him the advantage of that doubt, and believe, with his great enemy Niccolo da Uzzano, that his virtues were genuine and his patriotism sincere: though no partiality or sophistry can conceal the fact that every other feeling or principle was held in subordination to the wicked ambition of his heart.

After his death Cosimo used his utmost endeavours to ruin Uzzano, but without success. At length that wise and good old man expired in the year 1432. And now the contest began; Rinaldo degli Albizzi, no longer restrained by the prudent and peaceful counsels of his old friend, determined on crushing the rising power of the Medici, and succeeded in obtaining their banishment according to the form of the constitution, but in opposition to the passionate will of the populace.

Rinaldo now attempted to restore to the nobles the right of citizenship, but this wise project was defeated by the eloquence of Mariotto Baldovinetti, one of his nominal adherents, who had been bribed by Cosimo.

The triumph of the Constitutional party was however of short duration. Cosimo had not been quite a year in exile, when, in September, 1434, the new seignory was found to be composed entirely of his partisans. Various measures were proposed and abandoned by the Albizzi and their party; and the return of the Medici was voted in a numerous Balìa almost by acclamation.

Rinaldo and his followers had laid down the arms which they at first took up, under the promise of a general amnesty; but when did either mob or tyrant—the polycephalous and monocephalous species of the same genus—ever allow faith, prudence, or mercy, to come between them and their desires. Rinaldo and many others were exiled at once.

“ And these proscriptions were renewed from time to time, after the month of November, when Cosimo was already returned, and a new seignory drawn, or rather selected by his party for their rabid, persecuting violence and vindictive character. . . . Near eighty citizens were

thus banished, fined, imprisoned, tortured, or otherwise punished by the vindictiveness of faction."

For thirty years Cosimo de' Medici had governed Florence with absolute rule—Piero, his son, succeeded to his influence in 1464, and, despite of some opposition, retained it until his death in December, 1469. But as his sons Lorenzo and Giuliano were young at that time, it was proposed to give the supreme power to Tommaso Soderini; he however declined the honour and supported the claims of his friend's children.

"He pointed out the advantages of continuing the chief citizenship in the same family, and conjured them to place that confidence in Lorenzo and Giuliano that they had already given to Piero and Cosimo.

"While the Medici were contented to remain as simple citizens with more extensive influence and authority than the rest of their countrymen, the adverse families could fearlessly and legitimately oppose them, either in council or in arms; and the supreme magistracy being to a certain extent free, it was not until one party had completely gained the ascendant that their opponents had any personal cause of alarm; it was an open struggle of faction against faction for supremacy, without treason against the government. But after Piero's victory in 1466, when the sovereign authority became restricted and placed completely in the hands of his family by the dictatorial power of a Balìa, and then by the still narrower council of five Accoppiatori, who, as will be hereafter seen, had the privilege of choosing the priors and gonfalonier without consulting any body; when, therefore, supreme power thus fell into the hands of the Medici, it was no longer an equal struggle or a safe opposition; the forms of a republic remained, but the substance was absolute monarchy."—Vol. iii. p. 387.

Hence arose the formidable conspiracy of the Pazzi family, who having been excluded by this measure from all share in the government, determined to strike one bold and unscrupulous blow for the freedom of their country. Lorenzo and his brother Giuliano were accordingly attacked in the cathedral during the celebration of the mass; Giuliano was murdered, but his brother was saved by the devotion of his followers; several of the conspirators were summarily executed, and the populace rose in defence of Medician authority, and attacked with fury those who had relied upon it for support. Every unsuccessful attempt against an arbitrary government serves but to strengthen its authority, and Lorenzo de' Medici remained virtual lord of Florence till his death in 1492.

"Piero de' Medici was but twenty-one years of age when his father died, therefore ineligible to the offices held by the former; but such was Lorenzo's authority, and so tempered was the free spirit of Florence,



that he instantly succeeded to every public employment, and to him were addressed, and by him received, the condolence and congratulation of foreign ambassadors, as if he had ascended an hereditary throne; but as talent is not hereditary, the different characters and abilities of father and son were soon apparent to the world."—Vol. iii. p. 490.

A determined opposition to his authority began to manifest itself in Florence, until at length a seignory was chosen on the 1st of November, 1494, all of whom, with one exception, were hostile to Piero. He attempted to put down his opponents by force; but the people soon manifested their altered feelings, and the seignory, encouraged by their demonstrations, immediately tolled the Campana. The Florentines rose *en masse* at the summons, and the Medici, after a dominion of sixty years fled through the gates of that city which had dared to vindicate its rights once more.

The leader of this revolution was Piero di Gino di Neri Capponi—a worthy descendant of his illustrious ancestor; but amidst the many who in various ways had assisted in the good work, none was more eminent than Girolamo Savonarola whose intense love of virtue and freedom, combined with a bitter hatred of all that pollutes or debases human nature, made him the determined and dangerous enemy of every species of tyranny. He had hated Lorenzo; and he felt even greater animosity against the weak and licentious Piero. His fate is too well known to require either narrative or comment—one of the numberless victims to that awful power which dares to assume the attributes of God, whilst defiling His truth, defying His Word, and trampling on His Church<sup>\*</sup>.

Taking advantage of the commotions which disturbed the peace and divided the strength of her conquerors, Pisa once more threw off the Florentine yoke, and succeeded in maintaining her independence for nearly fifteen years; she was however again reduced to subjection, after a long and well contested siege, on the 8th of June, 1509. The terms of capitulation were liberal in the extreme, and faithfully executed by the victors; but so deeply rooted was the hereditary antipathy of the Pisans to Florentine rule, that the great majority preferred emigration to living under the dominion of their ancient rivals.

Florence was not however destined long to survive her. In the year 1512 she found herself assailed by a powerful league, comprising the Pope, the Emperor, the King of Spain, and their allies;

\* "Like the Calvin of after days, Savonarola bent the public mind to his will, by working on their superstition; but Calvin and his followers were harsh and sanguinary bigots, unjust, unmerciful, intolerant, and severe; whereas the Italian was an enlightened well-meaning enthusiast, and no persecutor."

who demanded the restoration of the Medici. Deserted by France there was little hope of resistance. Florence however prepared for defence.

Whilst negotiations were going on, an event happened which precipitated matters; the Spanish army, which was almost starving before the Florentine town of Prato, after making an insignificant and easily defended breach, boldly stormed it on the 29th of August, 1512. The horrors of that storm were conspicuous even amongst scenes of the same kind, standing forth with an accursed pre-eminence:—

“ Neither sacred virgins, nor cradled infants, nor wives, nor youths, nor maidens, nor children from seven years old and upwards, were spared from the most odious violation or from death; the wells were filled with mangled bodies; a fat priest was actually cut to pieces and boiled; and thunder, and lightning, and pelting rain poured down in torrents, as if heaven had made its indignation manifest! The sacred host was scattered and trampled on; houses and churches were plundered, and their inmates cruelly tortured to discover imaginary treasures, or work on the pity of friends and relatives for payment of a heavier ransom. . . . These horrors continued more or less for one-and-twenty days, and there is no cruelty that has ever been related, or that can even be conceived of man; no lust, violence, or wanton barbarity, nothing that can enter into the most diabolical imagination, which was not here committed by the Spaniards . . . and during all this time, says Cambi, the Cardinal de' Medici, the future pope Leo X., looked on without an attempt to arrest the hand of murder, or stop the hellish scene.”—Vol. iv. p. 168.

The terror inspired by this catastrophe, combined with that jealousy which exalted merit always, sooner or later, obtains in a republic, united to produce the fall of Piero di Tommaso di Soderini, after a mild, just, and able government of nine years and a half; and the Medici and their followers were suffered to return as private citizens. Piero had died in exile; but his son Lorenzo, and cousin Giuliano, were still living. Giuliano entered the city

“ unattended by any strangers, and walked the streets accompanied by two of his kinsmen, without fear or pretension; in conjunction with the seignory, he laboured at a modification of the government, believing it prudent, in the first instance, not to oppose that almost unanimous desire of preserving public liberty, and the great popular council.”—Vol. iv. p. 175.

The struggle for power between the various elements of the expiring republic was long and doubtful. At length, when news arrived of the sack of Rome by Bourbon, the constitutional party



gained the full ascendancy once more, and on the 17th of May, 1527, the Medici left Florence for the last time.

“As they passed on,” says Captain Napier, “through the Via Larga, many foretold that the people would one day repent of their folly in ever having allowed these princes to escape alive ; there was more truth than humanity in the sentiment.”—Vol. iv. p. 291.

Few and sad were these last days of Florentine freedom. In 1523 Giulio de' Medici had ascended the papal throne as Clement VII., and with untiring energy and unmitigated hatred, he carried on the war against his country till he had succeeded, with the aid of Charles V., in subjecting her to the sway of his family. The Florentines resisted nobly, though famine and pestilence thinned their ranks within, and the enemy pressed them hard from without. At length, after a siege, in which it was computed that the Imperialists lost fourteen thousand, and the besieged eight thousand men, the seignory found themselves beset by internal treason as well as external force ; and to save the city from the horrors of a storm, they signed a capitulation on the 12th of August, 1530. The most solemn promises of universal amnesty were of course made on the part of the emperor and the pope. How they performed these and the other conditions of the treaty, history informs us :—

“In this last scene a bruised yet confiding people trusted to the honour and solemn promises of a deceitful priest and a nefarious sovereign, both of whom most unscrupulously trampled on every obstacle to their own selfish desires. Baccio Valori, and all his train of faithless emigrants, then took up their residence in Florence, while a famished population rushed madly to the Imperial camp, and cleared it of provisions : Valori occupied the public palace with a strong guard of Corsicans, and in defiance of all agreements, almost immediately assembled a parliament. Hardly three hundred citizens were to be seen ; some, more audacious than the rest, would have given a free vote, but were repulsed by the lance and the partisan ; and Salvestro Aldobrandini addressing this miserable assembly, almost in mockery, as ‘*the Florentine people*,’ asked if they were willing to depute their power to a Balia of twelve citizens for the state’s reformation ? This was repeated three times, and finally answered by a few sickly cries of ‘*Yes, yes*,’ ‘*The Balia, the Balia*,’ ‘*The Medici, the Medici*.’ After this solemn farce a Balia was named, the republican magistracy was dissolved in all its branches, the citizens disarmed, and at the end of four hundred and thirty years of uncertain and fitful, but altogether glorious, existence, Florentine liberty was crushed for ever !”—Vol. iv. pp. 497, 498.

We will not dwell upon the murders, confiscations, and other

cruelties which now followed—one-tenth of them were enough to condemn Clement to eternal infamy. We must refer our readers for some account of them to the concluding pages of the fourth volume of Captain Napier's work ; his honest indignation is quite refreshing, and almost sheds a charm over the saddest pages of his work.

By the exaltation of Alessandro de' Medici to the dukedom, Florence became an established hereditary principality. A few struggles indeed were made for freedom by men who could not altogether forget the glory of their ancestors, but all was vain. Alessandro, after ruling the state for six years, during which he emulated the crimes of Phalaris, Nero, and Ezzelino, died by the hand of an assassin in 1537. That assassin was a near relation, one Lorenzo de' Medici, who, assisted by Scoronconcolo, murdered the Duke in his palace, wishing to emulate the fame of Timoleon.

The Florentines, however, were ignorant of the scheme, and not prepared to take advantage of the conjuncture ; and the senate rivetted their fetters for ever by their election of Cosimo de' Medici, another cousin of the deceased tyrant, as his successor. With that prince expired the last hope of Florentine or even Tuscan freedom, for it was he who succeeded in reducing Siena, after one of the most resolute defences on record. It is perhaps worthy of remark that during this war occurred an atrocity which we believe stands alone in the history of *Christian* warfare.

“ At *Turrita*, the Germans actually crucified an old woman, who had either the spirit or the madness to persevere in crying out ‘ *Lupa, lupa,*’ the national cry of Siena, instead, as she was ordered, of ‘ *Duca, duca,*’ that of Florence ! What began in sport, ended, through her obstinacy, in the most horrid cruelty, for she was actually stripped naked and nailed up like a hawk to one of the gates ; but, like a maniac, still shrieking, ‘ *Lupa, lupa,*’ until her mouth was gagged, besides worse and *unutterable* barbarity ! She was there left to die ; but every muscle of her face showing plainly, that she still persisted in her endeavour to utter this national war-cry !—Vol. v. p. 146.

With this appropriate anecdote we leave the Merchant Princes, suggesting that the next eulogium on the Medici family be illustrated with appropriate engravings. Let the storm of Prato furnish the frontispiece, and the fate of the Sienese patriot the concluding vignette.

A more pleasing task awaits us in considering the conduct of the reigning family. Seldom in the history of princes has the language of truth been so nearly that of panegyric. And if we look at their origin and their circumstances, we shall see even more to admire. Foreigners, they have sought the welfare of their people ;

strangers, they have been the fathers of their country ; Germans, they have identified themselves with Italy ; Austrians, they have striven successfully to improve and enlighten their subjects.

We pass over the uninteresting reign of Francis the Second, first sovereign of the Austrian dynasty, and proceed to give some account of the administration of his son, Peter Leopold the First. It was in 1765 that this illustrious prince, third son of Francis by the celebrated Maria Theresa, ascended the throne of Tuscany at the age of eighteen.

“Cosimo I. mounted the same throne, at the same age, two hundred and twenty-eight years before ; but the contrast of the times is less striking than that of the two sovereigns, and the means they made us of : this to augment his wealth and personal power at the national expense ; that to diminish both for the national benefit : the one to satisfy a deep designing ambition ; the other to bend his ambition to the public good. Cosimo was a sagacious barbarian, Leopold a civilized and enlightened man.”—Vol. vi. p. 51.

His father, an absentee, had rather augmented than diminished the excessive taxation already in existence, and had made amelioration hopeless by farming the public revenue. In one point his government had made great reforms, they had commenced a contest with Rome, and endeavoured to free both crown and country from papal despotism.

“A prohibition in 1757 against further acquisition of property by ecclesiastical bodies first began the quarrel. The next Church grievance was the substitution of a lay censor instead of the grand Inquisitor . . . complaints, accusations, and recriminations followed ; and when at last the Pisan Inquisitor whipped a man nearly to death on the nominal charge of heresy, but really for protecting his daughter from priestly concupiscence, the inquisitorial prisons were at once closed by government, and two laymen appointed to superintend all trials in that court.”

This in itself was an important blessing. Other ecclesiastical evils there were in the abused rights of sanctuary, and the enormous number of the regular clergy, besides points of patronage and discipline, and various sources of mischief—the government of Ferdinand abolished the right of sanctuary, and suppressed a large number of convents, with the forced consent of the pope.

Besides, however, difficulties of this nature, Leopold found agriculture, finance, law, and morals, all in the lowest condition, whilst each year as it passed, saw the Tuscan people more miserable, poor, spiritless, and degraded, than they had been the year before. The excellent monarch immediately set to work to reform all these things, and continued his noble course of active

and self-sacrificing benevolence during his whole reign of five and twenty years.

He entirely remodelled the fiscal system, and the civil and criminal laws; and attempted to secure the partial freedom of the Tuscan Church; he encouraged agriculture by removing its fetters, by enacting wise regulations, and by spending vast sums with great judgment in recovering waste land, and draining marshes; and by every means in his power he attempted to eradicate the vices and meannesses, and to exalt the moral, social, and intellectual character of his subjects.

“It would appear, that this youthful sovereign, almost as soon as he had informed himself of the real condition and general administration of Tuscany, began to conceive the plan of a liberal constitution, by the proposed subjection of monarchical power to public opinion, as expressed by freely chosen representatives. . . . His incipient acts were, however, more substantially and practically directed to alleviate actual misery, and lighten the most galling burdens of existing law; to study the character of a nation for whom he was about to legislate; to examine the physical features and resources of Tuscany, and consider the regulations best suited to its people, not only as correctives of moral vice, but preparations for more liberal government.”—Vol. vi. p. 78.

“Leopold very soon perceived the necessity of simplifying and diminishing the confused mass of antique laws and offices, whose accumulation had become detrimental to public interests. . . . public interest required that the knife and caustic should be applied with a steady and determined hand; unsparingly, but gradually; and so as not to risk life in the cure of disorders so inveterate.”—p. 84.

“Probably,” says Captain Napier, “no Church establishment ever needed regeneration more than Tuscany at this period: from accounts still extant, it seems as if all the most revolting crimes of man were concentrated there, either as peculiar attributes of the priesthood, or of those malefactors to whom they gave shelter and encouragement.”—p. 91.

The statements by which our author supports this assertion are truly appalling.

“In the midst of this pollution, adds he, the rural clergy of inferior rank, the real working pastors, were dragging on a wretched existence through want of means, and timidly looking to government for justice; the slender stipend of these poor clergymen precluded all almsgiving, and impeded instruction in the rural districts, because no man of education would submit to such penury, if any other means of life were practicable.”—p. 93.

“Amongst a multiplicity of administrative bodies, the municipal magistracies, corporations, and provincial governments throughout

Tuscany, which formed a sort of frame-work for national representation, were amongst the most prominent objects of Leopoldine reforms. . . . Such were the principal objects upon which the Grand Duke of Tuscany's mind fixed its attention at an age when most youths are still under tutelage, or plunged in the seductive streams of thoughtless pleasure."—p. 96.

To remedy these evils he bent the whole power of his mind, during the entire course of his reign; and though some of his measures were despotic, and some of his principles erroneous, we should judge mildly of the well-meant, even though grave, mistakes of that rarest and noblest of all earthly characters, a patriot king.

"To stimulate individual co-operation in objects of universal good, freedom of thought, public discussion, and unfettered action, were indispensable; and for this the whole municipal system was re-organized, and the administration of its finances, with all other local business, left to the communities, unchecked either by government or any extraneous magistracy. These were designed to be primary assemblies in the future national meetings of a constitutional representation. . . . The perfect liberty of trade, and the free disposal of private property . . . the equalizing of every body before the law . . . the demolition of every exclusive privilege that related to magisterial honours or civic distinction in the Florentine citizenship; the dissolution of trade corporations with all their load of statutes; an extension of the regency's law against the acquisition of lands in mortmain; and the subjecting of ecclesiastical possessions to the same taxes as lay property, were all benefits too plain and too general to be easily undervalued or misconceived."—p. 97.

"As a further step towards clearing the new constitution of undue influence, all private crown property was administered by a department distinct from that of public revenue: this, as far as it went, was to meet the household expense, and became subject to law and taxation like any other private property . . . no means were left untried which he thought might assist in preparing the public mind to appreciate the great change that he was so anxiously working out for Tuscany; he therefore broke the accustomed silence of Florentine law courts by encouraging forensic eloquence in the Italian tongue. . . . He thought it especially necessary to encourage the habit of public speaking in those who were destined to influence a free national assembly, and therefore decreed, that all civil cases should be vocally pleaded before the courts, thus making use of the latter as schools of reasoning and eloquence for future senators."—p. 105.

"From the first moment of his accession, the Grand Duke cast about for other means of alleviating public misery, besides mere legislation, which, although it made bread cheap, would not immediately produce the money to buy it; but considering that every absolute government

was either directly or indirectly bound to find employment for the people, he resolved, with a good heart and empty exchequer, but aided by a loan from Genoa, to resume a very ancient project of the republic, namely, the opening of a communication between Tuscany and Modena. . . . The opening of this communication with Modena, besides present employment, was expected to bring a more direct trade into Tuscany, and thus avoid one point of contact with the Ecclesiastical States, through which it had hitherto been compelled to pass. About the same moment, also, the way leading under the walls of Florence, from San Gallo to the Porta di Prato, was begun with the same benevolent object; and in 1767 new roads were opened through all the Tuscan communities, for the mere purpose of public employment. Actual distress rendered this more immediately necessary than existing commercial wants, and Leopold's regulations for carrying the edict into action are marked by a well-considered benevolence even in the minutest branches: he commands that the poorest should be first employed; that separate parties of men, women, and children should be classed at work according to their strength, and that the work should be of the simplest form, in order to be embraced by the capacity of all: that regular artificers should be rarely employed, and never to the detriment of field labourers. The result was an almost entire cessation of distress, and the infusion of fresh life into internal commerce by increased facility of communication."—p. 128.

"The tenth year of Peter Leopold's reign (1775), began with cheerful prospects; public burdens and public expenses had been lessened, the debt partially liquidated and its interest reduced, commerce and agriculture relieved, waste lands recovered and cultivated, desolation arrested in the Maremma, Tuscany secured from dearth, education promoted, learning and the fine arts encouraged, civil law reformed, religion fostered, the priesthood improved, morality promoted, and a broad foundation for civil and political liberty established."—p. 184.

We must refer the reader to book iv. chap. 10 of this History, for a detailed account of the exertions of Leopold and his excellent friend Bishop Ricci, to reform the Tuscan Church, and for the proceedings of a convocation summoned by that prince, and dismissed by him on the 5th of June, 1787. The chapter on the Maremma will be read with great interest, describing as it does the way in which that once fertile tract became the abode of desolation and pestilence, the futile attempts of preceding governments to remedy these evils, and the consequent misery of the inhabitants, decreased in numbers and degraded in character, until Leopold succeeded in producing a great and beneficial change.

"The prince has well performed *his* part; he has drained the country, not of gold, but death: he has purged the air, controlled the waters, shortened time and space, lessened expense, spread education, removed all the moral and political degradation of the province, freed the transfer



of property, loosened it from other ties, broken down (as far as justice warranted) all great possessions; encouraged colonisation and building, compelled Nature herself to submit her laws to human reason in the more useful forms of art and science, and left all future improvement to native energy and the impulse already given by his own wisdom and beneficence!"—p. 447.

These disjointed extracts give but an imperfect view of the benevolence, energy, enlightenment, and wisdom of this illustrious prince; nor have we been able to give any idea of the difficulties of every kind with which he had to contend. That he was not as entirely successful as he wished to be need not surprise us; and we shall conclude this brief sketch of his career by the apt words of his historian,—

"If permanent effects on national character, comforts, and general happiness, be a criterion of excellence and greatness, the comparative state of Tuscany, now and formerly, will surely entitle him to these epithets: the benevolence of Nerva, Trajan, and the Antonines died with them, but his may still be found in every Tuscan cottage."

His accession to the Imperial throne in 1790, and consequent abdication of Tuscany, was a severe check to the progress of improvement, followed as it was by his death in 1792. His son, Ferdinand III., ascended the throne as a minor, and was consequently placed under a regency, which was not animated by the spirit of Leopold. Tuscany, however, was soon drawn into the vortex of European war, and frequently changed hands until 1814, when Ferdinand was restored: that prince died in 1824, after a very popular reign of ten years, much regretted by every class of his people. He was succeeded by Leopold II.

And here we must close this brief sketch: for while we write we know not what may be taking place. We had hoped a short time since for a different conclusion to that which now appears imminent; we had thought it not impossible that the Papal States would have been incorporated with those of Tuscany under the sovereignty of the exiled Grand Duke; such would probably have been the case had Leopold the Second been a less scrupulous man, in the case which led to his exile undoubtedly over scrupulous.

In the day of *their* adversity and *his* prosperity, the Carbonari canvassed the idea of making him king of all Italy, should they ever regain the ascendant. The plan was a wise one, for alone of all the princely houses of Italy, had that of Lorraine been distinguished as governing for the good of the people, and Leopold possessed. Has his exile *entirely* cancelled these strong claims on

the gratitude of these men? It is well known that when the Carbonari were persecuted and driven out of every other Italian state, this excellent prince refused to take any measures against them, though urged repeatedly to do so by Austria, declaring that he felt secure in the love of his people: and nobly had he earned that love by carrying out the designs of his grandfather, so as to raise Tuscany above every other portion of the peninsula. We recollect hearing, when in Italy some years since, an anecdote which well illustrates his character. A man appeared before him, and presented him with a long list of conspirators; the Grand Duke and the informer were alone; he received the roll of paper from the traitor's hand, and having put it into the fire unread, sternly looked at him from head to foot, and then said, "That will do, Sir; I shall now know what a villain is like, the next time that I see one."

Such a man deserves not only the love of his people, not only the gratitude of every Italian patriot, but the sympathy of every good and generous mind; and if, in the latter days of his life, he has shown less firmness than might have been wished, when assailed on the one hand by that storm which has swept in desolating fury from the shores of the Seine to those of the Indus, let us not press hardly on the homeless old man, let us not think unkindly of one who was always kind, or unjustly of one who was always just; and, if no costly monument, no proud inscription, mark the last resting-place of the royal exile, the Athenian historian will furnish an epitaph which, by merely changing the sex, and making a few other slight alterations, will fairly and strictly apply to "the Father of his People."

Ἄνδρὸς ἀριστεύσαντος ἐν Ἑλλάδι τῶν ἐφ' ἑαυτοῦ

Ἰππίου Ἀρχεδίκης ἥδε κέκευθε κόνις·

Ἡ πατρός τε καὶ ἀνδρὸς ἀδελφῶν τ' οὔσα τυράννων

Παίδων τ' οὐκ ἤρθη νοῦν ἐς ἀτασθαλίην.



- ART. III.—1. *A Plan of Church Extension and Reform, submitted to the Right Honourable Lord John Russell, by a Deputation, in March, 1848. With Remarks by J. C. COLQUHOUN, Esq. Second Edition, with further Remarks.* London: Seeleys.
2. *The Tithe Redemption Trust. A Letter to the Lord Lyttelton. From WILLIAM WYNDHAM MALET, Vicar of Ardeley, and Honorary Secretary to the Trust.* London: Cleaver.
3. *Urgent Reasons for reviving the Synodal Functions of the Church. By the Rev. T. P. WRIGHT, M.A., &c.* London: Rivingtons.

IN our last number we briefly invited the reader's attention to the publication which stands at the head of these pages, and which is, in many respects, amongst the most important and interesting publications bearing on the material interests of the Church of England, that it has been our fortune to see. The importance of this publication consists in its emanating from a combined and influential body of clergy and laity, who, in the spring of 1848, drew up a Plan of Church Extension and Reform, which was laid before Lord John Russell, by a deputation of their body consisting of the Earl of Harrowby, Lord Ashley, Lord Robert Grosvenor, and Mr. Colquhoun. The latter gentleman was subsequently requested by those who had taken the chief interest in this question, to draw up and publish a statement of the plan and its reasons; and the result is, the pamphlet to which we have above referred.

In connexion with the subject of this publication, we will also refer to the interesting account which the Rev. W. W. Malet has published, of the origin and proceedings of the Tithe Redemption Trust. We have long watched with interest and sympathy the exertions which the founders of the Tithe Redemption Trust have made to promote their excellent and most unexceptionable objects. Their design of promoting the restoration of all tithes to the support of the parochial clergy, or, at least, of obtaining augmentations from appropriated and impropriate tithes for poor benefices, must command the approbation of all Churchmen. We cannot, however, quite go along with Mr. Malet in looking on the payment of tithe to bishops as, in itself, any alienation of this property from its original purposes; for Mr. Malet himself will not deny, that from the very earliest period tithes were paid to the bishops for their own support, and that of the inferior clergy; and it should be always remembered

that the bishop is, in the view of the Church, the pastor of his whole diocese, and that all parish priests are his assistants in the work of the ministry ; so that there would be nothing unreasonable in the payment of tithe to him by a portion of his own flock. It seems to us, that, sound as is the doctrine which assigns the tithes of each parish to its actual incumbent, there must be some modifications and exceptions, or the result would be a very unequal distribution as compared with the amount of labour and expense ; for the tithes of rural districts, in which there is least population, are usually very much more valuable than those of benefices where there is a very large population ; the increase of population, in many cases, having caused the tithes to diminish in value. The restoration of the alienated tithes to their original purposes would not benefit so much the numerous poor town parishes as the better endowed country parishes ; and for the former, where the chief evil lies, some other remedy must be found than a mere restoration of tithes to their original purposes. There would, we think, be no objection in principle to applying any portion which could be recovered of the impropriated tithe of a country parish already sufficiently endowed, to the endowment of a poor living in some populous place. With these remarks on the subject of the Tithe Redemption Trust, we must take our leave of that Institution, cordially wishing that it may obtain that kind of support which is essential to its efficiency ; but with the conviction, that something beyond mere voluntary associations like this, depending on the alms of the charitably-disposed, is requisite to meet the exigencies of the Church.

The Plan of Church Extension and Reform, which is comprised in Mr. Colquhoun's publication, is of such a nature as to deserve the attention of all who are inclined to adopt practical views of the subject. It is eminently a practical view, pointing out the evils which are to be remedied, and the means of remedying them. We do not concur in the expediency of every one of the measures proposed ; but it certainly ought to be a subject of very great satisfaction to Churchmen generally, to see laymen of so much influence and station as those who have taken a leading part in putting forth this plan, thus earnestly, and, we will hope, effectually, working in the Church's cause. This is precisely the sort of thing that is wanted. We want men who will openly avow themselves desirous of advancing the cause of religion, by extending the means of usefulness possessed by the National Church. We want men who will not be content with mere wishes or writings on the subject, but who will take measures for carrying their plans into actual operation—will push

forward their measures, and persevere in them until they are carried. We are particularly pleased to see Lord Ashley occupying a prominent position in this movement; for, although we may not wholly concur with his lordship in various points, we do concur in this plan as regards its main features; and Lord Ashley has shown before now, that when he has taken up a cause, he has perseverance and weight enough to carry it to a successful issue. Looking at Lord Ashley's general position as a politician, and as a deservedly respected advocate of all objects tending to the amelioration of his fellow-men, either physically or morally; we regard him as well suited to advance the interests of the Church of England, at the present time, in such a direction and on such points as the Plan refers to.

Of the tone of Mr. Colquhoun's pamphlet we cannot speak too highly: it is the production of a man who is evidently cordially attached to the Church of England. He is no lukewarm friend, but an attached member of the Church. Whatever may have been Mr. Colquhoun's early connexions and associations, there can now, at least, be no doubt of his firm and enlightened adherence to the cause of the English Church.

We proceed now to examine the Plan in detail. It is conceived in the following terms:—

“ I. With a view to the more efficient government of the Church, the better apportionment of Ecclesiastical revenues, and a more adequate supply of pastors to the people, it seems desirable that the Ecclesiastical Commission should be remodelled, and its powers enlarged.

“ II. Means should be taken to ascertain the full value of all lands pertaining to bishops and Ecclesiastical Corporations, and to make them available to the fullest extent for spiritual purposes.

“ III. The archbishops and bishops of existing dioceses should be endowed with incomes of a definite amount, and the surplus arising from episcopal property should be paid into a general fund at the disposal of the Ecclesiastical Commission.

“ IV. The fund accruing from this surplus, and from the improved management of Church lands, should be employed in making provision for the spiritual wants of the people, by the endowment of new districts to be formed on the principle of Sir Robert Peel's Act.

“ V. Periodical returns should be made of the spiritual wants of each Diocese, and the results should be published, with a view of directing the contributions of the wealthy to those quarters in which the creation and endowment of churches are most required.

“ VI. New sees should be formed in such numbers as to secure the vigilant oversight of dioceses, the annual holding of Visitations and Confirmations, and frequent personal intercourse with the clergy. The new bishops should not have seats in Parliament, and should receive incomes not exceeding 2000*l.* per annum, with a residence.

“ VII. For this purpose deaneries as they become vacant should be raised into bishoprics, and the funds hitherto devoted to the payment of deans should be paid into the hands of the Ecclesiastical Commissioners for the endowment of the new sees.

“ The duties of the deans should be discharged by the bishop within whose diocese the cathedral is situated.

“ VIII. As the incomes of the deaneries will fall in gradually, and may for a length of time be insufficient for the endowment of new bishoprics, means should be taken to encourage and apply the voluntary benefactions of such as may desire to contribute to the endowment of new bishoprics.

“ IX. The funds attached to canonries and minor canonries should be annexed to ill-endowed benefices in populous districts, with a reserve of funds sufficient for the preservation of the fabric, the maintenance of cathedral worship, and the more frequent celebration of Divine Service in the cathedral.”

We do not observe in Mr. Colquhoun's pamphlet, any explanation of the reasons on which the first proposition of the Plan, *viz.*, that of remodelling the Ecclesiastical Commission, is grounded. We are aware that Mr. Horsman has made a great many violent attacks upon the Commissioners, and he has certainly succeeded in causing distrust and jealousy in the minds of many persons. The only tangible ground of objection however, as it seems to us, is the expenditure of considerable sums in the erection of episcopal residences. We agree with those who lament that so much money has been expended in this way. We are no advocates for the erection of vast and splendid piles of building for the lodging of our bishops. We should have been much better pleased to see Lambeth in its old state, than after the expenditure of 60,000*l.* on it by the late archbishop. This was, we think, a useless expenditure of money which now remains charged on the revenues of the see. But it seems rather unjust to blame the Commissioners for expending sums in the erection of episcopal residences on the same scale of magnitude which has always hitherto been considered essential to the dignity of the episcopal office. The Ecclesiastical Commissioners have acted on the precedents which they found—have merely carried out the system of state and grandeur which has been hitherto recognised, and which invests the episcopate of England with all the external attributes of the Peerage. We apprehend that this proposition of remodelling the Commission is a concession to the feeling of the House of Commons; but it seems very problematical whether a better Commission can be obtained. The station and the character of the members of the present Ecclesiastical Commission, inspire the fullest confidence in the integrity of its administration. The

Church property could not be in the hands of a better Commission. All that seems wanting is that the Law should regulate the proceedings of that Commission, and point out the course which they are to pursue. If paid Commissioners are appointed, we shall, in the first place, have so much of the Ecclesiastical funds wasted in salaries; and in the next place, the result will probably be, to give a certain number of hangers on of government, or adventurers, pensions and Ecclesiastical influence. We do not want to see Mr. Horsman salaried by the Church, though we admit that his agitation has done some good as well as harm. We should say, Let the present Ecclesiastical *unpaid* Commission be limited and tied down to any extent; but let us have them in preference to any paid Commissioners appointed by government. We dread jobbing in the latter case; and the funds to be dealt with are at once so sacred and so very large in their amount, that there ought to be the highest securities for strict integrity of administration.

With reference to the second and third heads of the Plan, Mr. Colquhoun has the following explanatory remarks:—

“First, I notice the 1st, 2nd, and 3rd heads of the scheme, which, as your Lordship will observe, relate to the present incomes of the bishops, the sources of their income, and a possible application of the surplus. We had to notice, that the revenues of the Ecclesiastical corporations, whether bishops or chapters, were, for the most part, derived from land; and yet, that this landed property, great in extent and value, is managed on principles which individual proprietors have long set aside as wasteful. It is generally held on tenures (leases for lives, or terms of years, with fines and small reserved rents) which obtain an occasional bonus and immediate returns, by a large sacrifice of the real income of the property. Nor is this tenure satisfactory to the lessee; for, it may be brought to an end, as has been done in certain cases, and is now more likely than ever to be effected through the intervention of Parliament. In this manner there is uncertainty on all sides: the possession of the property is, in fact, divided, and divided between parties, neither of whom have an interest in expending money on permanent improvements. That the loss thus occasioned to the Church must be large, is unquestionable, however difficult it may be to fix the precise amount. We have, however, some data, which enable us to conjecture it.

“In regard to one portion of the cathedral property, the legislature has already acted, and has placed the separate prebendal<sup>1</sup> estates under the control of the Ecclesiastical Commissioners, leaving them to be managed on the same principles on which private property is regulated. When the prebendal estates were managed by the prebendaries, they produced to the Church, as may be seen by reference to the Report

<sup>1</sup> I use this as a generic term, comprising both the separate estates of prebendaries, and those of other Ecclesiastical offices in cathedrals. But besides these the Ecclesiastical Commissioners have now vested in them the estates of sinecure rectors.

on its Revenues in 1835, an income of 60,000*l.* per annum: not exceeding one fourth of the real annual proceeds of the property. These have now been ascertained to reach 240,000*l.* per annum, and it is calculated that, under the system of management now adopted by the Ecclesiastical Commissioners, the available income will be at least 120,000*l.* per annum, or *double* their former amount.

“ In the same Report the average net income of episcopal estates is placed at 160,000*l.* It is actually nearer 170,000*l.* + 8,500

“ I am far from saying that we should gain as much by a change in the management of episcopal estates. It is only due to our prelates to remark, that their estates, especially of late years, have been managed better than the separate chapter estates. Still, the vice of the system, to which I have referred, remains: no man will give a sum of money as a fine, without receiving *a full equivalent for the advance*; and the age and circumstances of the bishop will often make that equivalent more than a full one. Besides this, the bishop cannot be expected to make permanent improvements, where he may never reap the advantage: and the lessee is deterred from making them, both by the uncertainty of his tenure, which every agitation of this question unsettles, and by the fact that his outlay would enhance his fine.<sup>2</sup>

“ There is no doubt, therefore, that the increased income from episcopal property would, under a better system, be large. If we apply to episcopal property the same principle of calculation which is applicable to the prebendal estates, the 160,000*l.* per annum given in the Report as their income, would represent an actual value of 640,000*l.* per annum, producing, under an altered system of management, an actual available income of 320,000*l.* per annum. It would be quite indefensible, that, when we need all the income that the Church can yield, we should throw away wantonly a yearly income of above 150,000*l.* per annum; an income which would endow 1500 clergymen with 100*l.* per annum, supply pastors to 1500 parishes, and be the instrument of giving instruction to three or four millions of people.”

In order to complete this view of the funds which may be attainable for Church Extension, we must refer to a subsequent part of Mr. Colquhoun's pamphlet, where he points to an improved system of managing the property of the deans and chapters.

“ The estates of the chapters are still managed by them, as by an independent body. They are still subject to the evils of fines, and to the waste which fines must always occasion, when paid to a party who has a passing interest in the property. The consequence is (as in the case of the bishop) that the intentions of Parliament are defeated. Parliament intended (if I rightly conjecture) to give to the members of chapters a fixed income. Their income varies, and may rise to a large

<sup>2</sup> Mr. Finlaison made an estimate, founded upon a great number of life and year leases, of which he ascertained the years outstanding, and the ages of the existing lives,—and his calculation was, that the *average share of the whole fee*, in the possession of the Church, at any time under the present system of leasing, was only *twenty-three per cent.*—the remaining portion being in the lessees.



amount from the falling-in of fines. Parliament designed that this large property should be administered so as first to supply the chapter; secondly, to yield a large surplus for the pressing wants of the Church. The system of fines (as we need not again repeat) stops the improvement of the land, and makes the surplus dwindle away. The Church-Revenue Commissioners have stated the cathedral corporate property to yield 200,000*l.* a year. It may be estimated that, if dealt with upon the improved system, that income would be *doubled*. Here again we may set down an income of 200,000*l.* a year as lost to the Church. Are we wrong in urging your Lordship to a prompt revision of this? The yearly income of the Church now abstracted, without benefit to any branch of it, stands thus, on the most moderate estimate :—

Episcopal property, say . . .	£150,000
Chapter property, say . . .	£200,000
<hr/>	
£350,000 per annum."	

We observe with satisfaction that a Commission has been appointed, with the object of investigating the subject of Church property, and ascertaining how it can be made more productive. The character of a measure of this kind depends chiefly on the *animus* with which it is undertaken, and the principles of those who are to take part in it; and in both these respects we see reason to hope for advantage to the Church's cause from the Commission. It has certainly not arisen from any feeling adverse to the Church; and it comprises several names which afford a sufficient pledge for the friendly character of its proceedings, and the intelligence and zeal which will be brought to bear on them. In point of fact, we may presume that the appointment of this Commission arose in no inconsiderable degree from the steps taken by Lord Harrowby and others last spring, and which this pamphlet relates. There cannot be the slightest doubt that, by a different system in the management of Ecclesiastical property, large sums may be raised for Church purposes in England. A measure of the kind has been actually in operation for many years in Ireland. When the Church Temporalities Act for Ireland was passed in 1833, the Irish Ecclesiastical Commissioners, constituted by that Act, were empowered to sell to the lessees of Ecclesiastical property a perpetual right to the lands they held, subject to a rent equivalent to the amount of the rent and renewal-fines which they had previously been in the habit of paying. We believe that several hundred thousand pounds have been paid in Ireland for the purchase of such perpetuities, and the amount ought to have been, and was evidently intended by the legislature to have been much larger; but the Ecclesiastical Commissioners, in their estimate of the value of lands for the



purchase of perpetuities, valued the lands, not according to their real and actual worth, which the Act of Parliament actually directed to be done in very plain terms, but according to the old conventional value which had been assumed by the bishops as the basis for calculating their renewal-fines, and which was in all cases much less than the real value, and in many cases extremely so. So that the tenants, by this very partial proceeding of the Commissioners, which ought to have been the subject of Parliamentary inquiry, were most unfairly benefited at the expense of the Church property. We trust that those who are interested in the English Church property will be on their guard against any similar sacrifice to the Church tenants in this country; and will so narrowly sift and examine any measure which may be brought forward, that there may be no mistake *against* the Church's interests. We hope that they will carefully and diligently consider all the details of the working of such a measure quite as much as the general principle, or else their labour may be in a great degree frustrated.

The increased amount which may be actually raised from the Church property by a different management cannot fail to be considerable. Even if we were to suppose that Mr. Colquhoun's estimate of 350,000*l.* per annum were somewhat too high (which we have no grounds at present for assuming), still, if we deducted 25 or 50 per cent. from his estimate, the income left would be one of the highest importance. We should have, by some arrangement of this kind, a permanent fixed income secured to the bishops and to the chapters, who might still continue to manage their own lands; and we should gain perhaps from 200,000*l.* to 300,000*l.* per annum, for endowing parishes in destitute localities.

There is another measure proposed in this Plan, which is essential, in order to remove a very crying evil, and one which brings great odium on the Church. We refer to the last head, which recommends the annexation of canonries and minor canonries to ill-endowed benefices in popular districts. Under the present system, canonries are almost invariably held with parochial benefices; but, as there is no restriction as to the value of those benefices, it generally happens that those who have sufficient interest to be appointed to canonries have also sufficient interest to obtain the wealthiest parochial benefices. Thus cathedral preferment is heaped on the wealthy incumbent, who has no need of it, while the poor and hard-working clergyman is passed over. This is the sort of thing which is sure to be laid hold of by the enemies of the Church. Nepotism, or the exhibition of worldly interest in any shape, lowers and degrades the Church, and strengthens its opponents. To annex canonries to rich benefices

is an abuse which every one can understand ; so that the present system is more than wasteful : it is directly hostile to the Church ; it is fraught with danger. Mr. Colquhoun has observed, in his pamphlet (p. 25), that 215 dignitaries of our cathedrals hold 308 parochial benefices, and he takes as specimens,—“ A canonry of 1000*l.* a year is united with the living of St. Giles', Cripplegate, of 2018*l.* ; another with St. Pancras, whose income is 1910*l.* ; one with St. Giles', income 968*l.* ; a fourth to St. George's, Bloomsbury, income 1000*l.* While in Westminster, there are *four parishes*, with populations varying from 24,000 to 37,000 each. In Southwark, *five parishes*, with populations varying from 14,000 to 64,000 each.”

Mr. Colquhoun adds, that, excluding canonries annexed to professorships in the Universities, there are 207 canonries which might be annexed to parochial benefices of small value ; and as canonries in general are by the Parliamentary regulations to be made 500*l.* per annum, except those of St. Paul's, Durham, Westminster, Christchurch, Oxford, which will amount to 1000*l.* or upwards, it is clear that here is a fund of not less than 100,000*l.* per annum, which ought to be applied to increase the value of poor livings, by annexing the canonries to them.

The next question to be considered is, what is the amount of destitution actually existing. This is a point of the highest practical importance, and we greatly wonder, that amidst all the efforts which have been made to promote the cause of Church extension, no one has ever yet attempted to get something like an estimate furnished by those who are alone competent to give it—we mean, the bishops of the Church. Mr. Colquhoun agrees with Mr. Palmer's estimate of 3000 as the number of additional clergy now requisite. Lord Ashley, we observe, in a recent debate, stated his opinion that 500 clergy would be sufficient. Here are very different estimates certainly, and we really think that there ought to be some way of determining so important a question on grounds that may be depended on. For ourselves, we are inclined greatly to prefer Mr. Colquhoun's estimate to Lord Ashley's, for this reason : Lord Ashley states the number of parishes in England comprising a population of more than 4000 at 279 ; such, at least, is the number stated in the reports of his speech, which we have seen. We apprehend that there must be some mistake either in the report, or in the calculation, for, as far as we can judge, the number of parishes exceeding 4000 in population must largely exceed 279. We have taken the trouble to reckon the numbers of such parishes mentioned in the Clergy-list of this year, under the letters C, H, and T ; and we find 113 parishes with upwards of 4000 inha-

bitants under those three letters alone. We apprehend, therefore, that if we were to say that there are 900 parishes in England with that population we should not be above the mark. Lord Ashley speaks of about 500 additional incumbents as being adequate to the supply of the spiritual necessities of the country. We still refer to the report of his speech in introducing the measure for dividing parishes containing more than 4000 people. We apprehend that here also, the real state of things is not correctly stated. We do not know on what data such statements may have been founded, but we feel satisfied that they present far too flattering a view of our position.

We will state the reason for this belief—Lord Ashley proceeds in his measure on the assumption, that all parishes with more than 4000 inhabitants ought to be divided. He therefore holds that 2000 people, or thereabouts, are sufficient for the care of an incumbent. Now, we have gone to work on this supposition; and taking 2000, or thereabouts, as the standard, we have examined in the Clergy-list all the parishes, 41 in number, under the letter L, containing more than 4000 people. On examination, it appears to us, that on this estimate, 156 additional incumbents are required for these 41 parishes. We find under the letter T, 22 parishes requiring 48 additional incumbents. As far as we can see from the examination we have instituted, it appears that the number of parishes containing more than 4000 inhabitants ought to be multiplied by three, in order to approximate to the number of additional incumbents wanted on Lord Ashley's own principle. When this has been done, it will appear that the real number of incumbents required, is not 500, as Lord Ashley has stated, but 2700; which approximates to Mr. Colquhoun's statement of the case. The amount of destitution, is, in short, *five times* as great as Lord Ashley states it to be.

Of course, we cannot pretend to strict accuracy in this statement, as we have only partially gone into details; but it is absolutely certain, that it is a great mistake to suppose 500 new incumbents sufficient for the wants of the country, if every parish containing 4000 people ought to be divided into two.

We greatly wish that some member of Parliament would move for a return from the bishops of all places in which the population exceeds 4000, and of the numbers of additional incumbents and churches which need to be provided. Could this be obtained, there would be more certain grounds to go on, than any that now exist. We should be sorry to exaggerate, in any way, the wants of the Church, but we do not think it advisable to conceal their real amount, or understate them.

Supposing, then, that we require, not 500, but 2000, or 2500

new incumbents, of course the funds at the disposal of the Church will only go a short way. Supposing the scale of income (300*l.*) proposed by Lord Ashley, to be adhered to, (and it certainly is a very moderate one,) we should only have means to provide for about 1000 incumbents, even on the most favourable view, when we want more than double the number. We do not say this, with the slightest inclination to offer any opposition to, or to cause dissatisfaction with the plans proposed; but simply from a desire that the truth should be known, and that men should not buoy themselves up by too sanguine expectations.

Mr. Colquhoun observes that he has been considered to have “exaggerated our wants in stating that 3000 additional clergy are now required.” We feel assured, that those who think so, have not examined the subject. We know that large amounts like this are easily set aside as exaggerated, when men will not take any pains to inquire into their correctness. We have seen enough to be satisfied that Mr. Colquhoun’s estimate does not exaggerate in any degree the real state of things.

We would suggest, therefore, to the friends of Church extension, the expediency of acting at once on the principle contained in the fifth head of the Plan above referred to, which suggests that “periodical returns should be made of the spiritual wants of each diocese.” Let the bishops be applied to at once to make such returns, and then we shall know better where we stand. We should like to see a return from the Bishop of London, or from the Bishops of Manchester, Ripon, Lichfield, or the Archbishop of York. We are mistaken if the Bishop of London alone might not make a return of 500 additional incumbents as requisite for his diocese.

There are some remarks of Mr. Colquhoun’s on the subject of the *patronage* of the new churches to be endowed out of the increased means of the Church, which we do not feel certain that we can agree with in one point. They are as follow:—

“It is necessary that those who are inclined to build new churches, should be certain of *obtaining easily the right of nominating to them*. Great injury was done to the Church by the precautions which treated the new district as an invasion of the old parish. The zeal and judgment of one of our prelates have removed many of these hindrances; but it is well that the subject should be carefully revised. I do not think that we yet turn to the fullest use that disposition to build from private means, which has been the greatest source of the endowments of our Church. I doubt the wisdom of interfering with this, by the attempt to obtain the patronage of the Church for official persons, which we trace in Sir Robert Peel’s Act and in other Acts. No doubt the claim of patronage on behalf of the Crown, or the bishops, may be

reasonably urged ; but it is very fatal to voluntary efforts : if we would extend the Church largely and quickly, it is a great practical blunder. The true policy is, that the State should offer a part of the endowment of the new church, without any condition, except that individuals should complete the endowment, and build the church. Let these parties vest the patronage as they please ; keep it for themselves ; place it in trustees, or transfer it, (as many would) to the bishop. It is true that part of the endowment comes from the property of the Church, under the sanction of the State, but the best return which the heads both of the government and of the Church can receive, is the rapid increase of the Church, and the supply of the wants of the people. I venture to dwell on this topic, because it is material, and has been too much lost sight of."

We perfectly concur in the observations made on the difficulties sometimes thrown in the way of the formation of new district parishes ; nor do we dissent from the proposition of aiding private individuals to endow new churches ; but we do very decidedly object to the system of trustees of churches. It appears to be calculated to foster and keep alive party-spirit, and we should be sorry to see any encouragement held out to it. Let charitable and liberal individuals be aided in their objects from the Church's funds, but do not let a farthing of their funds be applied to keep alive dissensions in her own bosom, by strengthening the hands of the Simeon Trustees, or any other voluntary association for the purchase or acquisition of Church patronage. We think that a very jealous eye should be kept on any scheme of Church Reform, with a view to prevent its abuse in this way.

We now come to a feature in the Plan which should especially commend it to the notice of all Churchmen ; we allude to the recommendation which it contains of an increase in the episcopate. We must quote at some length the remarks of Mr. Colquhoun on this point, which are most excellent in all points of view. The Plan, as we have seen, recommends the creation of a sufficient number of bishops in addition to the present episcopate, with salaries of 2000*l.* per annum, and houses of residence, but without seats in Parliament. We must now refer to Mr. Colquhoun's explanation of the grounds of this recommendation :—

" On this head allow me to offer you a brief explanation, We had these facts before us :—

" Within the present century the population of England and Wales has increased more than eight millions.

" Within the last quarter of the century a large addition has been made to our churches and clergy ; especially within the last ten years. If some practical efforts to extend the Church are now made, a further, and, we may hope, a large increase of clergy will take place,

“ These facts suggest the propriety of an addition to the highest order of the clergy. Let us take the most common examples. An increase in our universities demands more tutors; in our public schools, additional masters; new courts require new judges. If we add to our constabulary or our military force, an increase of superintendents and of officers is indispensable. The reason is clear. Where there is need of *personal and constant supervision*, the number of officers must grow with the ranks. We should expect this to hold true in the Church; and there are special reasons why more bishops are required. The peculiar duties of the bishop involve this necessity, if we rightly appreciate them. I have seen indeed, and on high Parliamentary authority, the duties of the bishop narrowed to the routine functions of his office, as if he had nothing to do but to exercise acts of Visitation, Confirmation, Consecration, and Ordination: go through these as a Recorder gets through his trials, and brush off, *currente calamo*, his formal correspondence. Even these duties, grave as they are, are not light; and care should be taken not to multiply them until the bishop is unable seriously to discharge them. But this, I take to be no just measure of episcopal duties; against this, I feel persuaded, every earnest bishop would protest. He would tell us, that he not only holds the high functions of his office, but that, as the chief pastor of his diocese, he has a wide cure; a cure, better gauged by those who know the crushing labours of a populous parish, than by us who observe them at a distance. For, as the bishop's cure comprehends all the parishes of his diocese, and the clergy as well as their people, and as, to all of these, he stands, from his position, as an example, open to their remarks, and accessible to their call, his duties are both manifold and delicate, such as, perhaps, it is not easy to define, but very hard conscientiously to fulfil. For, it must be observed, that they are not duties which, to be well discharged, can be performed hastily, or with the rough hard hand of a mere man of business; they deal with very sacred feelings, and require, as it would seem, very delicate handling, much cost of time, still more of thought and feeling.

“ To a bishop, who holds those friendly relations which should exist between himself and his clergy, scarce an incident of gravity in their pastoral life can occur which does not lead to some application, or appeal for his help. A new church—an unwonted call—a doubt—an opening—all bring the clergy to one whose experience they feel to be greater than their own, on whose kindness they know they may rely. We indeed cannot but notice that, in most subscription-lists which concern the Church in a diocese, the bishop's name appears. But this every clergyman knows is no measure of his help. For, in numberless cases where he was not expected and would not be allowed to give money, he has given of his time, and advice, and sympathy; matters not to be tabled in a statistical return; but of vast service in the manifold toils of a clergyman's life, and often of the highest value, to stimulate and guide the efforts of the laity. So that, I believe, it will be found in the case of an earnest bishop, that these undefined and informal duties fill



more of his time than the ostensible functions of his office. I venture to say this because I am fearful that we may be misled into an inaccurate estimate of episcopal duty; and, I say it the more anxiously, because we have seen bishops in the height of their usefulness, worn down (just when their wisdom and piety were matured) by those innumerable calls, which their office, in a wide diocese, prescribed, but to which their strength was unequal. It is not well to overtask the earnest bishop.

“It is, indeed, perfectly true, that the bishop may go through his formal functions, and get through them with little pressure to himself. Then, I admit, his work becomes light. But is this desirable? Is this, the Church’s scandal, to be the bishop’s standard? Does this conduce to the efficiency of the Church? and, if we would turn it to its best uses, is this a prudent policy? Yet, if we heap on the bishop a mass of official work which it takes most of his time to master, we, in fact, preclude him from those various duties which he should discharge, and leave him without time except for official routine.

“Therefore it is, my Lord, that we felt that, as many churches and clergy had been added, an addition to the episcopate was necessary: the more needful when we contemplated a further large addition to the clergy. If the supervision of the bishop should be close, and his connexion with his clergy constant, his diocese should be brought within narrower limits. But as it is plain that such an alteration of dioceses should occur rarely, because it disturbs many arrangements; so it seemed to us, that this was the fit season to make it, when we may hope that by some of the measures suggested, there is about to be a large increase of clergy and congregations.”

The whole of this argument appears to us to go to one point—that something more is wanted than the mere division of two or three dioceses; that three more bishops would be insufficient for our wants. In fact, we suppose that almost any earnest bishop would be glad if his diocese could be divided, as it would enable him to do his work much more satisfactorily and completely than he now does. The Bishop of Ripon has expressed his earnest wish for the subdivision of his diocese, which was itself constituted only a few years ago, and which does not contain as many parishes as the average number in each English diocese. All the hierarchy, without a single exception, that we are aware of, and including men of various political views, and even of different religious schools, are agreed in wishing for an increase in the episcopate. They have also accepted the principle of such increase not involving any additional seats in Parliament. The Plan before us is a very valuable testimony to the general desire which exists for such a measure. The leading men in this movement have never been reckoned amongst those members of the Church who are considered to rate the powers of the episcopate



too highly. They look at it simply in a spiritual point of view, as a means of promoting the efficiency of the Church. They are anxious for such an increase in the episcopate as will bring it more in contact with the parochial system ; will make the bishop more the personal friend, and counsellor, and helper of his clergy and his laity than he now can be. An expression of opinion on these points from such men as Lord Ashley and Lord Harrowby was just what was wanted, in order to prove the cordial concurrence of men of all shades of opinion in the Church of England in the desirableness of the object.

In reference to the amount of the addition which ought to be made to the episcopate, Mr. Colquhoun states this important fact, that although a high authority has affirmed "that if three or four bishops were added, it would be sufficient," he is "bound to say that the great body of opinion which has reached" the promoters of the plan "leans in a different direction. Some have proposed that fifty new bishops should be added ; others, that all the deaneries (twenty-eight in number) should be converted into new bishoprics." We feel assured that such is the general feeling. The bishop is felt, even in the more moderate-sized dioceses, where there are not above 400 or 500 parishes, to be at too great a distance from his clergy. He is very seldom seen. The clergy are, to a great extent, unacquainted with him. They feel that they must not trespass on his time with inquiries and requests which they would gladly make. Most of the laity never see him, except, once in their lives, at Confirmation. They never hear him preach in their parish churches. We know that matters cannot well be otherwise under the present system ; but, in order to make the episcopate a reality in the eyes of our people,—in order to enable it to discharge in some degree its *pastoral* functions,—those duties especially and formally committed to it at Ordination,—those duties to souls which are its first and principal object,—we say, without fear of effectual contradiction, that it must be considerably increased. It must be increased as far as it is possible. We shall have but a moderate fund left for the episcopate under the plans now in progress. If all the improved value of Church lands and property is to be assigned to the foundation of new parishes, which seems to be demanded by public opinion, we have only one other source to look to, besides the actual income assigned to the hierarchy ; viz., the endowments of the deaneries. In the Plan, it is proposed that these revenues, amounting to 36,400*l.* per annum, should be applied, as they fall in, to erect new sees ; and, according to the scale proposed in the Plan, this would provide endowments for eighteen sees and no more ; and were the incomes of the new

bishops placed at a higher scale, their number must be still more limited.

We have before now expressed an opinion, that the plan adopted in the case of the erection of the bishopric of Manchester was not a desirable one, because the principle of interfering with the Parliamentary seats of all the episcopal sees was thus introduced; and also because the plan proceeded evidently on the supposition that it was necessary for all bishops to be in some sense, either at present or prospectively, peers of Parliament; and, therefore, that all new bishops must possess incomes on the same scale as the existing bishops. Now, we lament this, because it seems to us, that if such a principle be adopted, the increase in the episcopate must necessarily be extremely limited, unless, indeed, the scale of income for the hierarchy be diminished. The country would never bear to see many new bishops appointed, with incomes of 4000*l.* or 5000*l.* a year. It would be exclaimed against as a useless expenditure of money: it would be exceedingly unpopular. We think, however, that if this principle is adhered to, there is only one way to obtain any increase in the episcopate worth talking of. The scale of income for the whole must be reduced. The present episcopal income, with the incomes of the deaneries added to it, would amount to about 200,000*l.* per annum; and this would give us fifty bishops, with an average income of 4000*l.* More than this we cannot hope for, and with less than this we ought never to be content. The income of no bishop, except the Bishop of London, should exceed 4000*l.*; in various cases it might be 3500*l.*; and this would afford the means for giving somewhat larger incomes to the Archbishops and the Bishop of London. When it is recollected that several of the bishops, even at present, have only about 4000*l.* each, and that the dioceses would be reduced to half their present size, and also that there are some remote parts of the country in which there is less occasion for a considerable income than in others, we really think that such an alteration would leave the episcopate in the possession of adequate means for the support of its external dignity. To many persons this is of course a consideration of first-rate importance. We cannot concur with them in this; but still we would so far go along with them as to say, that an episcopal establishment must be larger than that of a private clergyman; that a bishop ought to be able to show hospitality; and that the demands on his purse for charitable and religious objects must always be considerable.

The proposal which is made in this Plan, to apply the incomes of deaneries as they fall in to increase the number of bishops, has been strongly objected to, as we learn from Mr. Colquhoun's

Postscript. It has been alleged that this reform would be too violent—that it would have a revolutionary character—that the preservation of the office of dean is essential to the due subordination of ecclesiastical offices—that it is an important link in the hierarchy. We are not in the least surprised at these objections, which very naturally arise in the minds of men who look on the present organization of the cathedral system as efficient and good. We are not disposed to deny that there is some degree of weight in these objections; but the arguments on the other side, are, in our view of the matter, far more important.

In the first place, supposing the principle to be adopted that canonries are no longer to be sinecures, or mere benefices for the enrichment of persons who are not in want of them—suppose that canonries are in all cases attached to poorly-endowed and laborious cures—are we, in this case, to have *sinecure* deaneries? Why is the rule, which would give to all other members of a chapter the cure of souls, not to be applied to deaneries? Why are deans alone to be sinecurists? And, again—Is it not a fact, that deaneries have been, as a general rule, held along with parochial preferments? If this be so, there can be no possible objection, in point of precedent and principle, to the union of deaneries with the cure of souls. If every deanery were united with some poorly-endowed parish, there could not be a shadow of ground for objection to such an arrangement derived from the practice or laws of the Church.

For deaneries therefore to remain unconnected with all other duties, there can be no possible necessity. A head of a college has often been a dean. The incumbent of a great parish is sometimes a dean. Why then should not a bishop be a dean? Have we not had many instances of bishops who have held deaneries? The deanery of St. Paul's is always held by a bishop. The deanery of Durham was held by the late Bishop of St. David's. There is no sort of incompatibility between the two offices, except indeed when, as has generally been the case, bishops have held deaneries beyond their own dioceses.

The annexation of the office and authority of dean to that of bishop (every bishop becoming thus the dean of his own cathedral), would strengthen the episcopal authority. As it is, the bishop has no direct authority in his own cathedral. He is its visitor, but the dean is its ordinary ruler and governor. The bishop is actually subordinate to the dean in his own cathedral. The dean directs all matters regarding Divine service. It is only on appeal, or by holding visitation, that the bishop can interfere. We have heard of many instances, in which deans have exercised their authority in

opposition to the desires of their own bishops. Any collision of this kind would be at an end, if the bishop were himself dean and ordinary of his cathedral church. Were this the case, the office of sub-dean would at once assume much of the importance and position which is now held by that of the dean, just as the vice-chancellors of the universities have become their heads in the absence of their chancellors. This office of sub-dean would of course be held by one of the canons in each cathedral, who might have especial charge of the edifice and of Divine Service in the absence of the bishop, and who might, on this ground, be assigned some cure of souls in immediate connexion with the cathedral, or might even be exempted from any parochial duties.

We cannot quite go along with Mr. Colquhoun in his apology for those who have proposed the union of the office of dean with that of bishop. He states that such union would be in opposition to his own private feelings and wishes, but that it appears necessary in order to remove sinecure appointments which public opinion will not tolerate, and to provide funds for a still more important object. But we really do not see that any apology is necessary for removing the evil of sinecurism, and for re-instating the bishop in that authority over his own cathedral which he originally possessed, and from which he has been ousted by the deans. The rank of dean is no essential link in the hierarchy. The dignity was not instituted till about the thirteenth century. It has only just been instituted in several dioceses, for the first time.

If deaneries be not applied to strengthen the episcopate, they will certainly not remain as they are. If any further measure of cathedral reform be carried, the deaneries will either be extinguished, or united to populous parishes. The country will not be content to see incomes of 1000*l.* and 2000*l.* a year given to functionaries who have nothing to do with the cure of souls.

It will be doubtless objected by a certain class of reasoners, that the removal of what they call prizes—the reduction of the number of dignitaries of the Church in any one branch would operate as a discouragement to the higher classes to enter on the Christian ministry, and therefore that it is necessary to retain deaneries as at present constituted. But such persons should remember that it is not proposed to diminish the number of Church dignitaries on the whole. The only difference would be, that we should have bishops instead of deans. There might be nearly as many more bishops as there are now deans.

We are fully aware that there are many members of the Church, to whom the most respectful consideration is due, who are reluctant to see any alteration in the present system of things, and who

dread the effect of any further interference with Church property. But we would say to such persons, with all the respect which is due to them, that the strength of the Church depends on its efficiency—that the blessing of God will go along with a firm resolution to postpone every other consideration to that of providing for the cure of souls, and what is immediately connected with it; and that the spirit of the age—a cold and ungenerous spirit we admit, but one which *does* prevail—forbids the application of the State's funds to religious purposes until those of the Church herself shall have been made available to the fullest extent. Are we then to see the people perishing before our eyes for lack of knowledge, because the State is illiberal and neglectful of its duties? Surely not: it is our duty, as a Church, to make every possible effort for the salvation of the souls of our brethren, and therein for the salvation of our Church itself, and of the nation.

We must here avail ourselves of the sound and weighty words of Mr. Colquhoun:—

“ I do not now speak of the want of new churches: I speak of that which is more important, *the want of pastors*; of men who will tread the lanes and alleys of our cities, dive into the cellars, and garrets, and hovels of the poor. Take them from what class you will, pay them as scantily as you may, but let us have them, and have them *now*. But who is to feed them? I do not say what the State should do. There is a previous question which your Lordships will feel must be settled. The Church must first do all she can. Has she funds which can be turned to use? She should employ them. Is there a part of her property which can yield an income now wanted? Let it go to the wants of the people. Are there any of her clergy who live in affluent ease? Their superfluity should be applied to feed the hard-working pastor. These changes are reasonable, essential; no time should be lost in making them. Till they are made, the public mind will not be satisfied: nor ought it. The State is not fairly treated, and still less the Church: the authorities in both (pardon me this freedom), have not done their duty.

“ If I am asked why I press this on your Lordship, it is not because we fear any indisposition in the country to these reforms. The country is ready for them; nay, is impatient. Nor do we fear the opposition of Parliament. The reception given in the House of Commons to Mr. Horsman's motions on this subject, is a proof of its favourable disposition.

“ But we have found, in quarters of the highest authority, a great indisposition to look this question in the face, and to admit that the time had come when it ought to be settled: such parties dread (perhaps it is not unnatural) a new occasion for the interference of Parliament with the revenues of the Church. They fear, that if these are again dealt with, they may be handled roughly.

“If these indeed were ordinary times, and our difficulties such as might be postponed, it might be safe, as no doubt it would be seemly, that your Lordship’s government should defer to opinions of so high authority : but it is not safe. What your Lordship has said, in regard to the State, holds much more true in the concerns of the Church. It is not safe, in days of jealous remark, to leave any anomaly or abuse in institutions which we wish should stand. *The true strength of the Church is its full efficiency for its highest work.* If any dignitary is paid without working, he injures the Church. If he receives an extravagant income, his superfluity is not only a waste, but a hazard ; for it points against the Church an artillery of public attack, and weakens its strength in public regard. No doubt it is hazardous to touch these questions ; but it is ruinous to evade them. Therefore it is that we entreat your Lordship rather to look to the signs of the times, than to defer to authority, however grave. The dissatisfaction caused by the anomalies that prevail in the Church is deep ; it is widely spread among the clergy ; it is shared by the laity ; and it is felt the most by those who are the warmest friends of the Church.”

It is plain, from all that is passing before us, that the time is coming for an extensive rearrangement of Ecclesiastical property. The public mind is quite ripe for measures of this kind : and they cannot be long delayed. It remains, therefore, for those who are desirous of seeing the Church made more really efficient, to take all opportunities in their power for bringing forward and urging those points which are of the highest importance, and which are in danger of being forgotten. Some of those who are loudest and most persevering in their attacks upon Church defects or abuses, look only to increase the numbers of the parochial clergy, and are wholly indifferent or else hostile to any such increase in the hierarchy, as would be essential to the efficiency of the Church. Such statesmen as Sir James Graham, look on the bishop’s office as little more than a sinecure. Now, where such gross errors are prevalent amongst public men, who will have to decide on Church questions, most assuredly it is the urgent duty of Churchmen to ask, and urge, and petition again and again, for what they believe essential to the proper working of her Church. If every man who wishes for an increase in the episcopate does not petition Parliament or his bishop on the subject, he may have to reflect hereafter, that his apathy or negligence may have been the cause of the Church’s want of success in asking for what is indispensable to her. These Church questions are such, that activity on the part of Churchmen is certain to lead to a successful issue. Let them only push forward their claims, with sufficient unanimity, and they cannot fail, in the long run, to obtain what they seek for.



We trust that Churchmen will not lose sight of the necessity of petitioning for an addition to the episcopate. This question is at present in abeyance, owing to the opposition of a small knot of radicals to Lord John Russell's proposal for adding four new sees. The opposition has not been forgotten, and the minister apparently dreads to bring forward his proposal again. But will the *Church* let the question go to rest, or be content to depend on the convenience of Lord John Russell in a matter of this kind? We trust we may say, that such will not be the case. The Church Unions, at least, are pledged to bring it forward; and this will secure its not being altogether forgotten and put aside. They are not dependent on the ministry of the day; and whether that ministry be Whig, or Peelite, or Protectionist, they will look to the accomplishment of Church objects.

There are two questions of vital importance, which the Plan takes no notice of, and on which Mr. Colquhoun's pamphlet is also silent. We refer to the necessity of obtaining some additional securities from the Crown, that persons appointed to the episcopal office shall possess fitting qualifications—that this important office shall not be made the reward of mere political and family services, or a means of gratifying any body or set of men; but that religious qualifications shall be sought for—that a person to be named a bishop, shall be chosen with as much care for his fitness and efficiency, as the general of an army, or a judge in one of the courts of law.

The other question on which the Plan is silent, is that which is perhaps, more than any other, essentially connected with the reform of our discipline. We refer to the question of Church legislation. Plausible as might have been in former times the theory of those who would represent Parliament as the sole and sufficient legislative body in Church matters, to talk of any such theory *now* as applicable to our condition, would be perfectly absurd, when Parliament comprises sectarians of all kinds, including Romanists. There are many subjects of the very highest importance, which it would be absolute profanation to bring before such an assembly. Legislation, therefore, except on the merest externals of discipline, is impossible; and even these are put off and neglected amidst the crush of worldly and political business. The Church, in any of her more delicate and sacred interests, cannot obtain a hearing in Parliament. The atmosphere is unsuited to them. We have therefore only to seek for the restitution of an Ecclesiastical legislature, in such a shape as is suited to the present age. We have perused on this subject a very interesting and valuable pamphlet, the title of which will be found at the head of these pages, and which brings together the



sentiments of men of all schools in the Church, in favour of some revival of synodal meetings. Mr. Wright is an advocate, under certain limitations, for the admission of the laity into Ecclesiastical synods, which is actually carried out in the American Church. The desirableness of any such arrangement depends wholly, in our opinion, on the principle of selection; for the presence of lay deputies elected by universal suffrage, without regard to qualifications, might be just as mischievous, as the presence of faithful and religious laymen would be beneficial. Every thing here depends on details. We recommend Mr. Wright's pamphlet to the attention of the clergy.

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ART. IV.—*Histoire des Girondins, par MONSIEUR DE LAMARTINE.* 8 vols. Paris, 1848.

THE Princesse de Lamballe had excited some pity in the bosom of the brutal ruffians Hébert and Lhuillier, who presided over that bloody mockery of a tribunal which God, in his inscrutable wisdom, permitted to scourge Paris in the month of September, 1792.

The extraordinary beauty, the mixed courage and gentleness, the noble bearing, and the winning graces of this “angelic apparition,” so wrought upon these butchers, travestying the part of judges, that they sought to spare her life.

A man placing his hand on her lips, to stifle the exclamation of horror which the fear of death could not suppress, conducted her with difficulty over a heap of mangled carcasses; and the peril seemed to have been passed, when a barber-boy, “drunken with wine and carnage,” raised with the point of his pike the cap which covered the princesse’s head, and, in doing so, drew blood from her forehead: the accident was fatal to her. At the sight of blood, the murderers who stood by rushed with the real glee of cannibals upon this image of unoffending loveliness, and tore it in pieces, with those circumstances of unheard-of and ferocious cruelty, which it was reserved for the actors in the French Revolution to invent and to exercise.

This is one, and not the least striking, of the terrible incidents in the appalling History before us; and it is one which the characteristic excellences of M. De Lamartine’s style place in full relief before our eyes. (l. 25. c. 16, 17.)

When we heard that the publication of the work before us had greatly contributed to produce the Revolution which France has undergone, our astonishment was most unfeigned, and our thoughts involuntarily turned to the scene which we have just described as the only imaginable solution of so strange a phenomenon. It is not only “the sight of means to do ill-deeds” that “makes ill-deeds done;” the *recital* has upon certain minds the same effect: the publicity given by the newspapers to acts of extraordinary atrocity, is known to fill some minds with a kind of frenzy to commit the same. We remember being told by a person, who discharged the duties of Under-Secretary of State with honour to himself and advantage to the country, that the police thought they could

always trace the increase of any particularly atrocious crime to this cause. The recital roused the dormant appetite for sin, as the sight of blood became an irresistible temptation to those human tigers. By the same awful and mysterious process must the History we have been reading have operated upon those whom it excited to reproduce, or to run the faintest risk of reproducing horrors, the like of which, neither before nor since, God be thanked! has it ever entered into the heart of man to conceive, much less to perpetrate.

The deep interest attaching to this momentous epoch in the destinies of mankind, the dramatic skill of the narrative, the poetry and pathetic eloquence of the style, have been scarcely sufficient to prevent us from laying down in sickening disgust and horror the description of scenes which appear as if they ought to have been written in blood. If Danton himself exclaimed with horror at the propositions of Marat, "More blood! more blood! ever more blood!" what must be the feeling of those who now read of the hundred victims offered daily in Paris to "la sainte guillotine?" of the massacres "en masse" at Lyons, by the agency of cannon and grape-shot? of the incredible cruelty of the "noyades" at Nantes, by the fiend Carrier? and the unutterable wickedness of Fouché, at Lyons? All these—and, alas! more—are painted by M. De Lamartine with a vividness of colouring which we have never seen surpassed. And if his power is great in placing these general scenes before our eyes, still more to be admired is it, when he describes the martyrdom of the individual sufferer. We rise from the perusal with the feeling that we have ourselves been present at the spectacle, every circumstance of which appears to be graven upon our heart. We are ready to cry aloud with Homer:

ἀφρήτωρ, ἀθέμστος, ἀνέστιός ἐστιν ἐκεῖνος,  
ὃς πολέμου ἔραται ἐπιδημίου, ὀκρυόεντος.

Il. ix. 63.

But that these scenes should have generated any other inclination in the minds of French readers, than that of resolving to shun as a pestilence any measures, with even an apparent tendency to cause them to be re-acted, does surely denote a most unhealthy, depraved, irregular, irreligious state of general sentiment in that volcanic country.

It will be said that this is not a fair statement: that the desire excited by M. De Lamartine's work is not to imitate the crimes of the Jacobins, but to emulate the virtues of the Girondins; to realize and secure those liberties to their country, for the sake of which those heroic persons shed their blood upon the scaffold.

To this defence we have more than one answer to offer.

First: granting, for the sake of argument, that this is a correct description of the acts and objects of the Girondists, it is not the less true that the determination to embark the fortunes of the *kingdom* (*absit verbo invidia*) in another revolution, even in pursuit of these ends, indicates that condition of the public mind which we have described. There is no man alive to the moral responsibility of his actions, conscious of the shortsightedness of his wisest views, tolerably modest in the estimation of his own sagacity, and, at the same time, instructed in the lamentable history of the failure of theories of government which were founded on the contempt of all previous example, aware that, in the attempt to establish them, his country had shed her blood like water, and passed through agonies unparalleled during a quarter of a century, from which she was but now recovering, who would have lent his aid to throw her again into the fiery furnace, upon the chance of her being again rescued from it, defecated of some of the alloy which he conceived to be mingled with her pure gold, and this at a period when it would be idle to deny that she was enjoying the chief practical blessings of a free constitution, though it was one susceptible of many improvements.

No. We say unhesitatingly, that the mind required for this patricidal act was of a very different character; the mind of which, unhappily, there are too many types now existing in France, but especially in Paris—which still is France—a mind accustomed to little or no early religious control. So that a conscientious obligation to obey, or even to hesitate long before you disobey the government under which you live, is not felt at all. A morbid craving for individual notoriety, with a disgust for the quiet round of useful labours and peaceful duties, fed and fanned into a delirious excitement by the popular novels of Victor Hugo and Dumas, and the leading articles of newspapers catering to the same vitiated palate;—a mind possessed with the notion of an individual right of insurrection against whatever restraint displeases you;—a hard-hearted and cruel vanity, utterly reckless of consequences, and as indifferent as Robespierre, their present idol, to the means by which a visionary end is to be produced; impatient of discipline of any kind; intolerant of precept; deafer than the deafest adder to the voice of experience—this is the mind, the general prevalence of which could alone cause M. De Lamartine's Girondins to be the fuel of a new revolution.

Secondly: we entirely deny that M. De Lamartine's own representation of the acts and objects of the Girondins is such as, even if they were unaccompanied by the horrors to which we

have alluded, would stimulate any reader who thought the object of a statesman should be the happiness of his country, and his acts such as conduce to that end. We have never read any account of the Girondins which was so little favourable to them. Nor do we find that the author commits himself to any approbation whatever of their policy; or, indeed, to the belief that they had any fixed policy whatever: he does not hesitate to declare that they were grossly deficient in all the common qualifications of administrative capacity, during the short period in which they held the reins of government; that beyond vague ideas of general liberty—we speak of the part which they took in the Legislative Assembly—they seemed to have had no views or plans for the benefit of a country sinking every moment, before their eyes, deeper and deeper into bankruptcy, distress, anarchy, and misery, of more than all imaginable kinds. On the contrary, the author evidently repeats with pleasure Danton's sneers at "les beaux parleurs," who were wholly incompetent to act, though they were capable of dying heroically upon the scaffold; to which, however, M. De Lamartine shows that they had previously been in great measure the means of consigning many innocent victims. Above all infamy, as he tells the story, is the conduct pursued by the Girondins, and by Vergniaud, their idol, pre-eminently, with respect to the vote upon Louis the Sixteenth's death. Having *declaimed* in clubs, in private societies, and in the National Convention itself, *against* this cold-blooded atrocity, they finally *voted for* it from the basest of motives—the fear that their popularity would otherwise wane before the increasing influence of the terrorists.

"On attendait avec anxiété que l'ordre alphabétique de l'appel nominal des départements, arrivant à la lettre G., appelât les députés de la Gironde à la tribune. Vergniaud devait y paraître le premier. On se souvenait de son immortel discours contre Robespierre, pour disputer le jugement du roi détrôné à ses ennemis. On connaissait sa répugnance et son horreur pour le parti qui voulait des supplices. On répétait les conversations confidentielles, dans lesquelles il avait avoué vingt fois sa sensibilité sur le sort d'un prince dont le plus grand crime à ses yeux était une faiblesse qui allait presque jusqu'à l'innocence. On savait que la veille même, et quelques heures avant l'ouverture du scrutin, Vergniaud, soupant avec une femme qui s'apitoyait sur les captifs du Temple, avait juré par son éloquence et par sa vie qu'il sauverait le roi. Nul ne doutait du courage de l'orateur; le courage était écrit, à ce moment même, dans le calme de son front et dans ses plis sévères de sa bouche fermée à toute confiance. Au nom de Vergniaud les conversations cessèrent, les regards se portèrent sur lui seul. Il monta lentement les degrés de la tribune, se recueillit au

moment, la paupière baissée sur les yeux, comme un homme qui réfléchit pour la dernière fois avant d'agir : puis d'une voix sourde, et comme résistant dans son âme à la sensibilité qui criait en lui, il prononça : *La mort*. Le silence et l'étonnement confirme le murmure et la respiration même de la salle, Robespierre sourit d'un sourire presque imperceptible où l'œil crut distinguer plus de mépris que de joie. Danton leva les épaules, 'Vantez donc vos orateurs !' dit-il tous bas à Brissot. 'Des paroles sublimes, des actes lâches ! Que faire de tels hommes ? Ne m'en parlez plus, c'est un parti fini.' L'espérance mourut dans l'âme du petit nombre d'amis du roi cachés dans la salle et dans les tribunes. *On sentit que la victime était livrée par la main de Vergniaud.*"—tom. v. p. 47, 48.

When the result of the scrutiny into the votes for the death or banishment of the king was made known, it was discovered that for the *immediate* execution of this most innocent man, the majority consisted, in fact, of only seven votes. Many of our readers may, perhaps, like ourselves, have been in the habit of hearing the Girondins lauded for their incorruptible public morals, their genuine love of liberty, their manly and courageous devotion to the stern principles of inflexible justice.

We would entreat them to read with attention the following passages from the work before us. Hear the French republican historian of the Girondins :—

"Il ne restait donc qu'une majorité de sept suffrages pour la mort. Ainsi trois hommes déplacés déplaçaient le chiffre et changeaient le jugement. C'étaient donc les douze ou quinze chefs de la Gironde dont la main avait jeté le poids décisif dans une balance presque égale. La mort, vœu des Jacobins fut l'acte des Girondins. Vergniaud et ses amis se firent les exécuteurs de Robespierre. La mort du *tyran*, passion chez le peuple fut une concession dans la Gironde. Les uns demandaient cette tête comme le signe du salut de la République, les autres la donnaient pour le salut de leur parti. Si la passion des uns était aveugle et impitoyable, quel nom donner à la concession des autres ? *S'il y a un crime dans le meurtre par vengeance, dans le meurtre par lâcheté il y en a deux.*"—tom. v. l. 35. c. 8. p. 53.

We most heartily subscribe to the truth, both of the historical fact and of the moral judgment upon this "meurtre par lâcheté" here laid before us. We rejoice that it is from a French writer, an enthusiast for the Revolution, from whom we learn this character of Vergniaud :—that it is, M. De Lamartine, who says :—

"Malvagio traditor—allà tu' onta  
I'porterò di te vere novelle."

Inf. 32.

Madame Roland, as is well known, was the soul of the Girondin party in the Convention. Her beauty attracted, and her wit

animated the leaders of that band; her knowledge of the difficult science of government was probably on a par with theirs, being almost entirely derived from an intimate acquaintance with a French historian of Plutarch's Lives. Thus qualified for the undertaking, it appears never to have occurred to her to doubt that she was fully justified in dissolving society into its elements, for the chance of re-constructing it anew upon an improved, that is—for by a slight assumption the terms were then, as now, in France held to be synonymous—a republican pattern. In which of the Lives written by Plutarch she found the precedents for her conduct upon two occasions recorded by the author before us, we are not informed. The occasions to which we allude were the following:—

1. In March, 1792, Louis XVI. formed an administration under the influence of the Girondins, of which Monsieur Roland was Minister of the Interior. Nothing could be fairer, franker, more confiding than the conduct of the king to these persons; and it appears that Roland was sensibly touched by this treatment, and declared to his wife that the king had been grossly maligned. At this time, however, the Girondins were continually pressing the king to sanction those cruel, persecuting, and tyrannical decrees against the emigrants and the priests, which the Assembly had passed. The king endeavoured to postpone the consideration of this subject; hoping, perhaps, that in time sentiments less abhorrent from common justice and humanity might be kindled in the Assembly, and foreseeing that the refusal, which he had determined upon with the courage which never deserted him, would cost him his life. Now we will use our historian's own language:—

“Prévoyant que les ministres auraient tôt ou tard un compte sévère à rendre au public de ces sanctions ajournées, Madame Roland voulait prendre ses mesures avec l'opinion. Elle persuada à son mari d'écrire au roi une lettre confidentielle, pleine des plus austères leçons de patriotisme, de la lire lui-même en plein conseil devant ce prince, et d'en garder une copie que Roland rendrait publique au moment marqué, pour servir d'acte d'accusation contre Louis XVI., et de justification pour lui-même. Cette précaution perfide contre la perfidie de la cour était odieux comme un piège, et lâche comme une dénonciation. La passion seule qui trouble la vue de l'âme, pouvait aveugler une femme généreuse sur la nature d'un pareil acte; mais l'esprit de parti tient lieu de morale, de justice et aussi de vertu. Cette lettre était une arme cachée, avec laquelle Roland se réservait de frapper à mort la réputation du roi en sauvant la sienne; sa femme rédigea la lettre après l'avoir inspirée. Ce fut son seul crime, ou plutôt ce fut le seul égarement de sa haine, ce fut aussi son seul remords au pied de l'échafaud.”



If it was her only remorse, inordinate vanity had indeed done its perfect work; but with this we have at present no concern. We only wish to ask where, in the close pages of Tacitus, is an example to be found, of selfish fear begetting a meaner act of revolting perfidy?

2. On the 12th of June, 1792, Roland was dismissed from the administration. About this time the French army had opened the campaign, which was to cover them with military glory, by a disgraceful retreat at Quievrain, and the assassination of General Dillon by his own soldiers at Lille. Every thing on the frontier and in the capital denoted the triumph of the most unbridled licence, of the complete absence of all restraint, moral or legal, (religious it would be idle to speak of,) upon the momentary will of any mob of men, in or out of uniform, which accident or design called together. Lamartine's description of the state of things is very striking; we will only give an extract of the part which relates more especially to the condition of Paris,—and let our readers observe how unhesitatingly he ascribes to the Girondins their share in the guilt of the scene which followed:—

*“ Les Girondins poussaient à l'émeute, les Jacobins anarchissaient l'armée, les volontaires ne se levaient pas, le ministère était nul, le comité autrichien des Tuileries correspondait avec les puissances, non pour trahir la nation, mais pour sauver les jours du roi et de sa famille (no unimportant confession by the way). Gouvernement suspect, Assemblée hostile, clubs séditeuse, garde nationale intimidée et privée de son chef, journalisme incendiaire, conspirateurs sourdes, municipalité factieuse, maire conspirateur, peuple ombrageux et affamé, Robespierre et Brissot, Vergniaud et Danton, Girondins et Jacobins, en présence, ayant la même proie à se disputer la monarchie, et luttant de démagogie pour s'arracher la faveur du peuple,—tel était l'état de la France au dedans et au dehors au moment où la guerre extérieure venait presser de toutes parts la France et faire éclater en exploits et en crimes.”*—tom. ii. p. 248. l. 25. § 12.

Upon the 20th of June took place that terrible émeute in which the lowest and vilest of the populace took possession of the Tuilleries, and heaped every insult that the words and manners maddened by drink and the worse inebriety of the worst passions of the most brutal of mankind, could express upon the Royal Family, especially the king. Among the cries, however, “ A bas le veto! Le camp sous Paris! Les ministres patriotes! où est l'Autrichienne?” betrayed the real movers of these revolting and appalling orgies. The long agony of humiliation to which the Royal Family was exposed was such as to have excited the indignant sympathy of every heart, republican or not, capable of

discriminating between right and wrong, innocence and guilt, and not absolutely callous to every emotion of humanity; but in the heart of a woman, to whom was then conveyed, in all the freshness of its horror, the account which we now weep to read, a sensation of pity, at least, for the sufferings of the Queen, must have been awakened of the tenderest and most exquisite kind. Let us hear the remark of the heroine of the Girondins, the model of republican virtue and feeling unsophisticated by the corrupt teaching of tyrants and the slavish education of courts:—

*“ Que j'aurais voulu voir sa longue humiliation, et combien son orgueil a dû souffrir ! s'écria Madame Roland en parlant de Marie Antoinette.”*  
—tom. iii. p. 3. l. 17. c. 3.

This gentle and heroic creature, breathing the sentiment of universal love, “which scarce collective man can fill,” regretted that she had not seen with her own eyes a wife and a mother during five hours expecting the death of her husband and child at the hands of miscreants, and compelled to hear the most insulting and filthy language, that degraded and brutalized man can utter. She was sorry not to have witnessed this scene of cruel infamy,—and why? because the principal sufferer in it was a queen. It is right that facts like these should be recorded, that History may fulfil one of her tasks—that of teaching those who will read her records, to distinguish between realities and the semblances which usurp their garb; between the professions and the practices of persons who seek to govern the world; between the vices and defects incident to particular stations of life and those which cling to human nature generally. Madame Roland remarked, on her way to the scaffold, how many crimes were perpetrated under the sacred name of Liberty. If she had examined her own heart, she would have discovered how many bad passions and paltry jealousies may bear the mask of philanthropic liberality. Let us suppose that the scene had been changed, that Madame Roland had been the sufferer from the brutality of the royal guard, and the queen had uttered the remark, who can tell the torrent of republican indignation against the innate vices of queens, which would have inundated the pages of republican writers from that hour till the present day?

If the names of individual members of the Girondins have little room to be grateful to M. De Lamartine, still less has the “*in-humata infletaque turba*” generally. One of the gravest passages in the work before us affords incontrovertible proof of this. M. De Lamartine having described the various abortive attempts of the Girondins to crush Marat, Hébert, and Varlet, and the final result,—namely, the triumph of the Terrorists, and the pro-

scription of the twenty-two, which constituted the strength and life of the Girondin party,—proceeds to say :—

“Telle fut la catastrophe politique de ce parti ; *il mourut comme il était né, d'une sédition légalisée par la victoire* (memorable words !). La journée du 2 juin, qu'on appelle encore le 31 mai, parce que la lutte dura trois jours, fut le 10 août de la Gironde. Ce parti tomba de faiblesse et d'indécision comme le roi qu'il avait renversé. La république qu'il avait fondée s'écroula sur lui après huit mois seulement d'existence. On honora ce groupe des républicains pour ses intentions, on l'admira pour ses talents, on le plaignait pour ses malheurs, on le regretta à cause de ses successeurs, et parce que ses chefs en tombant ouvrirent cette longue marche à l'échafaud. *On se demande après la disposition de ce parti, quelle était son idée, et s'il en avait une ?* L'histoire se demande à son tour si le triomphe de la Gironde, ou 31 mai, aurait sauvé la République ? S'il y avait dans *ces hommes des paroles*, dans leurs conceptions, dans leur union, dans leurs caractères et dans leur génie politique les éléments d'un gouvernement à la fois dictatorial et populaire, capable de comprimer les convulsions de la France au dedans, de faire triompher la nation au dehors, et de prouver l'avènement d'une république régulière, en la préservant des Rois et des démagogues ? *L'Histoire n'hésite pas à répondre : Non.*—Les Girondins n'avaient eu aucune de ces conditions. La pensée, l'unité, la politique, la résolution, tout leur manquait. Ils avaient fait la Révolution sans la vouloir ; ils la gouvernaient sans la comprendre. La Révolution devait se révolter contre eux et leur échapper.”

Call you this backing your friends, M. De Lamartine ? or are they your friends ? or who are, throughout the whole eight volumes which detail the events of less than three years ? but to proceed with another part of the same sketch :—

“Aussi les Girondins, depuis leur avènement, avaient-ils marché de défis en concessions et de résistances en défaites. Le 10 août leur avait arraché le trône, dont ils rêvaient encore la conservation, dans le decret même où Vergniaud proclamait la déchéance du Roi. Danton leur avait arraché les proscriptions de Septembre, qu'ils n'avaient su ni prévenir par un déploiement de force, ni punir en couvrant les victims de leur corps. Robespierre leur avait arraché la tête de Louis XVI. cedée lâchement en échange de leurs propres têtes. Marat leur avait arraché son impunité et son triomphe après son accusation au 10 mars. Les Jacobins leur avaient arraché le ministère dans la personne de Roland. Enfin Pache, Hébert, Chaumette et la commune leur arrachaient maintenant leur abdication, et ne leur laissaient que la vie \* \* \* \* Ils détestaient les Jacobins, et ils les laissaient régner. Ils abhorraient le tribunal révolutionnaire, et ils laissaient frapper au hasard, en attendant qu'il les frappât eux-mêmes. Ils redoutaient le déchirement de la République, et leurs correspondances désespérées ne cessaient de pousser leurs départements au suicide par le fédéralisme.”—  
tom. vi. l. 42. c. 13.

He also says that their foreign was as weak as their domestic policy, and that the treachery, as he calls it, of their General Dumouriez, had cast shadows of doubt and suspicion upon their character. It may well be doubted whether Dumouriez deserves this stigma. There seems to be no evidence that he intended to sacrifice to the invading armies any part of the territory of France, though his open and avowed object was to march his army upon Paris, and put an end to the horrible anarchy which prevailed there, and that the only means which suggested themselves to him for the final accomplishment of this end, was the re-establishment of a monarchy—probably in the person of his aide-de-camp, the Duc de Chartres, (afterwards Louis-Philippe,) who had recently distinguished himself at Jemappes. It may well be questioned whether such conduct was treachery; whether he was not fulfilling his first duty to his country, in endeavouring to set her free from a bondage, heavier and more galling than had ever before in the history of the world entered into the soul of a nation. He failed, and made his escape with the Duc de Chartres, General Valence, Madame de Genlis, and the martial young ladies Fernig, to whom our author ascribes such feats as we have read of in Spenser or Ariosto. If the voice of History has not condemned the conduct of Monk, it will not, in spite of the pages before us, blast the reputation of Dumouriez. M. De Lamartine's description of the fall of this accomplished man is perhaps the most favourable specimen of his style that could be selected :—

“Tête de politique, bras de héros, cœur d'intrigant, on s'afflige de ne pas l'admirer tout entier.”

And then, after a few more sentences denouncing what he calls his crimes against the Revolution, he proceeds :—

“Depuis ce jour, Dumouriez, maudit dans son pays, toléré chez l'étranger, erra de royaume en royaume, sans retrouver une patrie. Objet d'une dédaigneuse curiosité, presque indigent, sans compatriotes et sans famille, pensionné par l'Angleterre, il faisait pitié à tous les partis. Comme pour le punir d'avantage, le ciel, qui lui destinait une longue vie, lui avait laissé tout son génie pour le tourmenter dans l'inaction. Il ne cessa d'écrire des mémoires et des plans militaires pour toutes les guerres que *l'Europe fit à la France* (a very curious way of stating the case) pendant trente ans; il offrit son épée, toujours refusée, à toutes les cours. Assis vieux et importun au foyer de l'Allemagne et de l'Angleterre, il n'osa pas rompre son exil, même quand la France se souvrit aux proscrits de tous les partis: il craignit que le sol même ne lui reprochât sa trahison. Il mourut à Londres. Sa patrie laissa ces cendres dans l'exil, et n'éleva pas même sa tombe vide sur le champ de bataille où il avait sauvé son pays.”—tom. v. l. 37. c. 24.

Has the historian of the Girondins forgotten that the history of most nations teems with examples of the ingratitude of the people to the most illustrious of their countrymen, to which black catalogue the fate of the brave and wise Rossi has, even while we write, added another name. Did M. De Lamartine never hear of a greater captain, a wiser statesman, a more illustrious exile than Dumouriez, who caused this inscription to be graven on his tomb,

“INGRATA PATRIA NE OSSA QUIDEM MEA HABES.”

We suspect that the principal parts of this description of Dumouriez, after he came to England, to be as poetical and inaccurate as the minor parts of it undoubtedly are, *εἰκὸς ἐπὶ τὸ μείζον μὲν ποιητὴν ὄντα κοσμήσαι*. (Thucyd. 1. 10.) Dumouriez soon after his arrival took up his abode at Turville, near Nettlebed, in Oxfordshire, where a very different person now reposes after the toils of a very different public life—the ex-chancellor, Lord Lyndhurst. There the great exile of France remained, we believe voluntarily, till his death, which took place in 1823: he was buried, not in London, but in the parish church of Henley-upon-Thames. As his epitaph is not without interest to many readers, we subjoin it here at length:—

Hic jacet,  
Tardam expectans patriæ Justitiam,  
CAROLUS FRANCISCUS DUMOURIEZ,  
Qui Cameraco natus Januarii xxix. A.D. MDCCXXXII.  
Ingenio, doctrinâ, et virtute præclarus,  
ad summum militare imperium  
Fortitudine et prudentiâ pervenit.  
Ludovici xvi. consiliis præfecit.  
Regem et Leges in rostris Eloquentiâ,  
In castris gladio, Patriam et Libertatem  
defendit.  
Nefandis in temporibus  
Bis Galliam et depopulatione et sævitate servavit;  
Sed ab ipsâ eam servare conans,  
Proscriptus est.  
Asylum exuli Germania primum,  
nobilem postea hospitalitatem obtulit  
Britannia.  
Gratus obiit Turville  
Die Martii xiv. A.D. MDCCCXIII.  
Hoc monumentum  
Illustrissimo Civi, peritissimo Ministro,  
Fortissimo Duci, et amicorum optimo,  
Desiderantes et flentes  
Dedicaverunt amici.

This epitaph is inscribed between the pillars on the south side of the organ gallery. On a plain slab over the grave is inscribed :—

Ici repose  
Le Général  
Dumouriez.

M. De Lamartine may be sure that, in spite of his eloquent writing, History will continue, as she has hitherto done, to try the conduct of Dumouriez by a few very simple tests.

Was, or was not, she will ask, France at this period groaning under a tyranny which has, as yet, no parallel in history, and no precedent in the records of fiction? Does M. De Lamartine deny this? Far from it. It is by the light of his description that we may read more readily and clearly, than before, the details of abominations at which the soul sickens and the blood turns back to its fountains. Was, or was not, the strong arm of military despotism the only means by which this tyranny could be destroyed? And if so, was not Dumouriez more than justified in wishing to raise that arm, and, when he failed to do so, in preferring exile to being the instrument of such wretches as then domineered at Paris? The Red Republic of our day had not declared itself when M. De Lamartine's book was published. But what gave Cavaignac the power to establish a despotism as absolute as necessary for many months over Paris? The common consent and earnest desire of the honest portion of his fellow-citizens, upon whom the lessons of the past had not been wholly lost; and who therefore knew that no other weapon could avail against an enemy which threatened not only life, but all that makes life valuable. It was this most terrible of all foes that Dumouriez would fain have struck down; and which the feeling, both of his army and his fellow-citizens, would have enabled him to strike down, if the dreadful experience had then been purchased, was subsequently bought at so dear a price, and which during the course of the last year has installed with general acclamation a military dictator in the throne of France.

M. De Lamartine sets up—not, indeed, in express words, but by sure implication—the defence, now so popular with the Red Republicans, of the atrocities of those for whom History has been obliged to coin the appellation of Terrorists. The country was invaded, it is said, by foreign foes; and such measures, however shocking, were necessary for the national preservation. To say nothing of that memorable decree of the Republic which invited every nation upon earth to plunge into the filthy torrent of blood and crime which was then devastating France, which called upon all subjects to revolt against, that is, to murder, their



governors ; *after* which, and not *before*, as the dates show, however frequent and false the contrary assertion may be and has been, England declared war against France ; to pass by the fact that the invasion was thus justified upon the first principles of international jurisprudence. What is the value of the defence thus set up ? We cannot answer better than in the language of a French historian, of a far graver and soberer character than the author upon whom we are commenting :—

“ Dire que la convention a bien fait ce qu'elle a fait, parce qu'elle a fait pour sauver la Révolution, ou le principe révolutionnaire, d'une ruine imminente, c'est une erreur enorme et barbare ! C'est immoler les droits de la justice et de l'humanité à une divinité inconnue, qu'on appelle révolution, à laquelle il faut tout immoler,—la France, la vie des Français, leurs richesses, leur industrie, leur gloire,—parce qu'il faut sauver la révolution ! On ne défend que ce qu'on possède : or je ne sache pas que la liberté, dont la France jouissait sous la convention valût la peine d'être défendue . . . Elle défendit la France à peu près comme le tigre défend l'entrée du repaire qui cache sa proie.—*Desmarais, Etudes crit. et hist. de la Revol.* p. 230. 234.

Moreover, it may not unreasonably be asked of M. De Lamartine, why he considers Dumouriez more a traitor than La Fayette. True it is, that, when the latter preferred the alternative of relying upon the generosity of the enemy, to obeying the rulers, or trusting to the justice of the revolutionary monster which thirsted for his blood at Paris, he was, by an act which we are not called upon to defend, consigned to the prison of Olmutz. But he, not less than Dumouriez, would, according to our author, have restored by force of arms a limited monarchy to France, and he, not less than Dumouriez, deserted the army of which he was in command. Here let us observe that we are obliged to M. De Lamartine for confirming our previous opinion of this pinchbeck patriot. His vanity, his mediocrity of intellect, his infirmity of purpose, his ignorance of the principles of all government, civil or military, his mean love of mob popularity, and his disloyalty to his sovereign, may be gathered as fully from the pages before us, as from those of preceding histories of the same time.

Who, then, it may be asked, is the hero of this epic which we are criticising ? The answer is not, perhaps, certain ; but we think that, on the whole, M. De Lamartine intended the pedestal for Robespierre. His acts are not, indeed, expressly vindicated ; his conduct is not directly justified ; the massacres of the bloodiest despotism ever known are not defended upon the plea of necessity, to attain the end of which M. De Lamartine approves—



viz. a Republic. But the same ingenuity exerted in other parts of the work to exaggerate characters into monsters of virtue and vice, is displayed in this instance, to extenuate the conduct of this hateful wretch. His incorruptibility is paraded: the sobriety of his habits and dress is carefully pointed out: his fanaticism, as it is called, is described as sincere. Acts and thoughts of confession wholly fabulous and unsupported by evidence are ascribed to him, and he is represented as having really at heart one holy object,—the regeneration of society.

This is, indeed, horrible. We cannot conceive a more fearful and ominous portent of the social and moral condition of a people, than the fact, that such an account should find many admiring readers. We have seen, since the publication of this work, how cardinal an article the worship of Robespierre is in the creed of these Red Republicans, whom M. De Lamartine sincerely, we doubt not, disavows. It is not merely that, before such a doctrine can find disciples, their readers must have been degraded and led captive by the pettiest sophistry, but their hearts must have been emptied, not only of all true religious feeling, but of all moral sensibility, generosity, courage, sympathy; all the qualities that ennobled and inspired the virtuous heathen, must have as much lost their charm as the supernatural and divine graces of the Christian, for those who deliberately, and, on a full knowledge of the facts, hold up to admiration, or to any feeling akin to it, the character of Robespierre. It reminds us of nothing so much as of the morbid passion to obtain interviews with, and preserve relics of, atrocious criminals, which has more than once disgraced not uneducated persons in England.

Let us for a moment examine the grounds of this perverted and shocking opinion; and the admirers of Robespierre cannot complain if the object of their adoration is tried by the test which he himself proposed as the only true touchstone of character. “Ce n’est par aux phrases, mais à la conduite et aux faits qu’il faut juger les hommes,” was his constant exclamation.

Let us apply the test: how many bloody murders, now defended by no party but that of the Red Republic,—if, indeed, by them,—were committed, with scarcely the pretext of a judicial form, during the period of his domination? Actually more than can be now enumerated. What was the system of terrorism, the instrument invented, chosen, and tried by him for the purpose of purging the Republic? a system, by which every thing and person not in accordance with the *virtues* and *inflexible uprightness* of Robespierre was to be annihilated; and every person who had possessed such title, reputation, or property under the monarchy, cut off by the edge of the guillotine, in order that France might

come forth young, virtuous, and invincible, after undergoing so righteous a lustration.

*This was his deliberate system of government.* This was the end which his pious and philosophical mind had conceived in the virtuous solitude of the humble roof, under which he lodged in Paris, and from which end he never swerved. The necessary means, his admirers say, were really disagreeable to him; but his patriotism was too sincere and firm to be weakened by a fastidiousness which might have deterred men of a less heroic mould. He saw with the calm eye of that virtuous—should we not say pious?—philosophy which afterwards restored the worship of a Supreme Being to the people who, in the excess of their reason, had recently done homage to a half-robed harlot: with the same calm eye of patriotism did he see from *fifty to one hundred and fifty* victims *every day* offered upon Liberty's chosen altar—the guillotine. We almost see, such is the vivid power of description in these pages of our author, the various classes of *criminals* hurried along to their doom. Now pass before our eyes the troop of girls, the eldest of whom has not reached the age of eighteen, expiating the guilt of having danced with Prussian soldiers in their native town of Verdun: the *system of Robespierre*, not Robespierre (as his friends say), required that they should all perish under the guillotine. Another page sets before us in unfading colours (we are not careful about the exact historical order of these executions during the reign of terror) such miscreants as Malesherbes and Barnave, on their way to the death of felons. Now *every living nun of every age* is brought from the Abbey of Montmartre, and placed under the edge of that patriotic instrument (toasted, by the way, the other day in Paris, at a Red Republican dinner): now a batch of Girondins: now Danton, once the coadjutor of this great man: now forty-five magistrates: now twenty-seven merchants: it would be illiberal to mention the death of the royal family,—or even that of the sister of the queen, whose spirit fled, if ever spirit did, “*Santa del suo patir,*” to heaven. The sickening atrocities—we beg pardon, the necessary sacrifices to patriotism—which took place under Fouché at Lyons, Lebon at Arras, Carrier at Nantes, cannot be said to have passed under the physical eye of Robespierre; and he is said to have disapproved of them *in private*.

M. De Lamartine tells us, that after Robespierre had proclaimed to the people that there was a Supreme Being, they rejoiced; and that they were still more rejoiced at certain laws announced soon afterwards in the Convention, in which the state undertook those *easy and practicable* duties, her capacity to

execute which is so fully warranted by experience ancient and modern, by analogy, by philosophy, by revelation, and which he expresses by these among other sentences:—

“Elle (l'état) réalisa en fraternité pratique la fraternité théorique de son principe. . . . Elle déclara que la mendicité était une accusation contre l'égoïsme de la propriété, et contre l'imprévoyance de l'état. Elle honora dans ses décrets le travail. Elle accueillit l'enfance. Elle éleva la jeunesse. Elle nourrit la vieillesse. . . . Elle abolit misère.”

The people were full of joy, naturally enough, at the Paradise thus seen through the perspective of the guillotine; but still, while that instrument existed, they were not quite at their ease; “L'échafaud (says our author quite gravely) *seul* contrastait avec ces aspirations.” Robespierre, we are told, *secretly* wished to destroy it. Such being his *secret* wish, he took an open course, which appears to us to combine all that is most wicked and most hateful in one act—hypocrisy, cowardice, and cruelty. He proposed (“*inopinément*” (!) ) to the Convention, in concert with Couthon, the most sanguinary law (projet Draconien) which had yet been enacted; its object was to make *suspicion* a ground for capital punishment.

“Il n'y avait plus d'innocence dans la nation, plus d'inviolabilité dans les membres du gouvernement; c'était l'omnipotence des jugements et des pénalités, la dictature non d'un homme, mais de l'échafaud.”—tom. viii. l. 58. c. 13.

It could not be better described. Divine justice, outraged so long, caused the wretch who enacted the decree to be the artificer of his own death; but before this blessed day numbers of innocent persons were sacrificed. *Sixty* condemned by one report, including two, a father and son, “*coupables de compassion et de décence envers les princesses captives*,” and not including two afterwards added (after an attempt had been made by Ladmiral to assassinate Collet-d'-Herbois) to the bloody list, because “*coupables tous deux de n'avoir pas fait éclater assez de joie quand l'assassin avait été arrêté*.” O for a Tacitus instead of a De Lamartine to record such acts! what lessons in the refinement of diabolical cruelty might the dull sense of a Nero have learnt from the ingenuity of a French democracy?

But these were not Robespierre's acts: no, he only invented the machine, and was the colleague of the men who set it in motion. What was this lowest of mankind's conduct, when his friend, the beautiful Madame de Sainte Amaranthe, who plays a strange and mysterious part in a little drama of blasphemy, which was pri-

vately acted for the benefit of Robespierre, in the last days of terror, was condemned, in order to wound his feelings, to the guillotine !

“ Robespierre en écoutant les noms de Madame de Sainte-Amaranthe et de sa famille s'était tu. Il craignait de paraître protéger des contre-révolutionnaires. Il savait bien que c'était son nom qu'on frappait, mais il retirait timidement ce nom pour ne pas paraître frappé lui-même : situation déplorable des hommes qui prennent la popularité au lieu de la conscience pour arbitre de leur politique ! Ils se couvrent du corps des victimes innocentes, au lieu de se couvrir de leur intrépidité.” —tom. viii. c. xi. l. 59.

Here we leave this hero of many now alive in France, with the admission that he was not a man constitutionally inclined, like Danton, to gross sensuality, or guilty of avarice : tyranny over his fellow-creature was the devouring lust of his heart.

Here we leave him to his admirers, expressing our cordial concurrence in the opinion of a French writer, not our author.

“ Robespierre n'a jamais voulu anéantir la République, mais il la couvrait de crimes et de sang, et il croyait en préparer la force et les prospérités : ce n'était pas un ambitieux tyran, *c'était un monstre.*” — *Garat, Buchez et R.* 18. 335.

In conclusion, we will briefly express our opinion upon the two cardinal faults in the work before us ; passing by the obvious blemishes of the absence of all marginal notes, of all references to authorities (not covered, in our estimation, by the excuse given in the preface, that the author is in possession of them, and can produce them if attacked) ; passing by also the graver errors of the *novelist* tone and character which is too often substituted for the gravity and sobriety of history, and many minor inaccuracies ; passing by these, we must lift up our voice against the religious and the political doctrines insinuated throughout its pages. Both are as shallow and as false as ever were promulgated, and as ever were greedily imbibed by people whose aggregate character is that of extreme and unthinking susceptibility of any new impression which appears before them in an attractive shape. The basis of the political doctrine is, that government is matter of will, and not of reason and convention ; that the mob told by the head, not citizens selected for worth and the presumptions of worth, are intended by nature, that is, by God, to choose their governors and their form of government ; that democracy and liberty are synonymous terms. The gross logical fallacy of such a doctrine it would be an insult to our readers to expose : the practical effects of it cannot receive a more luminous commentary than they have already obtained from M. De Lamartine's own

government, succeeded immediately by military despotism, and crowned by the election of Louis Buonaparte: those who worship king mob after these recent proofs (among others) of his justice and sagacity, are not to be dealt with by reason. No, not though President Polk tells the world that a slave-owning democracy, reeking with the blood of an unjust war, repudiating its just debts, and keeping millions under the iron yoke of personal slavery, be “a sublime moral spectacle;” though the government of America is, in truth, an aristocracy, as compared to that of which M. De Lamartine *held*, we were about to say,—but it would be more correct to say, *dropped*—the reins.

So much for the error of the political doctrines of M. De Lamartine: the religious theory which he is desirous of propagating cannot be sufficiently condemned. In an early part of his work he announces the following proposition:

“Quand la Providence veut qu’une idée embrase le monde, elle l’allume dans l’âme d’un Français.”—l. 1. c. 13. p. 21.

The smile which this extraordinary piece of coxcombry at first excites is exchanged for the expression of a graver emotion as we perceive the terrible consequences which vanity, when it becomes the main-spring of thought and action, is capable of producing both upon an individual and a nation. We see the old received faith and doctrine of Christianity vanish before the “idea which Providence has kindled in the mind of a Frenchman;” while the error of the believing portion of mankind is corrected in the following language:

“Il y a des objets dans la nature dont on ne distingue bien la forme qu’en s’en éloignant. La proximité empêche de voir comme la distance. Il en est ainsi des grands événements. La main de Dieu est visible sur les choses humaines, mais cette main même a une ombre, qui nous cache ce qu’elle accomplit. Ce qu’on pouvait entrevoir alors de la Révolution Française, annonçait ce qu’il y a de plus grand au monde; l’avènement d’une idée nouvelle dans le genre humain, l’idée démocratique, et plus tard le gouvernement démocratique.

“Cette idée était un écoulement du christianisme. Le christianisme, trouvant les hommes asservis et dégradés sur toute la terre, s’était levé à la chute de l’empire romaine comme une vengeance, mais sous la forme d’une résignation.

“Il avait proclamé les trois mots que répétait à deux mille ans de distance la philosophie Française,—liberté, égalité, fraternité des hommes. Mais il avait enfoui pour un temps ce dogme au fond de l’âme des chrétiens. Trop faible alors pour s’attaquer aux lois civiles, il avait dit aux puissances: ‘Je vous laisse encore un peu de temps le monde politique, je me confine dans le monde moral. Continuez, si vous pouvez,’

d'enchaîner, *de classer*, d'asservir, de profaner les peuples. Je vais émanciper les âmes. Je mettrai deux mille ans peut-être à renouveler les esprits, avant d'éclorre dans les institutions. Mais un jour viendra où ma doctrine s'échappera du temple, et entrera dans le conseil des peuples. Ce jour-là le monde social sera renouvelé.' *Ce jour était arrivé. Il avait été préparé par un siècle de philosophie, sceptique en apparence, croyant en réalité.* Le scepticisme du xviii siècle ne s'attachait qu'aux formes extérieures et aux dogmes surnaturels du christianisme : il en adoptait avec passion la morale et le sens social. Ce que le christianisme appelait révélation, la philosophie l'appelait raison. Les mots étaient différents, le sens était le même. L'émancipation des individus, des castes, des peuples, en dérivait également. Seulement, le monde antique s'était affranchi au nom du Christ, le monde moderne s'affranchissait au nom des droits que toute créature a reçus de Dieu. Mais tous les deux faisaient découler cet affranchissement de Dieu ou de la nature."—l. 1. c. 6. p. 13.

Our blessed Saviour then came on earth in order to prepare the way, by his example of love, obedience, and humility, by his doctrine of repentance and faith, for the carnage, fury, rebellion, pride, madness, unutterable crimes, and blasphemy of the French Revolution ; upon that day, and not before, his mission was fully accomplished—having at length been assisted, we are told, by the philosophy "apparently sceptical, but really believing," of Voltaire and Rousseau !

This wretched blasphemy, though it be founded upon arguments which a thinking child beginning to reason would despise, is gravely published to the world as one of the discoveries of our age. But so it is ; men who in all secular concerns are in the habit of using themselves, and exacting from others, the strictest logic, and of demanding the most rigid rules of evidence for every fact, are so eager to throw off the yoke of the Christian religion, to set themselves free from the restraints which the revealed word of God imposes upon their passions, that even such contemptible sophistry as this finds a ready admission into their hearts. This is the enlightened view of Christianity which discards *dogmatic* faith ; that is to say, sets aside as it pleases the inspired word of God, wherever it does not appear to them sufficiently *liberal* for their enlarged philosophy. This is the creed which as yet our narrow and contracted minds in England have rejected, but which has filled France, Germany, and Italy not only with Deism—this belongs to the more fastidious and refined—but with Pantheism, Atheism, and all the innumerable social evils which follow in their train. Though fifty years have scarcely passed away since those who began by worshipping their reason, in the place of the God who gave it, ended by doing

homage to a prostitute as the emblem of that reason. That any notion of a conscientious obligation to obey authority should exist in minds of this description, it would be idle to expect; and that the terror of the armed hand of power should be the only cement which holds society together was only to be expected as the natural result, and it is the result which at this moment we see every where around us.



- ART. V.—1. *Minutes of the Committee of Council on Education, with Appendices, 1847-8. Presented to both Houses of Parliament by Command of Her Majesty.* London: printed for HER MAJESTY'S Stationery Office, 1848.
2. *Monthly Paper issued by the National Society for Promoting the Education of the Poor in the principles of the Established Church, 1847-1849.* London: Depository of the Society.
3. *The Church of England, and the Committee of Council on Education: for what are the National Society and all other Members of the Church of England to appeal to Parliament? A Letter addressed, by permission, to the Hon. and Right Rev. Richard, Lord Bishop of Bath and Wells. By GEORGE ANTHONY DENISON, M.A., Vicar of East Brent, Somerset. With an Appendix.* London: Rivingtons. 1849.
4. *National Warnings on National Education. A Sermon preached in aid of the Parochial Schools, at the Parish Church of South Hackney, on Sunday, the 12th of November, 1848. By the Rev. CHR. WORDSWORTH, D.D., Canon of Westminster.* London: Rivingtons. 1848.
5. *Popish Education in England, supported by the State. Address to the Protestants of the Empire. By the Committee of the National Club. Third Series, No. I.*

WHEN in the latter part of the Session of 1839 the then recent appointment of a Committee of Privy Council on Education came under the consideration of Parliament, the unconstitutional character of this novel authority in the State, and the mischievous tendency of the undefined and unlimited powers with which it was invested, were clearly pointed out, and made the chief ground of opposition to the measure. Among others, Lord Stanley, in a speech in the House of Commons, which now, after the lapse of ten years, reads more like a prophecy of what has since come to pass, than like an argument upon a question then pending, thus expressed himself:—

“ He felt that so long as the Committee was irresponsible, so long as its object was undefined and uncertain, so long as its powers were unlimited, and while the exercise of those powers was not checked, not fettered, not restrained, not limited by Parliament, so long would it remain *a fertile source of new plans*—plans following each other in rapid

succession, springing up as fast as they were destroyed, and each as objectionable as the first, each as absurd and dangerous as another, yet each evading some of those details which had insured the condemnation of its predecessor. *So long as that Board or Committee was allowed to exist, so long he felt persuaded they would find scheme after scheme produced for abstracting money from the public funds in furtherance of a system of education which a majority of the country condemned, and which was completely at variance with the constitutional principles which he and those on his side of the house supported and maintained, and which it was impossible they could abandon without the grossest dereliction of their public duty. . . . .* He objected to the unlimited and irresponsible powers vested in the Committee of Privy Council ; and from that irresponsible, unfettered, and consequently despotic Committee he appealed to the calm deliberation of the people, and to the constitutional authority of the British Parliament."—*Hansard's Parliamentary Debates, Third Series.* Vol. xlviii. col. 231.

Still more pointed, and severely graphic of the future operations of the Committee of Council, with its Secretary and *fac totum*, Mr. Kay Shuttleworth, are the remarks which fell from the Bishop of London, in the debate which took place in the House of Lords, on the 5th of July, 1839, on the Archbishop of Canterbury's Resolutions for an address to the Crown, remonstrating against the appointment of the Committee. After establishing, in the course of a most triumphant argument, the position, that the duty of the State to make provision for the education of the people,—the ground taken by the advocates of the measures for a new system of State education,—had already been discharged by the State, by the adoption of the Church as the national establishment, and that therefore, if the existing appliances were found insufficient, all the State had to do, was to provide the Church with the means of extending that education which was part and parcel of her proper office, the Right Reverend Prelate is reported to have spoken to the following effect :—

"At least, my Lords, it is the duty of the Government, as I am sure it is its interest, not to do any thing which may lessen or impair,—much less destroy the Church's efficiency. But this I am persuaded it will do, if it does that to which its advisers are urging it; namely, take the whole business of popular education out of the Church's hands into its own ; appoint inspectors, choose schoolmasters, select school-books, in short, do every thing but chastise the boys in person. My Lords, those are functions which the Government as such is not competent to undertake, in this country at least ; it is not competent, either practically or constitutionally. It is not practically competent ; for how is it possible that four or five political personages, holding office at the pleasure of the Crown, or, more properly speaking, of the House of Commons, whose time and thoughts are of necessity occupied with far

different matters, whose habits of life are not likely to have been such as to qualify them for so delicate and difficult an office, should exercise their functions as superintendents of general education, with all the knowledge and all the discretion requisite for such a task? And *what security have we for anything like permanency of principle or consistency of operation in such a body?* Will they not, of necessity, be acted upon, and moved as puppets, by a few artful and designing persons behind the scenes, who will pull the strings from time to time, and make the Privy Councillors gesticulate, and excite the mirth or the sorrow of bystanders; and will themselves do all the mischief, without incurring any of the responsibility? If this be not the case,—if they are not mere tools in the hands of a party, active but unseen, there is yet an alternative. *The functions which they cannot perform themselves they will delegate to their Secretary, who will thus become the sole arbiter and director of popular education.* And what security have we that this Secretary shall be a member of the Established Church? that he will not be a Socinian or a Roman Catholic? nay, what security have we for his being a Christian? My Lords, I would not speak disrespectfully of any of her Majesty's Privy Councillors, and I hope I may not have given offence by the comparison which I have made; but it is forced upon me by the symptoms which I think I have already discovered, of this fantoccini process, in the recent movements of the Committee of Privy Council. I must again say, that such a body can never advantageously discharge the duties which they seem disposed to take upon themselves, but must be *in the hands of others, who will act without responsibility, and will probably misuse their power, to the injury of the Church.* I repeat it, then, the State, having delegated its functions to the Church, as far as the religious education of the people is concerned, is not competent to resume them, nor to intrust them to any other body, except by a deliberate and solemn act of the legislature in all its three estates."—*Hansard, 3rd Series. Vol. xlviii. col. 1305, 6.*

The preceding extracts from speeches delivered on what may be termed the inauguration of the new Government machinery for popular education, form a most appropriate introduction to the consideration of the present state of the education question, as it is again before the public, and will, we trust, be brought under the consideration of Parliament, in consequence of the long-pending dispute between the Committee and the Church, on the subject of the management clauses, and of the recent Minute of the Committee, in reference to the proposal to grant aid from the Parliamentary education fund to Roman Catholic schools. The glaring departure in both these respects, from the compact entered into between the Privy Council and the Heads of the Church, on the one hand, and from the fundamental principle of the Parliamentary grant, declared and recognised by the Committee of Council itself, on the other hand, has not only fully

verified the predictions of the opponents of the State education scheme in 1839, but has made it perfectly evident that the education of the country never can be placed upon a stable and permanent basis, while the control now exercised over it by the Committee of Council is suffered to continue. It is, in our opinion, a subject of congratulation, rather than of regret, that the Committee should, by the lengths to which it has proceeded, both in trampling upon the rights of the Church, and in truckling to the demands of the Romanists, have established so strong a case against itself, and rendered an application to Parliament for the revocation of its unlimited and irresponsible powers, a matter of necessity rather than of choice. That such a necessity exists, is pretty generally agreed among all parties, except those immediately concerned in upholding the educational theory which the Committee of Council, or, as we should rather say, its Secretary, represents, and,—from secondary motives,—the fosterers of a system of policy at once inimical to the Church and favourable to Popery.

With this necessity before us, it appears desirable that the question should be thoroughly understood in all its bearings, in order that public opinion, being properly enlightened, may be brought to bear upon it in such a manner as to procure a satisfactory settlement; a settlement which shall not deny to any party what, under all the circumstances of the case, ought to be conceded, while, on the other hand, it shall not open the door to any concessions, which, as a matter of principle, ought not to be made. It is with a view to contribute our share towards such a settlement, that we have determined to take up the subject, and to place before our readers the leading features of the case as it stands at this moment. Before, however, we enter upon the more recent transactions, upon the documents which have come before the public, and the discussions that have taken place, it will be necessary that we should trace the history of the educational controversy which has so long agitated the public mind, to its first beginnings; for it is impossible fully to appreciate the tendency of present measures and disputes, without a knowledge of the traditional theories and occult impulses which are at work on one side of the question, and apprehended on the other.

The first rise of the spirit which has, up to the present hour, fought with such perseverance against the religious education of the great bulk of the population under the superintendence of the Church, appears in the efforts made by Lord, then Mr., Brougham, upwards of thirty years ago; when, in successive sessions, he pressed for Parliamentary inquiry into the state of the education of the poor; first in the metropolis, and afterwards

throughout England and Wales. At that period, it will be remembered, the question of popular education had already been taken up by the Church, as well as by the Dissenters; their rival exertions in the cause having led to the formation of two voluntary associations—the National Society, for the purpose of promoting Church education, and the British and Foreign School Society, for the advancement of scriptural education on non-conformist principles. Two facts are thus clearly established at the very outset of the controversy, which it is essential to bear in mind, as on them the merits of the conflict to this day mainly depend. The first of these facts is, that the practical work of popular education was, from its commencement in the second decad of this century—to say nothing now of the parochial and charity schools of more ancient foundation—distinctly marked as a religious education, founded on the Word of God. The other important fact to be noted is, that the principle of a secular education, exclusive of religion, admitting the latter only in the form of tenets to be made the subject of special instruction, apart from the general system of training—the principle advocated by Mr. Brougham—had from the first the character of a mere theory—a theory opposed to the religious feelings of the country, and aiming at the subversion of the educational institutions actually existing. Mr. Brougham, and those that acted with him, were under the influence of a strong feeling of nationality, and of an equally strong reliance upon intellectual culture, as such, for the improvement of the people. To their apprehension, religion was a thing altogether extraneous to the national life, a matter of individual opinion and personal sentiment; which, accordingly, they were anxious to deprive of its hold upon popular education, because they clearly perceived that it necessarily must interfere with their scheme of so-called “national” education, which was intended to embrace all, without any reference to what they were pleased to term “sectarian differences.”

The controversy was thus, in its origin, a struggle between schools actually established and filled with scholars, which had an essentially religious character, and imparted religious instruction of some sort, and that upon the basis of Holy Scripture,—and a theory which deprecated religion as a principle of education, admitting it only, under certain precautionary restrictions, as a distinct branch of knowledge; or, reversing the sentiment, it was a struggle between a non-religious spirit, (to use the mildest term,) floating in the air without local habitation or name, like the spirit which “walketh through dry places, seeking rest and finding none,” and the spirit of religion, embodied in numerous institutions in full action, engaged in training up the young in

knowledge upon a principle of faith. This position Mr. Brougham himself distinctly apprehended ; so much so, that while he pursued with unremitting ardour, session after session, his favourite idea of forcing a "non-sectarian," a "truly national" system upon the country, by means of legislative enactments, he was sanguine of success in proportion as he thought he could discern symptoms of a decline in the intensity of the religious feelings of the people. The greatest difficulty which he saw in his way was "the steering clear of religious differences, which," as he expressed himself in his place in Parliament in 1816, "were daily subsiding."

In this expectation, however, happily for the country, Mr. Brougham and his party were mistaken and disappointed. So far from "daily subsiding," religious differences came out year after year in stronger relief, in consequence of a deepening of the religious sentiment in the minds and hearts of the people. The more men were in earnest about their religion, the more strongly, as a matter of necessary consequence, did they assert the distinctive doctrines of their respective communions ; the more prominently were their "religious differences" brought into view, and the less were they inclined to forego their "religious peculiarities" in the work of education. Churchmen became more intent upon having Church education in their schools, while dissenters grew more determined to plant around theirs the fence of non-conformity.

The result was that, after years of conflict, the theory of non-religious education had to acknowledge itself vanquished on the floor of the House of Commons. The impossibility of subverting the existing schools, founded upon religion, and of substituting in lieu of them schools constituted on the non-religious principle, became more and more apparent ; and as, at the same time, the demand for school-extension became more and more pressing, the result was the determination come to by Parliament, in the year 1833, to make a pecuniary grant from the public purse, for the expansion of the then existing systems of religious, scriptural education. This victory of the religious education principle was not achieved without a hard struggle. Mr. Brougham was, indeed, removed from the arena where the battle had to be mainly fought, and reduced to the poor expedient of venting his unabated zeal in the cause by the occasional delivery of lectures on education in the Upper House of Parliament. His place in the Lower House was filled by Mr. Roebuck, who, supported by Messrs. Wilks and Brotherton, in vain attempted to pledge the House to the assertion, at least, of the principle, that means ought to be devised "for the universal and national education of the whole people,"



or, as one of their petitions expressed it, for the education, “not of a sect, but of a nation.”

In spite of all these efforts, the House of Commons not only repudiated the theory of a non-religious education, but voted a grant of 20,000*l.* annually—the amount at which it remained till 1839, when it was raised to 30,000*l.*—for educational purposes, to be applied in support of existing systems of education, at the discretion of the Lords of the Treasury. It is a fact worthy to be recorded that the first of these grants, voted in 1833, had to encounter the opposition, not only of Messrs. Hume, Warburton, Cobbett, Colonel Evans, and others of their school of politics, but of stanch Churchmen like Sir Robert H. Inglis, Sir E. Knatchbull, and others; and was carried against their combined opposition by a majority of two-thirds. The principle on which the grant was asked for and voted, is distinctly recorded in the Treasury Minute of August 30, 1833, drawn up under the direction of Lord Althorpe, the then Chancellor of the Exchequer, which laid down the following regulations:—

“1st. That no portion of this sum be applied to any purpose whatever except for the erection of new school-houses; and that in the definition of a school-house, the residence for masters or attendants be not included.

“2nd. That no application be entertained unless a sum be raised by private contribution, equal at the least to one-half of the total estimated expenditure.

“3rd. That the amount of private subscriptions be received, expended, and accounted for, before any issue of public money for such school be directed.

“4th. That *no application be complied with unless upon the consideration of such a report either from the National School Society, or the British and Foreign School Society, as shall satisfy this Board that the case is one deserving of attention*, and there is a reasonable expectation that the school may be permanently supported.

“5th. That the applicants whose cases are favourably entertained be required to bind themselves to submit to any audit of their accounts which this Board may direct, as well as to such periodical Reports respecting the state of their schools, and the number of scholars educated, as may be called for.

“6th. That in considering all applications made to the Board, a preference be given to such applications as come from large cities and towns, in which the necessity of assisting in the erection of schools is most pressing, and that due inquiries should also be made before any such application be acceded to, whether there may not be charitable funds or public and private endowments, that might render any further grants inexpedient or unnecessary.”—*National Society's Report for 1835*, p. 21.



Upon the face of these regulations, it is evident that the point in controversy was conceded by the State. They are all, with the exception of the fourth, of a purely financial character; framed with a view to make the most of the money, to limit its application to cases of real necessity, and to guard against its misappropriation. The only regulation which bears upon the principle of the education to be imparted in the schools aided by the grants recognises the two Societies, representing the one the Church, the other the Dissenters, and both insisting on a religious and scriptural education, as the exclusive channels for the appropriation of the grant. That this settlement of the question was generally agreeable to the country, appears from the eagerness with which applications for a share of the grant were made by parties willing to contribute from their own resources the sums required by the Treasury Minute. A Report from the Lords of the Treasury, laid before Parliament on the 7th of March, 1834, contains the following statement:—

“ There exists throughout Great Britain the utmost anxiety that the funds provided by Parliament, for the purpose of education, should be made generally useful; and private charity and liberality, so far from being checked, have been greatly stimulated and encouraged by reason of the public assistance afforded to the principle laid down in their Minute of August 10, 1833. The applications now before My Lords, and recommended to their favourable consideration, amount to the sum of 31,016*l.*, whereas the sum at their disposal does not exceed 11,719*l.* Applications have been received for 236 new schools, calculated for 55,168 scholars, and local and charitable funds were tendered to the amount of 66,492*l.*”

The extent to which the Church of England participated in those grants, appears from the following return:—

1833,	64	applications,	grants to the amount of	£11,081.
1834,	113	.	.	13,852.
1835,	225	.	.	16,796.
1836,	135	.	.	11,355.
1837,	155	.	.	16,631.
1838,	158	.	.	15,151.
<hr/>				
Total . .	850	.	.	£84,866.

According to these data, the educational efforts of the Established Church amounted to considerably more than two-thirds of those made throughout the country; and in reality, the preponderance was much greater, as there is throughout a marked difference between the grants made through the National Society, and those made through the British and Foreign School Society;

the latter being invariably larger in proportion. Thus, for example, in the year 1833, the National Society obtained upon 64 applications grants to the amount of 11,081*l.*, or on an average 173*l.* for each application; whilst the British and Foreign School Society obtained upon 34 applications 9976*l.*, or an average of 293*l.*; again, in 1836, the National Society, obtained upon 135 applications, grants to the amount of 11,355*l.*, or an average of 84*l.*, the British and Foreign School Society, upon 41 applications, 5810*l.*, or an average of 141*l.* It is hardly possible to avoid the conclusion, that the greater favour which the latter Society enjoyed in the eyes of "My Lords," is attributable to the fact that its system of religious instruction approximated more nearly to the negative principle in matters of religion, which was, and still is, the *beau idéal* of the party in power; the Church of England in her schools teaching the entire Bible, and the Catechism, while the British and Foreign School Society confines itself to extracts from the Bible, and teaches these "without note or comment," in careful avoidance of the distinctive religious tenets of the different sects by whom the Society is recognised as their educational organ. Still, as the return above quoted proves, all the favouritism shown to the Dissenters by the Government could not prevent more than two-thirds of the money voted by Parliament from being applied in aid of the liberal exertions made by Churchmen for promoting the cause of popular education.

Such a state of things could not but be extremely distasteful to the parties who viewed distinctive religious tenets of any kind as an obstacle to "national" education, and necessarily considered the religious teaching of the Church as the more objectionable, because the more positive and dogmatic. Accordingly, we find Lord Brougham, as early as the year 1835, attempting to carry the appointment of a Board of Commissioners, in whom should be vested the entire and absolute control of all educational charities, and of all public grants for education throughout the country. Resolutions and Bills to this effect were repeatedly introduced into the Upper House by the Noble Lord, but meeting with little encouragement from the House generally, and being left unsupported even by the Government, he made, practically, little or no way with his projects.

Yet, although unsuccessful, these attempts of Lord Brougham are important in the history of the controversy, because they serve to identify the sweeping educational measures contemplated by Mr. Henry Brougham in 1816 with the appointment of the Committee of Council in the year 1839. A Bill introduced by Lord Brougham, in 1835, proposed to establish a Board of Edu-

cation consisting of the Lord President of the Council, the Lord Privy Seal, the Secretary for the Home Department, and, if it were desired, the Speaker of the House of Commons. A similar Bill was introduced by the Noble Lord in the session of 1837, and again in the following session. On the former occasion, his Lordship described his measure, in reply to a question from Lord Lyndhurst, on the order for the second reading, in the following terms:—

“ He ought, perhaps, to state distinctly to their Lordships, that the Bill consisted of two branches—first, *the creation of a new department in the State*, a department which, he believed it was admitted on all hands, was greatly wanted. He meant *a department of public instruction*, as it was denominated in France, and which in Ireland was called a Board of Education. That department it was proposed to invest with such powers as would enable it to extend education throughout the country, to plant schools, to bestow properly those funds which might from time to time be afforded by Parliament in aid of this most important object, and to superintend the distribution of such other funds as might be raised by local taxation for this purpose.”—*Hansard, 3rd Series. Vol. xxxviii. col. 1619.*

Again, three days after, when, on account of the advanced period of the session, he withdrew the Bill, he said:—

“ The plan of this Bill was, that there should be a board of paid commissioners holding their places for life, and only removable, like the Judges, for misconduct, with a minister of the Crown at the head of the department.”—*Hansard, ibid. col. 1684.*

On that occasion, the principle of Lord Brougham's scheme for a “ Department of Education,” was adopted *totidem verbis*, by one who plays so conspicuous a part in the proceedings of the Committee of Council subsequently appointed. Lord Lansdowne is reported to have said, that,—

“ He should feel extremely sorry if it was supposed that his noble and learned friend's measure was deferred from any hesitation on the part of their Lordships in affirming its principle, so far as the measure related to education, and so far as it recognised the necessity of there being *some State authority for perfecting and advancing the system of education* which existed in this country.”—*Hansard, l. c.*

Still more remarkable are the observations which fell from Lord Brougham, on the 14th of August, in the following year, 1838, on the occasion of his withdrawing the same Bill again, having re-introduced it on the 1st of December, 1837. The powerful exposure by the Bishop of London,—to whom the Church is greatly indebted for his vigilant defence of her interests

throughout these discussions,—of the irreligious tendencies of the party in concert with whom Lord Brougham was understood to be acting, compelled his Lordship to make particular mention of the subject of religion, and of the manner in which he meant to deal with it in his educational system. After asserting that there was “no difference of opinion,” but “a general agreement as to the great principle of the measure,” viz. the creation of a new department in the State—an assertion strangely contravened by the events of the ensuing session—Lord Brougham went on to say :—

“There was one point, however, on which considerable disagreement prevailed; that point related to religious instruction. His feeling was, that every plan of national education should embrace religious instruction; and that, as a part of the system, the reading of the authorized version of the Scriptures should be introduced. On that point, he found some scruples were entertained by conscientious Roman Catholics. Their objection, however, could be met by the insertion of a clause, declaring that Roman Catholics and Jews should not be compelled to be present when the Scriptures were read. . . . Another point of objection rested on the same principle. It related to teaching the Church Catechism and the Thirty-nine Articles. Now he meant that, to meet this objection, it should be distinctly provided, that Jews and Roman Catholics should not be compelled to be present when the Catechism and the Thirty-nine Articles were expounded.”—*Hansard, 3rd Ser. Vol. xlv. col. 1174, 5.*

These, however, were only the skirmishes, before the decisive action. The first intimation that a crisis was at hand was given in the House of Lords by the Marquis of Lansdowne, in terms so characteristic of the progressive encroachment policy pursued afterwards by the Committee of Council, that we cannot forbear quoting them. On the 14th of February, 1839, his Lordship announced the intention of Government to introduce an education measure of their own, and then said :—

“The measure which would be introduced *might not perhaps be so extensive as the members of the Government thought it ought to be*; but it went as far as they thought practicable . . . . Their object at present, was, *rather to make a beginning*, than to introduce a complete plan; and, of course, with that object in view, *their measure would be of such a nature as would be least objectionable to all parties*, and which should meet all their feelings; and it would be for the House to consider, either in that or future sessions, when they had the experience of a beginning, whether it would be proper to extend it.”—*Hansard, 3rd Ser. Vol. xlv. col. 351.*

And what then was this “beginning” of a more “complete

plan" hereafter to be introduced, this small end of the wedge that was to be driven in, and to rive asunder religion and "national" education, hitherto so closely united? It was neither more nor less than the appointment of the Committee of Council on Education, and the establishment of a normal school under its auspices, on a plan which, while professing to pay all possible deference to religion, and more particularly to the faith of the Church of England, involved, in fact, a complete nullifying of all religion by the introduction into one and the same school of an endless diversity of creeds. The first disclosure of the plan was a correspondence laid before the House of Commons, between Lord John Russell, then Secretary for the Home Department, and the Marquis of Lansdowne, President of the Council. In that correspondence, the Noble Lord informed his colleague that it was Her Majesty's desire, with a view to remedy the great and lamentable deficiency in the matter of education, that he and four other persons, viz. the Lord Privy Seal, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, the Secretary for the Home Department, and the Master of the Mint,<sup>1</sup> should form a Board, who should be entrusted with the application of all grants. After adverting to the two systems then existing, that of the National Society, and that of the British and Foreign School Society, the former of which he characterizes as the "exclusive," and the latter as the non-exclusive system, his Lordship proceeds to extol, as infinitely superior to both, the system proposed by himself and his colleagues, a system which made secular instruction the leading, and religion a subordinate feature in the work of education; yet with the salvo that "it is Her Majesty's wish that the youth of this kingdom should be religiously brought up, and that the rights of conscience should be respected." The manner in which this was to be accomplished is more fully explained in the reply of Lord Lansdowne, who, with a simple desire to inform his colleague, as it appears, of his opinions, acquaints him that he considers a normal school for "literary and industrial" instruction as the first object, and suggests that it should be a positive condition that the teachers trained in it should be

"enabled to acquire and to give such religious instruction as may be required at all ordinary schools, in the principles of the Church of England, *without any exclusion of those who may be connected with such other religious persuasions as are known to prevail amongst a considerable portion of the population of the country*, who may be desirous of, and should be enabled to receive, similar instruction from their own ministers."

<sup>1</sup> This latter functionary was subsequently omitted from the Committee.

In fact, the normal school was to be a species of Christian Pantheon on a small scale ; a design which became yet more evident when the Minute of the newly-appointed Committee of Council dated April 11th—13th, 1839, ordering the establishment, and regulating the constitution, of the normal school, came to be laid before Parliament. That document which, having subsequently been withdrawn, is only to be met with among the Parliamentary records of the period, is much too important, in a historical point of view, to be passed over in the present sketch of the rise and progress of that “new department in the State,” known by the name of “the Committee of Council on Education.” That portion of it which relates to the subject in hand runs as follows :—

“To found a school in which candidates for the office of teacher in schools for the poorer classes may acquire the knowledge necessary to the exercise of their future profession, and may be practised in *the most approved methods of religious and moral training and instruction.*

“This school to include a *model school*, in which children of all ages, from three to fourteen, may be taught and trained in sufficient numbers to form an infant school, as well as schools for children above seven.

“Religious instruction to be considered as *general and special.*

“Religion to be combined with the whole matter of instruction, and to regulate the entire system of discipline.

“Periods to be set apart for *such peculiar doctrinal instruction as may be required* for the religious training of the children.

“To appoint a chaplain to conduct the religious instruction of children whose parents or guardians belong to the Established Church.

“The parent or natural guardian of every other child to be permitted to secure *the attendance of the licensed minister of his own persuasion* at the period appointed for *special religious instruction*, in order to give such instruction apart.

“To appoint a licensed minister to give such special religious instruction *WHEREVER the number of children in attendance on the model school belonging to any religious body dissenting from the Established Church, is such as to appear to this Committee to require such special provision.*

“A portion of every day to be devoted to the reading of the Scriptures in the school, under the general direction of the Committee, and the superintendence of the rector. *Roman Catholics*, if their parents or guardians require it, *to read their own version of the Scriptures*, either at the time fixed for reading the Scriptures, or at the hour of special instruction.”

From the above regulations it is evident that the scheme thus adopted upon the simple warrant of a correspondence between two Ministers of the Crown, and an Order in Council, is identically the



same which Lord Brougham had, for several successive sessions, attempted, but in vain, to pass through the House of Lords. It is true that the Jew is not mentioned by name; but neither is the limitation "Christian" introduced in the clause which gives to "the parent or natural guardian of every other child" the power of "securing the attendance of the licensed minister of his own persuasion;" which not only opens the door to the Rabbi, but leaves it very doubtful whether the Imaum and the Brahmin could, with any show of reason, be excluded. And, although, in the first instance, nothing seems to be contemplated but one normal school and a model school attached to it, yet, from the general tenor of the regulations, and especially from the expression "*wherever* the number of children in attendance on the Model School, &c.," it appears that the establishment of similar schools all over the country was in the minds of the framers of the Minute. For the dissemination of this system the following provision was made:—

"To appoint inspectors, not exceeding at first two in number, to carry on *an inspection of schools which have been, or may be hereafter, aided by grants of public money*, and to convey to conductors and teachers of private schools in different parts of the country, *a knowledge of all improvements in the art of teaching*, and likewise to report to this Committee the progress made in education from year to year.

"To grant *gratuities to such teachers as may appear to deserve encouragement.*"

The drift of the last-named provision is self-evident. Every encouragement was to have been held out to those who would consent to carry out the theories of the Committee of Council, the inspectors acting as the disseminators of the system all over the country. And in order to give themselves every latitude in this substitution of their own theory for the existing systems of education, the Committee of Council came to this further determination:—

"Not to adhere invariably to the rule which confines grants to the National Society, and the British and Foreign School Society,—nor to give the preference in all cases whatever to the school to which the largest proportion is subscribed."

The storm of opposition which the publication of this Minute raised in Parliament sufficiently indicated how obnoxious the proposed scheme was to the religious feeling of the people, and how clearly the *legerdemain* was seen through, by which it was attempted to overreach Parliament and the country. After years of conflict, in which the advocates of an essentially secular system of education had been invariably unsuccessful, the object



which Mr. Brougham, and after him, Mr. Roebuck and others, had vainly endeavoured to carry in the Commons, and Lord Brougham in the House of Lords, was presented to the two Houses as a *fait accompli*, established on a mere *dictum* of the Government of the day, by means of an Order in Council appointing a Committee, and that Committee drawing up a Minute. A constitutional question of the most vital importance, on which the legislature could not be induced to fall in with the views of the party in power, was disposed of behind the back of the legislature, under the form and pretence of a mere administrative regulation. There is scarcely an instance on record, of a government suffering as complete, and, we must add, as justly merited a defeat, as that which the Government of that day, substantially the same as the present Administration, suffered in both Houses. At the very sound of the approaching battle, the ministers beat a first retreat. In the House of Lords, the Bishop of London took occasion, on a motion for some papers, to expose the latitudinarian character of the scheme; and in the Commons, Lord Ashley gave notice of a call of the House. Seeing that their position was wholly untenable, the Government cancelled the Minute of the Committee of Council of the 11th—13th of April, and substituted in its place the following Order in Council:—

*“ At the Court at Buckingham Palace, the 3rd of June, 1839.*

*“ Present,—THE QUEEN’S MOST EXCELLENT MAJESTY IN COUNCIL.*

*“ WHEREAS there was this day read at the Board a Report from the Committee of Council appointed to superintend the application of any sums voted by Parliament for the purpose of promoting public education; which Report, dated the 1st of June, was in the words following; viz. :—*

*“ Your Majesty having been pleased, by your Order in Council of the 10th April, 1839, to appoint us a Committee of Council to superintend the application of any sums voted by Parliament for the purpose of promoting public education; We, the Lords of the said Committee, have this day met, and agreed humbly to present to your Majesty the following Report :—*

*“ The Lords of the Committee recommend that the sum of ten thousand pounds, granted by Parliament in 1835 towards the erection of normal or model schools, be given in equal proportions to the National Society and the British and Foreign School Society. That the remainder of the subsequent grants of the years 1837 and 1838, yet unappropriated, and any grant that may be voted in the present year, be chiefly applied in aid of subscriptions for building, and, in particular cases, for the support of schools connected with those Societies; but that the rule hitherto adopted of making a grant to those places where*

the largest proportion is subscribed be not invariably adhered to, should application be made from very poor and populous districts, where subscriptions to a sufficient amount cannot be obtained.

“The Committee do not feel themselves precluded from making grants in *particular cases which shall appear to them to call for the aid of Government, although the applications may not come from either of the two mentioned Societies.*

“The Committee are of opinion that the most useful application of any sums voted by Parliament would consist in the employment of those monies in *the establishment of a normal school, under the direction of the State, and not placed under the management of a voluntary Society.* The Committee, however, experience so much difficulty in reconciling conflicting views respecting the provisions which they are desirous to make in furtherance of your Majesty’s wish that the children and teachers instructed in this school should be duly trained in the principles of the Christian religion, while the rights of conscience should be respected, that it is not in the power of the Committee to mature a plan for the accomplishment of this design *without further consideration*; and they therefore *postpone* taking any steps for this purpose until greater concurrence of opinion is found to prevail.

“The Committee recommend that no further grant be made, now or hereafter, for the establishment or support of normal schools, or of any other schools, *unless the right of inspection be retained, in order to secure a conformity to the regulations and discipline established in the several schools, with such improvements as may from time to time be suggested by the Committee.*

“A part of any grant voted in the present year may be usefully applied to the purposes of inspection, and to the means of acquiring a complete knowledge of the present state of education in England and Wales.

“Her Majesty, having taken the said Report into consideration, was pleased, by and with the advice of her Privy Council, to approve thereof.

“(Signed) C. C. GREVILLE.”

When on the following day Lord Ashley’s motion came on, Lord John Russell, who had intimated his intention of seconding it, surprised the House—a surprise, of which Sir E. Knatchbull loudly complained,—by the announcement that the Minute of the Committee of Council of April 11th — 13th, was withdrawn. The terms in which he did so are too remarkable to be passed over without notice. He commenced by declaiming against the “misunderstanding, he would not call it misrepresentation,” to which the Minute had given rise, and then proceeded to say:—

“After the effect which it had produced, he had arrived at the conclusion, that *it would be unadvisable to pursue the proposed plan further AT PRESENT. . . . .* It was not the intention of the Government to

persist in the proposal to found the normal school. He should be prepared when the proper time arrived, to go into a statement on the report of the Committee of the Privy Council, and he should then propose the vote of which he had given notice, and he should also propose that it be divided, as at present, between the National School Society and the British and Foreign School Society; but in agreeing to this plan for the present, he felt bound to observe, that *he was by no means satisfied in leaving the matter as it was, and giving the control of the education to two voluntary societies*, which might have very imperfect and defective plans of education, which might be open to the most serious objections."—*Hansard, 3rd Series. Vol. xlvii. col. 1380, 1381.*

The ill-grace and ill-temper with which the Government gave way on that occasion before the religious feeling of the country, showed itself in a striking manner in the speech of Lord Morpeth, who so far forgot his accustomed mildness and courtesy, as to characterize the objections made to the Government plan as "offensive and mendacious misrepresentations;" an expression which Lord Ashley called on him to explain, when, so far from mollifying the asperity of his language, his Lordship said that he meant it to apply to "at least three-fourths of the statements which had appeared in opposition to the plan." At the same time he, like Lord John Russell before him, intimated that ministers had not abandoned, but only *postponed* their plan. He expressed a hope

"that there might be adopted, *at some future time*, a plan of universal education; for *he trusted this question was only delayed FOR THE PRESENT.* . . . . His noble friend would still call upon the House for a grant of 30,000*l.* for the purposes of national education, which should be distributed by the two Societies named by his noble friend; but *possibly under some better and different modifications* of the manner in which those Societies acted at present."—*Hansard. ibid. col. 1385.*

But this withdrawal of the most objectionable part of the Government scheme did not pacify either Parliament or the country. Though the latitudinarian normal and model school project was cashiered, the body which had set the project on foot, the Educational Committee of the Privy Council, still remained; and not only so, but it was plainly intimated by the Government, that their project was not relinquished, but only adjourned "*for the present.*" Accordingly, when the annual grant came before the House of Commons, the opposition was renewed, and directed against the very existence of the Committee of Council. Lord Stanley, who led the attack, pointed out, in the most forcible manner, the unconstitutional character of the Committee itself, and actually predicted the evil effects which would follow from its appointment, in the speech from which we have already given an ex-

tract at the beginning of this article. Sir Robert Peel was loud in protesting against the insult offered to the House of Lords, by a mode of proceeding which virtually excluded that branch of the legislature from all voice in the question of national education, and enabled the Government of the day, by the most insignificant majority in the Commons, to carry measures the most adverse to all the institutions of the country, and to the true sense of Parliament and of the people. The same ground was taken by Lord Ashley, who designated the arrangement as "this hideous chimera of an Educational Committee of the Privy Council." On the order of the day for going into committee of supply,—the form in which the question came before the Lower House,—being put to the vote, the Government had only a majority of five votes; 280 voting for it, and 275 against it; and this majority was reduced to two in the division upon the grant itself; the numbers being 275 against 273.

Nor was the House of Lords quiescent. The boldness and the success with which the late Archbishop of Canterbury stood forward, not only in vindication of the rights of the Church, but in defence of the interests of national religion, will ever be remembered as one of the brightest passages in His Grace's history. The division in the Commons, which, by an inglorious majority of two votes, affirmed the annual grant (raised from 20,000*l.* to 30,000*l.*), and with it the existence of the Committee of Council, as the body to whose administration the money was to be entrusted, took place on the 24th of June; and on the 5th of July the Archbishop moved a string of Resolutions, condemnatory of the appointment of the Committee. After recounting the whole of the proceedings which had taken place in regard to it, as well as to the Minute of the 11th—13th of April, since withdrawn, the Resolutions declared—

"That it appears to this House, that the powers thus entrusted to the Committee of Council, are so important in their bearing upon the moral and religious education of the people of this country, and upon the proper duties and functions of the Established Church, and at the same time so capable of progressive and indefinite extension, that they ought not to be committed to any public authority, without the consent of Parliament."—*Hansard, 3rd Series.* Vol. *xlvi.* col. 1253, 1254.

The resolutions next adverted in particular to the Order in Council of June 3rd, drawing attention to the fact, that no assurance was thereby given, that the scheme of April 11th—13th, would not be hereafter carried out at the discretion of the Committee, and concluded by the proposal of an address to Her Majesty, conveying these Resolutions, and praying—

“That her Majesty will be graciously pleased to give directions that no steps shall be taken with regard to the establishment or foundation of any plan for the general education of the people of this country, without giving to this House, as one branch of the legislature, an opportunity of fully considering a measure of such deep importance to the highest interests of the community.”—*Hansard*. l. c.

These Resolutions were carried against ministers by a majority of 229 (171 present, and 58 proxies), against 118 (80 present, and 38 proxies). The debate, in the course of which the Bishop of London made the powerful speech to which we have already referred in our opening remarks, was characterized on the ministerial side by the greatest bitterness of tone. Lord Lansdowne made a personal attack upon the Archbishop, whose “magnifying-glass,” he said, “he must borrow, in order to see the objections to the Order in Council, which had excited so much animadversion.” Lord Brougham, also, whose pet-child was strangled in the birth by these Resolutions, failed not to pour forth all the vials of his wrath, and all the torrents of his vituperation, upon the heads of those who supported the Resolutions, and especially of the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Bishop of London. The address to the Crown having been drawn up and duly presented, was replied to in a tone not often resorted to by the Crown in addressing the House of Lords, and especially the spiritual Peers, who had taken the lead in the motion for the address. The main substance of it is contained in the following passage:—

“It is with a deep sense of that duty (the duty of supporting the Established Church), that I have thought it right to appoint a Committee of my Privy Council to superintend the distribution of the grants voted by the House of Commons for public education. Of the proceedings of this Committee annual Reports will be laid before Parliament, so that the House of Lords will be enabled to exercise its judgment upon them; and I trust that the funds placed at my disposal will be found to have been strictly applied to the objects for which they were granted, with due respect to the rights of conscience, and with a faithful attention to the security of the Established Church.”—*Hansard*, 3d Series. Vol. xlix. col. 128.

After the communication of this reply to the Upper House, on the 11th of July, 1839, the question assumed the form of a drawn game. With a majority of but two votes on their side in the Commons, and an adverse majority of one hundred and eleven in the Lords, it was evident that the Government could not carry out their theories of education, at least “*for the present*.” Still they made one more attempt, in an indirect manner, to bring the education of the country within their grasp. A minute of the

Committee of Council drawn up on the 24th of September, 1839, settled the regulations which should govern the appropriation of the Parliamentary grant; and among these was the following:—

“The right of inspection will be required by the Committee in all cases; inspectors, authorized by Her Majesty in Council, will be appointed from time to time to visit schools to be henceforth aided by public money: the inspectors will not interfere with the religious instruction, or discipline, or management of the school, it being their object to collect facts and information, and to report the result of their inspections to the Committee of Council.”—*Minutes of Committee of Council, 1839-40, pp. 1, 2.*

The object of this inspection was avowedly to “*secure a conformity in the regulations and discipline established in the several schools, with such improvements as might from time to time be suggested by the Committee.*” This part of the Minute was, subsequently, withdrawn; but though the intention was no longer avowed, it was not on that account given up: so soon as the existence of the Minute became known, through the applicants for aid, to whom, in reply to their inquiries, this condition was communicated, it roused the almost uniform opposition of the promoters of Church schools throughout the country. The effect which it produced cannot be better described than in the words of the Venerable Treasurer of the Society:—

“In the month of September, 1839, when I first entered on my duties as Secretary to the National Society, I received letters every day from clergymen and other parties engaged in building Church schools, who stated, that, in compliance with their application to Government for assistance, they had obtained the offer of a grant from the Parliamentary vote; but that a new condition was annexed, which caused them much embarrassment. A State inspector, neither sanctioned nor directed in any way by the authorities of the Church, was to have the right of entering their schools, and, without inquiring into the religious education of the pupils, was to examine and report exclusively upon their secular attainments. The declared object of his visit was ‘to secure a conformity in the regulations and discipline established in the several schools, with such improvements as might from time to time be suggested by the Committee of Council.’ As State inspection was in itself a novelty, and as the form it had assumed seemed liable to serious objection, my correspondents throughout the country expressed an anxious wish to be advised, whether they should submit to the required condition, or reject the offered grant. The whole of the parties were impatient for an immediate solution of their difficulties, inasmuch as all were called upon by the Government to return an answer within a prescribed period, which would soon expire.

“Applications of this kind poured in upon me from every side, and caused me much embarrassment. My embarrassment was not lessened



by the circumstance, that the Committee of the National Society had previously fixed their next meeting for a day subsequent to the period alluded to. The members were all dispersed over the kingdom, and yet some immediate measures must be adopted. In this emergency I issued a private Circular, advising the several applicants to ask the Privy Council for further time, in order that, before returning a final answer, they might consult the National Society.

“ This Circular produced the favourable result I had anticipated. On the 16th of October, 1839, when the Committee assembled, I was able to inform them, that in case they should resolve on advising the applicants to decline public grants, I had already ascertained the general disposition to comply, however serious the pecuniary loss to be sustained. This fact had great influence. The Committee adopted the decided measure of recommending, that until the obnoxious condition was either modified or withdrawn, public money should be refused. The grounds of this recommendation are fully stated in the Society's Papers and Reports; and so deeply did they impress the public mind, that out of two hundred and four applicants for Government aid, only forty-nine accepted it; of that small number, fourteen afterwards declined it. Others in the strongest terms expressed their wish to do the same, if their poverty would permit them; while several boards of education in the country intimated their desire that the Society should have recourse to stronger measures, and expel from union any school, the managers of which should throw it open to the State inspector.”—*Charge delivered to the Clergy of the Archdeaconry of Middlesex, in May, 1845, by the Ven. John Sinclair, Archdeacon of Middlesex, &c., pp. 8—10.*

The uniform resistance thus made by the Clergy to the proposed right of inspection, boded another storm in the approaching session of Parliament, and the Government were, therefore, not indisposed for an amicable settlement of the terms on which the Church should, through the National Society, participate in the education grant. Negotiations were opened between the Committee of Privy Council and the Archbishop, the result of which was an Order in Council, dated August the 10th, 1840, sanctioning an arrangement for a regular system of inspection on the part of the Government, but under certain limitations, and with certain guarantees, stipulated for on the part of the Church. The following is the Order in question :—

“ *At the Court at Buckingham Palace, the 10th of August, 1840.*

Present,—THE QUEEN'S MOST EXCELLENT MAJESTY IN COUNCIL.

“ WHEREAS there was this day read at the Board a Report from the Lords of the Committee of Council on Education, dated the 15th July ultimo, in the words following, viz. :—

“ “ We, the Lords of the Committee of Council on Education, beg leave humbly to recommend to your Majesty that the following arrange-



ments be made for the inspection of such schools as are in connexion with the National School Society, or with the Church of England.

“ ‘ That before we recommend to your Majesty any person to be appointed to inspect schools receiving aid from the public, the promoters of which state themselves to be in connexion with the National Society or the Church of England, we should be authorized to consult the Archbishops of Canterbury and York, each with regard to his own province, and that the Archbishops should be at liberty to suggest to us any person or persons for the office of inspector; and that without their concurrence we should recommend no person to your Majesty for such appointment.

“ ‘ We further beg leave to recommend to your Majesty that if either of the Archbishops should at any time, with regard to his own province, withdraw his concurrence in our recommendation of such appointment, your Majesty would be graciously pleased to permit us to advise your Majesty to issue your Order in Council, revoking the appointment of the said inspector, and making an appointment in lieu thereof.

“ ‘ We further beg leave humbly to recommend to your Majesty to direct that such portions of the instructions to these inspectors as relate to religious teaching, shall be framed by the Archbishops, and form part of the general instructions issued by us to the inspectors of such schools, and that the general instructions shall be communicated to the Archbishops before they are finally sanctioned by us.

“ ‘ We are further of opinion that each of the said inspectors, at the same time that he presents any Report relating to such schools to the Committee of the Privy Council, should be directed to transmit a duplicate thereof to the Archbishop of the province, and should also send a copy to the Bishop of the diocese in which the school is situated, for his information.

“ ‘ We are further of opinion that the grants of money which we may recommend to your Majesty should be in proportion to the number of children educated and the amount of money raised by private contribution, with the power of making exceptions in certain cases, the grounds of which will be stated in the annual Returns to Parliament.’

“ Her Majesty, having taken the said Report into consideration, was pleased, by and with the advice of Her Privy Council, to approve thereof: and the Lord President of the Council is to take the necessary steps herein accordingly.

“(Signed) C. C. GREVILLE.”

On the part of the National Society and the Clergy generally, this arrangement was hailed with the utmost satisfaction; but there appears in the cautious language in which the Archbishop expressed himself on the subject in his place in Parliament a lurking fear lest the arrangement come to after so much dissension, should after all be disturbed or evaded by the Committee of Council:—

“ He felt it incumbent (His Grace is reported to have said) on him to

express the great satisfaction which he experienced at the adjustment of the differences which had existed between the friends of Church education and the Committee of Privy Council. The chief difficulty related to the appointment of inspectors, and that difficulty, he was happy to say, had been overcome. *Should the arrangements which had been made, be fully and fairly carried into effect*, which he believed would be the case, he had no doubt, judging from the nature of the discussions and negotiations which had taken place in reference to them, that they would be found to operate very beneficially."—*Hansard, 3rd Series. Vol. lv. col. 754.*

In the House of Commons, the doubt with regard to the practical working of the arrangement was still more strongly indicated by Mr. Goulburn, who, after expressing in general terms his satisfaction at the adjustment of the difficulties which had previously existed, observed:—

"He still retained those objections he formerly expressed, as to confiding the management and superintendence of the whole education of the people to a lay commission, composed upon the principle of recommendations by the Government. He felt that on a question involving the interests of all classes, it would have been expedient and more advisable that it should have been regulated *rather by an Act of the legislature, than by a discretion vested in a Board*, constituted as that was by which this pecuniary grant was to be administered."

That the suspicions thus expressed were not altogether unfounded, became first evident in the debate which took place in the year 1843, on the subject of Sir James Graham's Factory Education Bill; and more especially from the tenor of the Resolutions moved on the 1st of May, by Lord John Russell, as the leader of the opposition, and which it may not be useless at the present moment to draw forth from their hiding-place in the pages of Hansard. They were to the following effect:—

"1. That in any bill for the promotion of education in Great Britain, by which a board shall be authorized to levy or cause to be levied parochial rates for the erection and maintenance of schools, provision ought to be made for an adequate representation of *the rate-payers of the parish* in such board.

"2. That the chairman of such board ought to be elected by the board itself.

"3. That the Holy Scriptures in the authorized version should be taught in all schools established by any such board.

"4. That special provision should be made for cases in which *Roman Catholic parents may object to the instruction of their children in the Holy Scriptures* in such schools.

"5. That no other books of religious instruction should be used in such schools, unless with the sanction of the Archbishops of Canterbury and

York, and *the concurrence of the Committee of Privy Council for Education.*

“6. That in order to *prevent the disqualification of competent schoolmasters on religious grounds*, the books of religious instruction, other than the Holy Bible, introduced into the schools, should be taught apart by the clergyman of the parish, or some person appointed by him, to the children of parents who belong to the Established Church, or who may be desirous that their children should be so instructed.

“7. That all children taught in such schools should have free liberty to resort to any Sunday-school, or any place of religious worship, which their parents may approve.

“8. That any school connected with the National School Society, or the British and Foreign School Society, or any Protestant Dissenters' school, or *any Roman Catholic school* which shall be found upon inspection to be efficiently conducted, should be entitled, by licence from the Privy Council, to grant certificates of school attendance, for the purpose of employment in factories of children and young persons.

“9. That in the opinion of this House, *the Committee of Privy Council* for education ought to be furnished with means to *enable them to establish and maintain a sufficient number of training and model schools in Great Britain.*

“10. That the said Committee ought likewise to be enabled to *grant gratuities to deserving schoolmasters*, and to afford such aid to schools established by voluntary contributions, as may tend to the more complete instruction of the people in religious and secular knowledge, while, at the same time, the rights of conscience may be respected.”—*Hansard. 3rd Series. Vol. lxviii. col. 744-6.*

We shall hardly be charged with unfairness if we consider these Resolutions, put forward by the present Prime Minister while out of office, as the *programme* of what he and the Committee of Council, composed of members of his Cabinet, consider the most perfect arrangement for “national” education, and as the key to the measures adopted by that Committee since the return of the Whigs to office. The principal features of the plan set forth in Lord John Russell's Resolutions are :—

Local government of each school by an elective body, without any religious test.

Central government of all the schools throughout the country, by a State department of education.

The supply of schoolmasters, indifferent upon the point of religion, being, in their official capacity, of no religion, from training schools established under the auspices of the State.

The incorporation of these schoolmasters, as a profession distinct from the Church, under arrangements which render them dependent upon the State, as the party to whom they are to look for advancement, for gratuities, and the like.

Lastly, the separation of secular from religious instruction, confining the latter to certain hours, and committing it to the hands of the ministers of religion, under regulations which contemplate the National Church as one of many sects, and assign to her a kind of precedence of honour contingently upon her being in a majority in the school.

These being the points embodied in Lord John Russell's Resolutions, it is only giving him and his party credit for consistency of purpose to conclude that on his Lordship's return to office means would be sought for carrying these views into effect; and they have no right, therefore, to complain if their opponents, the supporters of religious, scriptural, Church education, think they can discern in the subsequent proceedings of the Committee of Council symptoms of approximation to the Whig ideal of popular education. It is certainly a remarkable coincidence, that the return of the Whigs to office in July, 1846, should have been followed within less than two months by the large scheme for the extension of the system of Government inspection, and for the employment of apprentice teachers, embodied in the Minutes of August 25th and December 21st, 1846; the whole of the machinery created by those Minutes having a direct tendency, by the prospect of pecuniary and other advantages, to produce in schoolmasters a feeling that it is highly to their interest to obtain the approbation of the Government inspectors, and, through them, of the Committee of Council. While, on the one hand, it would be unfair to deny that an organization of teachers and apprentices, such as is contemplated by those Minutes, cannot fail to add considerably to the efficiency of the whole system of popular education, it is impossible not to perceive that in proportion to the power resulting from such an organization must be the danger to sound religious education, if the supreme direction of the whole should happen to be in hands unfriendly to the Church, and to all positive and distinctive religious teaching. In what light such teaching is regarded by the present Committee of Council, and by their Secretary, may be gathered, among many other proofs, from the communication addressed by the latter to the Wesleyan Education Committee, in which he distinctly deprecates the rule of Church of England schools, which makes attendance at the Church and Sunday-school, and instruction in the Catechism, obligatory upon the scholars.

" Their Lordships greatly regret that the children of Dissenters are not admissible into Church of England schools without these requirements, and they would rejoice in a change in the regulations of such schools, providing for their admission.

" While on the one hand my Lords regard with respect and solicitude

the scruples which religious parents among the poor may feel to permit their children to learn the Catechism of the Church of England, they have felt themselves precluded from insisting upon a condition which might at once exclude Church of England schools, or at least the majority of them, from the advantages to be derived under the Minutes of Council.

“ Their Lordships hope that much may be expected from a careful review of the *civil and political relations of the school*, which has not at any previous period been *so fully acknowledged to be a national institution*. Regarded in this light, their Lordships cannot but hope that *the Clergy and laity of the Church of England will admit, that the view they take of the obligations resting upon them, as to the inculcation of religious truth, must be limited by their duty to recognise the state of the law as to the toleration of diversities in religious belief*, and especially in those who, on the basis of the Apostles' Creed, approach so nearly as the Wesleyan communion do, in doctrine, to the Church of England.”—*Minutes of Committee of Council*, 1846, vol. i. pp. 23, 24.

And a much greater authority than Mr. Kay Shuttleworth, Lord John Russell himself, declared, in his place in Parliament, on the 19th of April, 1847, that—

“ He thought a *very great hardship* in many of the Church schools in this country,—the existence of a rule disallowing children to come to them unless they learn the Church Catechism, and attend the Church on the Sabbath. He should see with great pleasure any *improvement* in the rules of Church schools on this point.”—*Hansard, 3rd Series*. Vol. xci. col. 975-6.

But however great may be the danger of the Committee of Council acquiring by degrees a pernicious ascendancy over the *personnel* of teachers in Church schools, through the operation of the scheme laid down in the Minutes of August and December, 1846, and the explanatory letter of July, 1847<sup>2</sup>, the danger is a remote one, the system proposed being necessarily slow and indirect in its operation; and, accordingly, the Minutes of August and December, 1846, have not only not provoked any violent opposition, but have, on the contrary, met with acceptance, we cannot help fearing, rather prematurely, at the hands of many managers and promoters of Church schools.

Not so the famous Management Clauses. In them the chains by which it was proposed to fetter Church schools, in such a manner as to render them susceptible hereafter of further modifications in accordance with the cherished theory of a universal

<sup>2</sup> The whole of these documents are contained in the first volume of the octavo edition of the Minutes of the Committee for 1846, the original Minutes at pages 1—15, and the explanatory letter at pages 34—46.

and purely secular State education, were too apparent to escape detection for any length of time. They seem to have been originally devised by the ingenious Secretary of the Committee of Council, whose views are, as is well known, in accordance with those of the party which returned to office in 1846. In the early part of the year 1846, he appears to have improved his leisure by framing those clauses, and imposing them, in the form of a recommendation which applicants for a share of the Government grant found it difficult to decline, upon Church schools. The parts principally objected to were, in Clause A :—

“ The minister for the time being of the said \_\_\_\_\_ or, in his absence, his curate, shall have *the superintendence of the religious instruction of the scholars* attending the said school; and in case any difference should arise between the said minister or curate and the committee of management hereinafter mentioned respecting *the religious instruction* of the scholars, or any regulation connected therewith, the said minister or curate, or any member of the said committee of management, may cause a statement of the matter in difference to be laid before the Bishop of the diocese, in writing, a copy of such statement having been previously communicated to the said committee of management, and also to the minister or curate, if not prepared by him : the said Bishop may inquire concerning and determine the matter in difference; and the decision of the Bishop, in writing, thereon, when laid before the committee of management, shall be final and conclusive upon the matter. But *in all other respects, the management, direction, control, and government of the said school* and premises, and of the funds or endowments thereof, and *the selection, appointment, and dismissal of the schoolmaster and schoolmistress, and their assistants*, shall be vested in, and exercised by, a committee, consisting of the minister of the said \_\_\_\_\_ for the time being, his licensed curate or curates, if the minister shall appoint him or them upon the said committee, the churchwardens for the time being, *if members of the Church of England*, and of \_\_\_\_\_ other persons, *members of the Church of England*, residents, or having a beneficial interest, to the extent of a life estate at the least, in real property, situated in the said \_\_\_\_\_, and subscribers in the current year, to the amount of twenty shillings at the least, to the said school : the said last-mentioned persons to be elected annually in the month of \_\_\_\_\_ by subscribers to the said school to the amount of ten shillings per annum at the least, and qualified in other respects as the persons to be elected.”—*National Society's Monthly Paper*, No. xxii. p. 2.

The latter provisions, regulating the constitution of the committee, were somewhat varied in the other Clauses. After the words “shall be vested in, and exercised by,” Clause B reads—

“ a committee, consisting of the minister of the said \_\_\_\_\_ for the time being, his licensed curate or curates, if the minister shall



appoint him or them upon the said committee, and of persons, of whom the following shall be the first appointed :

The said last-mentioned persons continuing to be *members of the Church of England*, and also to be residents, or to have a beneficial interest, to the extent of a life estate at the least, in real property, situated in the said , and to be subscribers in the current year, to the amount of twenty shillings at the least, to the said school ; and any vacancy which may occur in the number of persons last-mentioned by death, resignation, incapacity, or otherwise, shall be filled up by the election of a person or persons having a like qualification : such election to be vested in the subscribers to the said school to the amount of ten shillings per annum at the least, and qualified in other respects as the persons to be elected.”—*National Society's Monthly Paper*, No. xxii. pp. 3, 4.

Clause C leaves the appointment of a committee contingent upon the discretion of the Bishop, who is empowered to direct it if he sees fit, and, in the event of his doing so, vests the management of the school in—

“ a committee, consisting of the of the said parish for the time being, his licensed curate or curates, if the shall appoint him or them upon the said committee, or, in the absence or incapacity of the , then of the officiating minister, and of other persons, to be nominated and appointed by the said , or minister, as the case may be, out of *persons in communion with the Church of England*, and residents, or having a beneficial interest, to the extent of a life estate at the least, in real property, situated in the said parish, and subscribers in the current year, to the amount of twenty shillings at least, to the said school ; and any vacancy which may occur in the number of persons last-mentioned, by death, resignation, incapacity, or otherwise, shall be filled up by the election of a person or persons having a like qualification : such election to be vested in the subscribers to the said school to the amount of ten shillings per annum at the least, and qualified in other respects as the persons to be elected.”—*National Society's Monthly Paper*, No. xxii. p. 5.

Lastly, Clause D varies the same provision as follows :—

“ A committee, consisting of the minister of the said for the time being, his licensed curate or curates, if the minister shall appoint him or them upon the said committee, and of persons, of whom the following shall be the first appointed, namely :

the said last-mentioned persons continuing to be *members of the Church of England* ; and any vacancy which may occur in the number of persons last-mentioned, by death, resignation, or incapacity, or otherwise, shall be filled up by the election of a person or persons, being members of the Church of England, such election to be vested in the remaining members of the said committee, until the Bishop of the



diocese in which the school is situate shall, in writing, direct that such person or persons shall be elected by the subscribers to the said school; and thereupon the election shall be vested in the subscribers to the said school to the amount of ten shillings per annum at the least, and qualified in other respects as the persons to be elected."—*National Society's Monthly Paper*, No. xxii. p. 6.

The chief points of objection, which at once suggest themselves on perusal of these clauses, are, that the obnoxious distinction between secular and religious instruction is covertly, and by implication, re-introduced, and that the qualification for taking a part in the management of the school is so loosely worded, as to offer no guarantee whatever for a committee of *bonâ fide* Churchmen, that is, of communicant members of the Church; but rather, to make the nearest approach possible under the circumstances, to the principle of Lord John Russell's Resolutions, which place the school under the management of a committee of rate-payers.

In both these respects the Management Clauses constitute a plain violation of the limits of State interference settled between the Archbishop and the Committee of Council, and affirmed by the Order in Council of August 10th, 1840. The dictation of the Committee of Council, with regard to the constitution of the body of managers, was, in itself, and irrespectively of the propriety or otherwise of the terms of that constitution, an encroachment upon that freedom of action to which, after the compact of 1840, Churchmen were clearly entitled. And, as regards the distinction between secular and religious education, the terms of the settlement of 1840 are exactly reversed; for it was the condition of inspection agreed upon in 1840, to impose a limit upon the Government inspector, who is not to take cognizance of religious instruction, leaving the school in all respects to be managed by the Church, in whatever way the founders of the school may see fit; on the contrary, the Management Clauses impose the limitation upon the Church, as represented by her Bishops and Clergy, giving them cognizance of the religious instruction only, and reserving the general management of the school to a body much more liable, from the very laxity of its constitution, to be brought under the control of the Committee of Council; a provision but too likely, in practice, to lead to the reproduction, on a small scale, within the managing body of every parochial school, of the unhappy divisions caused by political parties in the State.

But if the tenor of these Clauses was objectionable, the manner of their introduction was still more so. After the conclusion, in 1840, of a solemn compact between the authorities in

Church and State, the Archbishop on one hand, and the Privy Council on the other, respecting the conditions of assistance from the Parliamentary grant, fresh conditions were now imposed, and that without so much as the courtesy of a communication with the Heads of the Church, or with the Committee of the National Society; nay, as far as the evidence of the published Minutes goes, without any previous direction or authority from the Committee of Council itself, simply at the will and dictation of its Secretary, whose disposition to constitute himself "Minister of Education" is sufficiently notorious to render any remark of ours on that point superfluous. The subtle proceeding resorted to by him for procuring the insertion of one or other of the clauses in the trust-deeds of Church schools, was soon brought under the notice of the Committee of the National Society, by applicants distressed and perplexed by these new terms of admission to a share in the public grant. The result was a communication from the Committee of the Society to the Secretary of the Committee of Council, in which the Committee of the National Society express themselves desirous "that the promoters of education throughout the country should have the same liberty of choice, as to the constitution of the schools, which has hitherto been conceded to them, both by the Committee of Council and the National Society." Somewhat inconsistently with this desire, and, we cannot but think, rather incautiously, the Committee of the Society added to this remonstrance an offer "to concur with the Committee of Council in recommending the above Clauses to applicants for aid, it being understood that the applicants may select the clause most adapted to their own case;" and with a further stipulation, that "the moral and religious superintendence of the school," instead of "the superintendence of the religious instruction of the scholars," should be vested in the minister, with an appeal to the Bishop<sup>3</sup>.

This remonstrance of the Committee of the National Society, is dated May 12th, 1846; but no notice was taken of it till the 29th of September following, three months after the return of the Whigs to office, when the Secretary of the Committee of Council informed the Archbishop that "my Lords" consented to concede to the minister, not indeed "the moral and religious superintendence of the school," but "the superintendence of the moral and religious instruction of the scholars." This half-concession was, however, coupled with a somewhat peremptory intimation, that "my Lords are desirous that no doubt should exist,

<sup>3</sup> National Society's Monthly Paper, No. xxii. pp. 1, 2, and Minutes of Committee of Council, 1846, vol. ii. p. 25.

that the National Society are prepared to employ their influence with the promoters of parochial schools, on all occasions, to procure the adoption of the Clauses." In his reply to this communication, the Archbishop, on behalf of the Committee of the Society, acquiesced in the alteration of the terms respecting "the superintendence of the moral and religious instruction," and repeated the "expression of their desire, that the promoters of education throughout the country should have the same liberty of choice, as to the constitution of their schools, as had hitherto been conceded to them, both by the Committee of Council, and by the National Society." To this letter of the Archbishop no reply whatever was vouchsafed by Mr. Kay Shuttleworth; but on the 28th of June, 1847, the three letters were placed on the Minutes of the Committee of Council, and a series of Resolutions was added, by which the Secretary was "instructed to recommend the adoption in each case of such one of the above-mentioned Management Clauses, as may appear most suitable to the character and number of the population of the school district." For the guidance of the Secretary, the Committee further defined the cases in which each one of the Management Clauses should be so recommended. The cases so defined were:—

1. Populous districts of towns, in which the intelligent and wealthy inhabitants are numerous. In these cases, Clause A was to be recommended, with a modification, giving, as previously agreed, to the clergyman "the superintendence of the moral and religious instruction," but still confining the appeal to the Bishop to "the religious instruction,"—or any regulation connected therewith.

2. Towns and villages, in which the well-educated and wealthy classes may be less numerous, and rural parishes having not less than 500 inhabitants, with at least three or more resident gentlemen or intelligent yeomen, manufacturers or tradesmen. Here Clause B was ordered to be recommended, with the same modifications as to moral and religious instruction as in Clause A.

3. Rural parishes, containing fewer than 500 inhabitants, and all districts in which, from poverty and ignorance, the number of subscribers is limited to very few individuals, and great difficulty is experienced in providing a succession of school managers. In such cases, Clause D was to be recommended, modified as before.

4. Very small rural parishes, in which the resident inhabitants are all illiterate and indifferent to the education of the poor, and in which the clergyman has, by his exertions and sacrifices, given proofs of his zeal for the education of his parishioners. For this case, Clause C was reserved as a special and singular concession.

Thus far, the Minute of the Committee still preserves the ex-

pression "recommend;" but the conclusion of the Minute contains language which clearly implies that the adoption of the Clauses was intended to be made compulsory. Some modifications of the various Clauses are specified, which, it is said, "*may be permitted*;" and the whole concludes with this ominous addition:—

"That any case in which the promoters of the erection of a Church-of-England school shall desire to depart, in any respect, from these arrangements, for the management of their school, whether as considered in relation to the character and numbers of the population of the school district or otherwise, the question thus arising shall be submitted to the special consideration of the Lord President, in order that, if he think it expedient, he may lay the case before the Committee of Council on Education."

As usual, this Minute of the Committee was reserved *in petto*; the *cardinal* Secretary of the Committee acting the part of Pope to himself, and opening his own mouth on the transactions of the "Secret Consistory," at such times as he judged to be most convenient. The effect only of the Minute was felt by the applicants for aid, who were subjected to its rules with the utmost stringency; a circumstance which led to much discussion of the question in public prints and periodicals, and to multiplied communications with, and deliberations by, both the Committee of the National Society and Diocesan Education Boards. Eventually the Archbishop, as President of the Society, was requested to open a further negotiation with the Lord President of the Council, upon the basis of a "memorandum," drawn up for this purpose, and dated April, 1848. In this memorandum, after recounting the history of the Management Clauses up to the still unanswered letter of the Archbishop, of November 23rd, 1846, the Committee of the Society say:—

"Since the adoption by the Committee of Council on Education of the existing management clauses, the Committee of the National Society have received strong remonstrances from the Clergy and laity in various parts of the country, which convince them that *much dissatisfaction has arisen among the promoters of schools in connexion with the Church, of such a character as to threaten greatly to interfere with those endeavours for extending education amongst the poorer classes*, which have been of late so zealously made, and from which such beneficial results have been obtained.

"The dissatisfaction which has been expressed, appears to the Com-

<sup>4</sup> See for the whole of this Minute, the "Minutes of the Committee of Council" for 1846, vol. i. pp. 25—33.

mittee to have arisen partly from the apprehension which is felt *lest the Committee of Council should not only recommend, but proceed absolutely to enforce, in all cases, the adoption of one or other of the present clauses* as a condition in making a grant towards building a school, and partly from objections to the forms themselves.

“The Committee of the National Society would still desire to see *as large an amount of liberty as possible preserved to the local founders of schools*, through fear of checking the efforts of many of the friends of education.

“But dissatisfaction has also arisen from specific provisions in the management clauses. Now, when the clauses were first adopted by the Committee of Council, the Committee of the National Society felt that their attention was called to a subject on which they had not heretofore bestowed sufficient consideration; and being anxious to supply this defect, and to co-operate with the Committee of Council, they were ready, as far as possible, to acquiesce in the forms suggested, even though they might not contain the exact provisions which the National Society would itself have originated, or embody all that the Society might think desirable. Accordingly, the Committee of the National Society would now proceed to suggest certain alterations, which they believe would make the clauses more generally applicable and more readily accepted.”—*National Society's Monthly Paper*, No. xxii. p. 9.

Into the details of these suggestions, and of the negotiations which followed, both before and after the annual meeting of the Society on the 8th of June, 1848,—when the agitation of the question afforded evidence of the strong feeling that is abroad on the subject,—we have neither space nor inclination to enter. The painful discussions which have taken place are no doubt fresh in the recollection of our readers; and those who are not familiar with the subject, and wish for further information, we would refer to the correspondence itself, as published *in extenso*, in the Society's Monthly Paper, No. xxii. pp. 8—20, and to Mr. Denison's Letter to the Bishop of Bath and Wells, mentioned at the head of our article. There is one point, however, which we cannot forbear noticing, seeing that it is the most important point remaining still at issue—a point, not unnaturally, of conscience with those who conceive that to the episcopal office belongs the power of supervision over the whole work of education,—and that the refusal of the Committee of Council to accede to the request of the Church in this particular furnishes a striking proof of the profound ignorance of the Committee on the subjects on which they so arbitrarily legislate, or rather dictate. The case is thus stated by the Secretary of the Committee of Council, in his last published communication to the Archbishop:—

“The Committee of the National Society appear to concur with their

Lordships in the adoption of these arrangements (the provisions for arbitration in cases of dispute) *as a general rule*; but they urge the admission of an exception in those cases in which two-thirds of the persons subscribing to the erection of the building (as in the adoption of Clause D) shall desire that the appeal, on matters not relating to religious instruction, should be made to the Bishop of the diocese alone.

“My Lords have given their careful attention to the precedents afforded by the statutes of ancient foundations, and to the state of the law with respect to grammar and other schools. They do not find that the law has ever recognised a visitatorial or appellate authority in the Bishop over such foundations and schools; but, on the contrary, that in the cases where any such special authority is conferred, it owes its origin to the will of the founder.

“Their Lordships are of opinion, that the broadest distinction exists between schools which owe their origin solely to private benefactors, and those the establishment of which is largely aided by the State, and which must also, to a great extent, depend for their efficiency, if not for their existence, on annual assistance from the public resources.

“On these grounds their Lordships must finally declare, that they cannot consent to permit the permanent constitution of the school in so important a matter as the establishment of an appeal to the Bishop of the diocese in matters not relating to religious instruction to be determined by the local subscribers to schools, to the establishment and support of which it is now provided that the State should so largely contribute.”—*National Society's Monthly Report*, No. xxii. p. 20.

Now without going back to the *dictum* of Chief Justice Twining, in the reign of Henry IV., “*La doctrine et information des enfants est chose spirituelle*;” without travelling over the many proofs of the jurisdiction of bishops over schools which might be adduced from the earlier part of the history of our Reformed Church, or the many individual cases which might be brought forward of an episcopal visitatorial power over foundation schools, it will suffice to point out the enactment of the canons of 1603, which subjects the exercise of the schoolmaster's calling to the licence of the Bishop; a provision, the principle of which was re-affirmed by Chief Justice Holt, in the case of “*The King v. Hill*,” in the year 1701, when he laid it down, that, “without doubt, schoolmasters are, in a great measure, entrusted with the instruction of youth in principles, and, therefore, *it is necessary they should be of sound doctrine, and in order thereto, subject to the regulation of the Ordinary*.” How much longer this principle continued to be acted upon in practice it is difficult to say, as it appears to have fallen into desuetude very gradually, and almost imperceptibly. What has been said, however, is quite sufficient to establish the total inaccuracy, as to law and fact, of the plea on which the Committee of Privy Council rely for their refusal to *permit* Churchmen, if they wish it,



to refer to the Bishop alone all disputes arising in the management of a school founded by themselves, at their own expense. As for the flourish about the State contributing "so largely" to the establishment of schools, it is hardly necessary to observe, that, in all cases, especially of Church schools, the contributions of the Committee of Council from the Parliamentary grant bear an exceedingly small proportion to the sum total of voluntary offerings.

Leaving the question of the Management Clauses, which is still pending<sup>b</sup>, the negotiations having been re-opened since the ultima-

<sup>b</sup> While these sheets were going through the press, we have obtained a copy of the latest communication addressed, after long and anxious deliberation, to the Committee of Council, by the Committee of the National Society, which accordingly we subjoin :—

"Sir,—I have the honour to inform you that your letter to his Grace the Archbishop of Canterbury, dated the 30th of August, 1848, on the subject of the management clauses in the trust deeds of Church schools, was forwarded by his Grace to the Committee of the National Society. Their answer has been delayed to the present time, in consequence of the continued absence of the majority of the members of that Committee from London.

"The Committee lament that the appeal to the Bishop of the diocese is still restricted by their Lordships to matters relating to religious instruction. They lament this the more, not only because the distinction between religious and secular instruction is sometimes narrow and hard to be defined, especially in elementary schools for the poor, and when that distinction becomes a question for legal interpretation, but because many of the warmest supporters of national education consider that appeal to be a point of the greatest importance in respect to the principle it involves. The Committee see much reason to apprehend that this restriction may have the effect of deterring many zealous friends of education from co-operating heartily with the Committee of Council and the National Society in the promotion of that important object.

"The Committee would ask of their Lordships to reconsider the restraints which they recommend in the adoption of Clause D, some of which the Committee believe are not really necessary to secure the efficient management of schools, whilst they remain open to the objections stated by the Committee in their letter of the 9th August, and would practically prevent the promoters of schools from exercising that limited freedom of choice which it is intended they should enjoy.

"The Committee also solicit the attention of their Lordships to the permission (which has been already granted) to vest the management of schools in Church communicants ; but which permission it is proposed to subject to restraints which seem unnecessary, and may be inconvenient ; and the Committee believe that unrestricted permission to place schools under the control of Church communicants when that qualification for the office of lay managers is desired by promoters of school buildings, will be regarded with favour by many zealous friends of the religious education of the people, and can in no degree obstruct the efficient management of schools.

"The Committee desire to point out an important omission in the clauses which their Lordships will no doubt see the necessity of supplying. No provision has been made for enforcing the decision of the appellate jurisdiction. If the Bishop, for example, should, on appeal being made, decide that any book objected to on religious grounds ought to be excluded from the school, no power at present exists to enforce his decision ; and even if he should determine that the teacher, on account of his defective or unsound religious instruction, is unfit for his office, such teacher might continue to be the instructor of a Church school, no provision being made for his dismissal.



tum of the Committee of Council of August 30th, 1848, we now turn to another part of the subject, in which the mischievous effect of the discretionary power vested in the Committee of the Privy Council appears in a still more glaring light: we allude to the recent determina-

“It is also doubtful whether provision has been made to give the Mixed Board of Appeal those powers which are indispensably necessary for the effective discharge of their functions.

“The Committee cannot doubt but that their Lordships will carry out the manifest intention of the clauses by the insertion of such provisions as shall give effect, in the foregoing cases, to the decisions of the person or persons in whom the appellate jurisdiction is vested.

“The Committee have been influenced by a strong desire to render the management clauses framed by the Committee of Council more generally acceptable to members of the Church of England, being convinced that, without their cordial co-operation, the present system of promoting national education, by public grants in aid of local efforts, cannot be successful; and that the most perfect machinery for public education which fails to engage the sympathies, and draw forth the exertions, of religious persons, will be utterly unavailing.

“When the Clauses were originally framed the Committee agreed to recommend them upon the distinct understanding, that the promoters of education throughout the country should be at liberty to select the Clause best adapted to their own case; and they have expressed, on various occasions, their desire that applicants for aid should have the same liberty of choice, as to the constitution of their schools, which had previously been conceded to them both by the Committee of Council and the National Society. To the withdrawal of that concession on the part of their Lordships, and to the enforcement of a particular Clause as a condition of receiving public aid, must be attributed, in a great measure, that jealousy of a central control, and those apprehensions with respect to government interference, which have been so decidedly expressed in various parts of the country during the last few months. It would no doubt have been a great advantage (as the Committee of the National Society have acknowledged) if Management Clauses could have been so framed as to be adopted by general consent. But it has become more and more apparent, during the progress of this correspondence, that the Clauses which have hitherto been proposed are not generally acceptable, and that the attempt to enforce them has caused serious embarrassments; and it may be reasonably doubted whether, in the present state of the question relating to national education, it be expedient to impose upon the founders of schools any system of management which shall not be open to modification by competent authority at some future time.

“In these and all their previous suggestions the Committee have endeavoured to point out practical improvements, and they have given warning of difficulties likely to interfere with the attainment of the end which they have at heart, in common with the Committee of Council. But they feel that they should not fully discharge their duty in this respect, if they did not advert to the very widely-spread feeling of uneasiness arising from the uncertainty of the basis on which all arrangements, relative to the distribution of Parliamentary grants for the purposes of education, at present rest. To re-establish general confidence is admitted on all hands to be an object of the highest importance; and the communications received by the Committee of the National Society have impressed them with the strongest conviction, that there is little likelihood of attaining this object without the adoption of some measures by which the previous sanction of the two Houses of Parliament shall be made requisite for every important step to be taken by any public authority in the matter of national education.

“I have the honour to remain, Sir, your obedient servant,

“JOHN G. LONSDALE, Secretary.”

“To the Secretary, Committee of Council on Education,  
Downing-street.”

tion of the Committee to grant aid to Roman Catholic schools. That the recognition of Popery in the matter of State education was contemplated all along by the party whose theories it is the aim and the business of the Committee of Council, as at present constituted, and of its Secretary at all times, to carry into effect, has already come out incidentally in the preceding account of the various stages of this great national and religious controversy. So far as the consistency of that party is concerned, they are to be found fault with, not for the admission of Papists to a share in the Parliamentary grant, but rather for the strange contradiction of their using every effort to deprive Church schools of their distinctive, or, as they term it, "exclusive" character, and to mould them to their latitudinarian notions, while, at the very same moment, they are making arrangements for giving aid to Roman Catholic schools, upon the most exclusively Romish principle. What we are concerned with, however, is not so much to inquire into the consistency or inconsistency, in evil, of the party which has identified itself with these baseless and pernicious education theories, as to examine what reliance can be placed upon the Committee of Council on Education, for carrying out, *bonâ fide*, and honestly, the intentions of the Legislature, and the principles of State assistance for educational purposes which were settled by the compact of 1839-40, not only between the Archbishop and the Privy Council, but between the two great parties in the State.

The history of the case, as far as the Roman Catholic question is concerned, is exceedingly brief and simple. The Treasury Minute of August 30th, 1833, proves, that in voting the first education grant, the Legislature contemplated assistance only to schools established under the auspices of the National School Society, and the British and Foreign School Society; in other words, to religious education, founded upon instruction in the Holy Scriptures. To the same effect are the regulations laid down by the Committee of Council itself, in a Minute dated December 3rd, 1839, which had for its object to determine what inquiries should be made in cases of application for aid coming from other parties, and not through the two societies before named; such cases being contemplated as "special cases" by a previous Minute of September 24th, 1839. Among these inquiries is the following:—

"Whether the Bible or Testament will be required to be read daily in the school by the children, and whether any and what Catechism will be taught, and whether, if the parents or guardian of any child object to such catechetical instruction, it will be enforced or dispensed with."  
—*Minutes of Committee of Council, 1839-40, p. 13.*

And in accordance with this inquiry is contained in the same Minute the following Resolution :—

“That on these facts in relation to each case being presented to the Committee, and their Lordships being satisfied that the regulations of the 24th of September will in all other respects be fulfilled, they will limit their aid to those cases in which proof is given of a great deficiency of education for the poorer classes in the district ; of vigorous efforts having been made by the inhabitants to provide funds, and of the indispensable need of further assistance ; and to those cases in which competent provision will be made for the instruction of the children in the school ; *the daily reading of a portion of the Scriptures forming part of such instruction.*”—*Ibid.* p. 14.

If any doubt could remain as to the sense of this Minute of 1839, in limiting the aid from the Parliamentary grant to schools imparting scriptural, and therefore, of necessity, Protestant instruction, and that this was all along the recognised and understood principle of the annual Parliamentary education grant, such doubt would be completely done away with by a Minute of the Committee of Council of June 28th, 1847, which distinctly and expressly treats of the interpretation of the former Minute. In the first place, this Minute embodies a letter addressed to the Wesleyan Education Committee by the Secretary of the Committee of Council, in which he says, that he is “directed to furnish them with the following explanations on the several matters to which they relate, *resulting from recent deliberations of the Committee of Council.*” The first of these explanations is as follows :—

“Schools not connected with the National and the British and Foreign School Societies have been admitted to the benefits derivable from the Parliamentary grants, by means of the Minute of the 3rd of December, 1839. It was their Lordships’ intention, when they adopted the Minutes of August and December, 1846, to remove the stringency of the preamble to the Minute of the 3rd of December, 1839, which declares, that if the school be not in connexion with either of those Societies, the Committee of Council will not entertain the case, unless some special circumstances be exhibited to induce their Lordships to treat the case as special. This part of the preamble having been removed, the schools recognised by the Education Committee of the Wesleyan connexion would be admitted to the benefits of the public grants *on the conditions observed in common, both by schools connected with the National and with the British and Foreign School Societies.*

“But no school would be admitted to the enjoyment of these advantages which did not fulfil the requirement contained in the Resolutions with which the Minute of the 3rd of December, 1839, concludes,

namely, *that the daily reading of a portion of the Scriptures shall form part of the instruction in the school.*

*"It has always been intended by the Committee of Council that these words should be understood as requiring that THE ENTIRE BIBLE, IN THE AUTHORIZED VERSION, should be required to be in use in schools aided by public grants, so far as such a condition did not interfere with the constitution of the schools of the British and Foreign School Society, as founded under the patronage of his late Majesty George III., and subsequently sanctioned by Parliament since 1833, and which constitution includes the use of the Holy Scriptures, or extracts therefrom.*

*"Their Lordships have not superseded the operation of their Minute of 3rd December, 1839, by their Minutes of August and December, 1846. The whole series of Minutes are connected, and are to be deemed mutually explanatory."—Minutes of Committee of Council, 1846, vol. i. pp. 20, 21.*

Besides placing this letter on their Minutes as an official record, the Committee of Council, as if to make assurance doubly sure, added, in the Resolution confirming the explanations given in the letter, the following declaration :—

*"Their Lordships understand, that by the Minute of the 3rd December, 1839, the use of the entire Bible in the authorized version was intended to be required in schools aided by public grants, so far as such a condition may not interfere with the constitution of the British and Foreign School Society."—Ibid. vol. i. p. 24.*

Now we conceive that if upon this emphatic assertion of a constant determination to insist upon the "daily reading of the Scriptures," and that "in the authorized version," as a *sine quâ non* of State assistance to schools, we had suggested that the Committee of Council entertained an intention, at the very same time, of granting aid from the Parliamentary fund to Roman Catholic schools (from which not only the authorized version is banished as a heretical book, but which discountenance the reading of the Bible in any version), and that with an express understanding that no question whatever should be asked as to the religious instruction imparted in those schools, we should have laid ourselves open, most justly, to a charge of dealing in calumnious insinuations of the very grossest and most unfounded nature. How the Committee of Privy Council came to establish a charge of such monstrous and incredible inconsistency against itself,—how it was possible for the same men to proclaim with one and the same breath the principle of Protestant scriptural education, and the principle of Popish education without any guarantee for the use of the Scriptures, is an enigma which, we confess, surpasses the limits of our capacity. We feel most par-

ticularly thankful that we are not placed in a position in which it might be incumbent on us to explain the principles, or to account for the proceedings, of the Committee of Council on Education. Our humble duty, happily, will be satisfied by a simple statement of facts; and these we now proceed to set forth in all their nakedness. On the 15th of April, 1847, Lord John Russell, being called upon by Sir James Graham in the House of Commons to explain a somewhat unintelligible explanation given by Lord Lansdowne in the House of Lords, a short time before, expressed himself to the following effect. Speaking of his noble colleague in the other House, he said that—

“ He referred to the decision of the Committee of Council in 1839, in which it is declared that *in all schools so aided the authorized version of the Scriptures must be used*. That was the decision made in 1839, in which I believe, though there have been some two or three cases of Roman Catholic schools brought under the consideration of the Committee of Council, has not since 1839 been departed from. But Lord Lansdowne thought it necessary to add, in order to prevent any misconception on the part of those to whom that answer was given, that *although the Minute declared that the authorized version of the Scriptures must be used in its integrity in any school to which such aid was given, neither he, nor, he believed, the Committee of Council, would feel themselves at all precluded from preparing or agreeing to other Minutes by which aid might be given to Roman Catholic schools*, in cases where they thought fit, from the constitution of such schools, that such aid should be granted. . . . I am not prepared to say that there may not be certain cases of Roman Catholic schools in which it might not be fit to give aid. But the terms of the limits to be set require very deliberate consideration, and these terms of the Minute will be maturely considered, and will be submitted to the House before any aid is asked for educational purposes from this House.”—*Hansard, 3rd Series*. Vol. xci. col. 820, 1.

The intimation thus thrown out gave rise to repeated questions, in reply to all which Lord John Russell declared that no part of the money to be voted that year should be applied to Roman Catholic schools; and, in particular, in answer to certain questions put to him by Sir B. Hall, his Lordship said, on the 19th of April:—

“ With respect to the grant of the present year, we do not propose that any part of the 100,000*l.* we shall now proceed to ask from the House, should be applied to these Roman Catholic schools. If we are able to frame a Minute which shall appear to us satisfactory on this subject, we shall either propose some additional grant in the course of the miscellaneous estimates, or reserve the subject for the grants of education proposed in another year. As I have stated, from 1839 down

to the present time, no grants have been given to Roman Catholic schools, as such, and *at present we make no change on the subject.*"—*Hansard, 3rd Series. Vol. xci. col. 952.*

In conformity with this intimation in Parliament, the letter to the Wesleyan Educational Committee before quoted, bearing date April 7, 1847, contains, in immediate connexion with the extract given (p. 87), in which the constant intention of requiring the use of "the entire Bible, in the authorized version," is asserted in terms as plain and strong as any which the English language supplies, the following intimation:—

"Their Lordships have hitherto made no provision for the extension of aid to Roman Catholic schools; but *they have not by their recent NOR BY ANY PRECEDING Minutes precluded themselves from presenting to Parliament further Minutes*, by which, upon a full consideration of the wants of the population and the constitution of the school, they may be enabled to grant such assistance. These further Minutes, when presented, will make *a separate provision for Roman Catholic schools*, and will in no degree unsettle the basis on which aid is now granted to other schools. Full opportunity will be given for the consideration and discussion of such Minutes before Parliament is called upon to carry them into execution; and no one who agrees to accept aid under the present Minutes will be thereby in any degree pledged to approve these future Minutes, or precluded from offering to them such opposition as he may think expedient."—*Minutes of Committee of Council, 1846, vol. i. p. 21.*

The Minute thus heralded by the Premier in Parliament, and by the Secretary of the Committee of Council, in his correspondence with the Wesleyans, was at last concocted on the 18th of December, 1847, when the Committee came to the following Resolutions:—

"1. That the Roman Catholic Poor School Committee be the ordinary channel of such general inquiries as may be desirable, as to any school applying for aid as a Roman Catholic school.

"2. That Roman Catholic schools receiving aid from the Parliamentary grant, be open to inspection, but that the inspectors shall report respecting the secular instruction only.

"3. That the inspectors of such schools be not appointed without the previous concurrence of the Roman Catholic Poor School Committee.

"4. That no gratuity, stipend, or augmentation of salary be awarded to schoolmasters or assistant teachers who are in holy orders; but that their Lordships reserve to themselves the power of making an exception in the case of training-schools, and of model-schools connected therewith."—*Minutes of the Committee of Council, 1847—8. Folio Edition, presented to Parliament, p. xxvi.*



Inconsistent as these Resolutions are with the whole tenor of the previous professions and proceedings of the Committee of Council, though certainly not with the known sympathies and the avowed intentions of its members, they do not, after all, disclose the whole of the mischief that is intended. On the contrary, there is a scheme on foot which these Resolutions seem expressly to guard against, but for which, nevertheless, a loophole is left in them; and if the statements of a Roman Catholic gentleman of high standing and respectability are to be believed, that scheme is neither unknown to, nor unsanctioned by, at least the official organs of the Committee. By the fourth Resolution there is a special provision—which no doubt it was, for obvious reasons, expedient to insert—that no part of the money is to be applied to the payment of teachers in schools who are “*in holy orders*,” with a reservation, however, of the case of training schools and model schools, which is wide enough to admit the payment out of the Parliamentary grants of no inconsiderable number of Popish priests, and especially of such as may be appointed to act as rectors and tutors of Jesuit training schools. But this reservation is not the only weak point in the provision introduced with such apparent jealousy in the fourth Resolution; for it does not exclude the employment, as Roman Catholic schoolmasters, at the expense of the State, of men belonging to *religious orders*, and more particularly of the members of an order which, from its devotion to the cause of popular education, and its connexion with the Jesuit order, is one of the most dangerous bodies to be introduced into a Protestant country. This point is strongly and pertinently urged in the Address of the National Club (No. 5, at the head of this article), where an extract is given from a speech which was delivered by the Hon. C. Langdale, at the “*Carlisle Catholic Soirée*,” in January last, and which was originally reported in *The Tablet*. The extract is as follows:—

“I believe we have the means within ourselves of having the most perfect and efficient schools that can be found in the country. And for this very reason—Those who are best calculated to know this subject, namely, *those who are employed under the Government Council of Education*, have more than once told me that the most efficient schools known to exist are in France, where they are *under the superintendence of the Christian Brothers*. I will explain to you what we mean by Christian Brothers, or teachers. . . . The religious orders are bound by solemn vows or promises to dedicate themselves to the education of the poor. That is what we mean by religious Brothers. . . . In some of our manufacturing and commercial towns, such as Liverpool, where there are public schools, taught by Christian Brothers, so deeply sensible are the merchants of the benefits the children receive, that there:

are more applications for children to fill the situation of clerks than the schools can provide for. They are so perfectly educated under the system adopted, that a more efficient class of teachers cannot elsewhere be found. I say it behoves us then, having the means within ourselves,—and *as we are put on a footing with the rest of the community in respect to the Government grant*,—to make efforts greater than we have hitherto made.”

The Resolutions of the Committee of Council, which have left a door open to the introduction into this Protestant land of an order of Popish monks, as the instruments of popular education at the public expense, were agreed to in December, 1847; but they were kept a profound secret during the whole of the last session. It was not till nearly the end of the session, when any decided move against them had become wholly impracticable, that they were presented to Parliament, and became by slow degrees known to the public out of doors. Whether the silence of both Houses on the subject, at a time when it was scarcely likely that members would take the trouble of examining the contents of a blue book of upwards of 600 folio pages, has been construed into such an acquiescence in the Minutes respecting Roman Catholic schools, as would justify the Committee in applying to that purpose any portion of the education grant of last year, we have not been able to ascertain\*. We trust, however, that before the

\* Since the above was written, the Secretary of the Committee of Council has put forth the following Circular for the information of Roman Catholic school teachers :—

*“ Committee of Council on Education, Privy Council Office,  
Downing-street, March, 1849.*

“ Sir,—The Committee of Council have before them applications, under the Minutes of August and December, 1846, from the managers of schools, in various parts of the country, on behalf of their masters, requesting that they may be admitted to an examination for the certificates of merit, which are necessary to the enjoyment of augmentations of salary under those Minutes.

“ Their Lordships have reason to know that other candidates only await the announcement of the period when the examinations will occur, and of its chief conditions, ere they present their claims to be examined. It is, therefore, proposed that a general examination shall commence on the 10th and 22nd of April next, for the purpose of awarding these certificates.

“ It is desirable that you should explain to all persons interested in these general examinations, that it is a necessary preliminary to the admission of any candidate to them, that the trustees or managers of his school should make application for that purpose to the Secretary to the Committee of Council on Education, Council Office, Whitehall, when the proper forms required to be filled up will be immediately forwarded.

“ In cases where the managers or trustees have already made such an application, and have received the Circular No. XIII., it will be sufficient to enter the requisite particulars opposite to the three heads in the annexed fly-leaf, and to detach this fly-leaf when so filled up, and return it to this office. No further steps need then be taken, except to provide that the candidates present themselves at the time and place appointed.

session is much further advanced, not only that question will be asked, but the whole subject will be brought under discussion, with a view, either to do away altogether with that excrescence upon our constitution, the Committee of Council on Education, or else to lay down, by a distinct legislative enactment, such definite limitations of its powers as to preclude it from further outrages upon the rights of the Church and the religious sense of the nation.

The points which such a legislative enactment ought to embrace, are few and simple.

1. Provision ought to be made against any interference whatever on the part of the Committee of Council with the management of Church schools. Let the right of inspection on the terms agreed upon in 1840, and the right of ascertaining the legal tenure of the school premises in the hands of proper Church trustees, be secured. This is all the State has a right to ask. The State claims no right of interference with the internal government of the different Dissenting communities; why, then, should it claim a right of such interference with regard to the

“The Lord President directs me to inform you that the examinations will commence at each of the places selected, on the day named, at six o'clock in the evening, in order to give time for the arrival of the candidates on that day, and at eight o'clock in the morning of each succeeding day. The examinations will be conducted in writing, and will be continued daily (Sunday excepted) from eight to eleven o'clock, and from two to five o'clock, and from six to eight o'clock. It will be necessary that every candidate should make arrangements for a daily attendance during one week; and masters who are candidates for the higher certificates, for the same attendance during some days of the following week.

“The examinations will be held by T. W. M. Marshall, Esq., H.M. Inspector, at London, in the Roman Catholic school at St. John's Wood, on the 10th of April, and at Sunderland, in St. Mary's Roman Catholic school, on the 23rd of April.

“The subjects in which each candidate will be examined, may be found by an examination of the enclosed broad sheet, which also contains full information as to the other conditions to be fulfilled, in order that grants in augmentation of the salaries of teachers may be obtained.

“You are requested to bring this circular immediately under the attention of the managers of your school, and, if you desire to become a candidate at the approaching examination, to move them to take the preliminary steps above described, in order that you may be entitled to attend.

“I have enclosed two copies of this letter in order that you may distribute them to such teachers as you may know to be anxious to offer themselves as candidates for certificates of merit.

“It may be important that you should correct a prevalent misconception, that it is necessary, in order to entitle teachers to attend this examination, that their schools should have been under inspection prior to the receipt of this circular. You are requested to inform all persons interested, that managers of schools may at any time place their schools under inspection upon application at this office, and at the same time, upon filling up the necessary forms, obtain admission for their teachers to the examination.

“I have the honour to be, Sir, your obedient servant,

“J. P. KAY SHUTTLEWORTH.”

Church? The vulgar reply, we are aware, is, that the Church being a State establishment, is bound to submit to such interference. We confess we do not see the cogency of this argument. The very fact that the Church is a State establishment implies that the Church's rules of internal government have the sanction of the State, and leaves, therefore, no legitimate scope for the interference with those rules on the part of a secular State authority, more especially if that authority be, as the Committee of Council on Education notoriously is, under the influence—not to say, under the control—of a party hostile to the Church. The State having recognised the Bishops, as the lawful rulers of the Church, has no right and no pretence to inflict upon her in her educational work the lay episcopate of Mr. Kay Shuttleworth, or of the Lord President of the Council for the time being.

2. Provision ought to be made against the appropriation of any part of the grant to the establishment or support of Popish schools, under whatever circumstances. The utmost respect for liberty of conscience does not demand that the State should lend its countenance and its aid to the inculcation of a religious system which sets the Word of God openly at nought. The case of Protestant Dissenters differs materially, in this respect, from that of the Romanists. We have no admiration for Dissenting education; but we are bound in fairness to say, that so long as the Dissenter teaches the scholars in his school to read the Bible, though he may instil along with it his own wrong-headed notions, he forges, in fact, weapons against himself. He establishes in the mind of the child a common ground of appeal, on which he may hereafter, as is the case in numberless instances, be convicted of his error, and brought to a better mind. The Romanist does no such thing. He inculcates no reverence for the Holy Scriptures; he keeps the Bible as much as possible out of the hands and from the knowledge of the people. To support Romish education is to be accessory to an open act of contempt against the Word of God; and, on that ground, we hold it to be absolutely impossible, without the greatest inconsistency and hypocrisy, for any State acquainted with that Word, and professing to reverence it, to assist in establishing and maintaining Popish schools.

3. Provision ought to be made against all attempts to foist upon the country, directly or indirectly, the exploded pet theory of secular education, in the hands of the State. Religion is more than a mere branch of instruction; it is the groundwork of all moral training: in education, if it is not that, it is nothing at all. No man, whose teaching and moral management is not based upon religion, is fit to have the charge of a school; for he will of necessity exalt himself and his secular knowledge, and bring religion

into contempt in proportion as he has personal influence with his pupils: and no public authority which does not recognise a positive and distinctive religion, is fit to train and to govern teachers. The very existence of such an authority is a slur cast upon religion; training schools, under its auspices, can never become anything else but nurseries of infidelity.

These are weighty considerations, and the circumstances of the times upon which we have fallen are well calculated to give them all their due weight in our minds. A great struggle is in progress throughout the world; a struggle in which Popery attempts to reconquer its lost position, and infidelity seeks to substitute its communist dreams in the place of all religion. It would be madness to imagine that from that struggle this country will be altogether exempt: so far from it, the premonitory symptoms of the coming crisis are already upon us; and if we be wise, we shall set our house in order. If the rising generation is suffered to grow up in religious ignorance or indifference, the terrible retribution which has swept over almost every country in Europe will not spare us; it will light upon us with greater severity of vengeance, in proportion to the greater privileges which we have enjoyed. There is no time to be lost; we are not dealing with minor questions of controversy, but with questions on the sound decision of which, at this time, our whole existence as a Church and a nation depends. We cannot do better than conclude this earnest appeal to the nation's faith and wisdom by the eloquent words of Dr. Wordsworth, in his "National Warnings on National Education:"—

"Let us not delude ourselves, nor attempt to delude others, with the vain imagination, that it is enough for a nation to devote large sums of public money to popular instruction; and to stimulate the intellectual faculties of all classes of society by literary and scientific knowledge. The eye may be dazzled by specious results of mental proficiency: flattering reports may be drawn up and circulated of the progress of schools: a great and complex secular machinery may be organized and centralized, for the conduct of public instruction, as a neighbouring country has taught us by a terrible example, and yet *no real permanent good may be effected*; the national character may not be improved—it may not be more dignified—more humane—more Christian. On the contrary, it may have become more restless—more proud—more revolutionary—more unchristian—more anti-christian. And so national instruction may lead to national ruin.

"Let us be sure of this, that the true greatness of a people depends, not on popular instruction, but on CHRISTIAN EDUCATION."

ART. VI.—*The Doctrine of the Incarnation of our Lord Jesus Christ, in its Relation to Mankind and to the Church.* By ROBERT ISAAC WILBERFORCE, A.M., Archdeacon of the East Riding. London: Murray. 1848. pp. 548.

“MUCH depends,” says the learned and accurate Waterland, “upon our having true and just sentiments of the Incarnation, in which the whole economy of our salvation is nearly concerned. To corrupt and deprave this doctrine is to defeat and frustrate, in a great measure, the Gospel of Christ which bringeth salvation: wherefore it is of everlasting concernment to us, not to be guilty of doing it ourselves, nor to take part with those that do<sup>1</sup>.” Therefore all the ancient Catholic Creeds are so particular in delivering their statements of this doctrine; the two shorter ones comprehending it in more simple historical expositions of the fact, the Creed of St. Athanasius guarding it with more strict definitions against the corruptions of a later age. We know not how far Waterland may appear to have made good his argument, that this Creed was written before the Council of Ephesus. His date for its origin is earlier than those assigned by the critics who do not claim it for Athanasius; and yet it may appear somewhat too late, if we grant that the statements about our Lord’s Incarnation have reference only to the errors of the Apollinarians. The errors of the Apollinarians had been synodically condemned, as it would appear, by St. Athanasius at Alexandria not long before his death, and by Damasus at Rome a few years later. The date of this Roman Synod, recorded by Theodoret, was, according to Pagi, A.D. 375; after which, though there were some movements of the sect at Antioch, and in other parts of the East, it appears to have been of no great extent or prevalence. St. Augustin speaks of it as scarcely having a remnant left in his time. (In Ps. xxix.) Is it then probable, that in a creed drawn up, as Waterland supposes, in A.D. 429 or 430<sup>2</sup>, the writer would have taken all this care to guard against a heresy which had had its day, without regard to others that were then beginning much more to occupy people’s minds? For the commencement of the unhappy doctrine of Nestorius, as it is agreed, was made in a sermon preached on Christmas Day, A.D. 428.

Waterland’s arguments for supposing Hilary of Arles to be

<sup>1</sup> Hist. of the Athan. Creed, c. x.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid. c. viii.



the author of this Creed are by no means improbable. It seems to be near a certainty that it was of Gallican origin, and internal evidence is strong for ascribing it to some writer of the earlier half of the fifth century. But it is not at all clear, that there is no allusion in the latter part of this Creed to the errors of Nestorius and Eutyches. It seems much more likely that the writer wished to guard the flock of Christ from both one and the other. Let us, however, hear Waterland himself on this point :

“ There is not a word in the Creed,” he says, “ directly and plainly expressing two natures in Christ, or excluding one nature ; which critical terms, against the error of Eutyches, are very rarely or never omitted in the Creeds drawn up in the Eutychian times, or the times immediately following. It is true, there is, in the Athanasian Creed, what may be sufficient to obviate or preclude the Eutychian heresy ; as there is also in the larger Creed of Epiphanius, A. D. 373, and in the works of Nazianzen and Ambrose, and in Pelagius’s Creed ; and in the writings of Austin and Vincentius of Lerins, both before the year 435, many years before Eutyches. The strongest expression of the Creed against the Eutychians, and which has been most frequently urged in this case, is, *Unus omnino, non confusione substantiæ, sed unitate personæ* : which is yet used by Vincentius, and by Austin too, almost in terms. And if this be no reason for making either of those authors, or the tracts ascribed to them, later than Eutyches, why shall the like expression be of any force in respect to the Athanasian Creed ? There is nothing in the Creed, but what was common and ordinary in Catholic writers before the Eutychian times ; but there are wanting those critical, distinguishing terms of two natures, or one nature, necessary to be inserted in the Creeds after these times, and never, or very rarely, omitted.”—*Hist. of Athan. Creed*, c. vii.

This is the first of four arguments, which he adduces, to prove, that the Creed was earlier than the Council of Chalcedon. That it was also earlier than the Council of Ephesus, he endeavours to prove by similar arguments ; namely, that there is no condemnation in full, direct, and critical terms, of the Nestorian heresy, nothing of the term *Theotocos*, of *one Son* only, in opposition to *two Sons*, or of *God’s* being *born, suffering, and dying* : which kind of expression the Creeds are full of after Nestorius’ times. He considers, in short, that, as “ the Apollinarians really held a doctrine very near akin to that which was afterwards called Eutychian ; and they maliciously charged the Catholics with that very doctrine which was afterwards called Nestorian ; so the Catholics, in their charge upon the Apollinarians, condemned the Eutychian doctrine long before Eutyches ; and, in their defence of themselves, they also condemned the Nestorian tenets before Nestorius.”

These arguments are certainly not so conclusive, but that much might be urged with equal probability on the contrary side. The later Creeds, of which Waterland appears to speak, were not, like this, composed for public recitation in the Christian assemblies, but, like the famous anathemas of Cyril of Alexandria, were to be applied as tests of orthodoxy to persons whose agreement with the Catholic doctrine was suspected. In the Creeds recited in the public service, there was a studious care to avoid, as far as possible, the introduction of terms relating to existing controversies, a studious preservation of the ancient formularies, and of the sound words together with the faith, which they believed to have been received from the beginning. Nothing is more observable than this principle in the acts of all the early orthodox Councils: this preserved the Church from losing its way amidst the labyrinth of Creeds and Confessions, as Socrates well calls it, which beset it in the age of Constantius; and it is the eminent praise of the distinguished Fathers, whose wisdom guided the faithful through such dangers, that they clung with equal foresight and moderation to this principle. It was only the plain necessity of the case, which induced any departure from it, as in the introduction of the *ὁμοούσιον* at Nice, and the clauses regarding the Divinity of the Holy Spirit at Constantinople. There was no need in those symbols, which were intended for the common use of all Christians, to introduce any mention of the term *Θεοτόκος*, or to guard in express words against other subtleties of the time; for, as St. Leo well observes, the first three sentences of the Apostles' Creed, faithfully received, are enough to destroy all heretical illusions<sup>1</sup>. Accordingly, the Fathers at Chalcedon took all pains to show, that they meant to add no new article to the Creed of Nice and Constantinople; but placed on record their decision on the heresies of Nestorius and Eutyches, and secured the ancient doctrine by other clear distinctions of the two natures united in our Incarnate Saviour; to which they all subscribed, but which it appears not to have been their purpose to subjoin to the Creed delivered down to them from the two earlier Councils. Supposing then this Third Catholic Creed to have been of the time of the Council of Chalcedon, the absence of those more direct critical terms, on which Waterland founds his argument, may be accounted for, if we regard the Creed itself to have been composed for the public use of the Christian congregations, as it certainly was, rather than as a formulary to be sub-

<sup>1</sup> Confessio, qua fidelium universitas profitetur, credere se in Deum Patrem Omnipotentem, et in Jesum Christum filium Ejus unicum, Dominum nostrum, qui natus est de Spiritu Sancto, ex Maria virgine; quibus tribus sententiis omnium fere hæreticorum machinæ destruuntur.—S. Leo, *Epist. x. ad Flavian. c. 2.*

scribed by persons admitted to different orders in the Christian ministry.

But, secondly, we do not stand so much upon this answer, as to admit that Waterland is right, in saying, that the doctrine of this Creed is drawn up in terms which mark it to be altogether more ancient than the Councils of Ephesus and Chalcedon. As far as regards the clauses of the Creed relating to the Incarnation, to which we find it sufficient to limit the present inquiry, he confines his proofs almost exclusively to St. Augustin. But if his opinion is well-founded, that these clauses are to be explained by reference to the doctrine of Apollinaris and his followers, the proofs should be taken from those portions of St. Augustin, where the great Latin Father is expressly speaking of the Apollinarians; and to these should be added other proofs from the Letter of St. Athanasius to Epictetus, from Epiphanius, from the Confession addressed by Pope Damasus to Paulinus, from St. Jerome, and whatever contemporary writer has condemned the heresy in question. But such proofs can scarcely be found. The error of Apollinaris on the doctrine of the Incarnation, was a single and strange assertion, that God the Word dwelt in the humanity of Christ in the place of a reasonable soul. This, with its consequence, that our Lord had only a living soul, without the mind or reasoning faculty, in His manhood, we find constantly exposed by the orthodox Fathers of the time: but the definitions in the Creed include not only a contradiction of this, but of other errors akin to it. It will not be found, that either in any public symbol, or treatise of the Fathers before the two later Councils, any such strict definitions of the Church's doctrine on the Incarnation were yet proposed for public acceptance.

It will occupy too great a space to extract the several parallel passages, which Waterland brings to illustrate that part of the Creed of which we are speaking; beginning with the twenty-seventh versicle, "Furthermore, it is necessary to everlasting Salvation," and ending with the thirty-fifth, "For as the reasonable soul and flesh is one man, so God and man is one Christ." The resemblance is not equally close in all; but some are remarkable enough; as the last five consecutively:—

#### THE CREED.

" 31. *Æqualis Patri secundum Divinitatem: minor Patre secundum Humanitatem.*

" 32. *Qui licet Deus sit et*

#### ST. AUGUSTIN.

" *Æqualem Patri secundum Divinitatem, minorem autem Patre secundum carnem, hoc est, secundum Hominem.*"—*Epist. cxxxvii. 12.*

" *Agnoscamus geminam sub-*

Homo, non duo tamen, sed unus est Christus.

“ 33. Unus autem, non conversione Divinitatis in carnem, sed assumptione Humanitatis in Deum.

“ 34. Unus omnino, non confusione Substantiæ, sed unitate Personæ.

“ 35. Nam sicut anima rationalis et caro unus est Homo; ita Deus et Homo unus est Christus.”

stantiam Christi; divinam scilicet, qua æqualis est Patri, humanam, qua major est Pater: utrumque autem non duo, sed unus est Christus.”—*In Joh. Tract*, lxxviii. 3.

“ Verbum caro factum est, a Divinitate carne suscepta, non in carnem Divinitate mutata.”—*Enchirid.* § 10. (*aliter*, c. xxxiv.)

“ Idem Deus qui Homo, et qui Deus idem Homo; non confusione Naturæ, sed unitate Personæ.”—*Serm.* clxxxvi. 1.

“ Sicut enim unus est Homo anima rationalis et caro, sic unus est Christus Deus et Homo.”—*In Joh. ubi supr.* (*Conf. Epist.* clxix. 8. clxxxvii. 8.)

But, after all, this proves nothing as to the age of the Creed. The Fathers at Ephesus and Chalcedon appealed to the authority of many more ancient doctors against Nestorius and Eutyches; and it is natural to suppose that they would employ, as far as they could, the very words of those venerable forefathers of theirs in the faith. In the West, the writings of Augustin appear at once, while he was yet living, to have been held in that honour, which they have never lost. It was natural for the compiler of the Creed to search up and down in those writings for doctrinal statements, which would serve to enshrine the truth he was anxious to secure. What it was necessary for Waterland to show, was, that not only were these modes of statement in use before the times of Nestorius and Eutyches; but that they were discontinued, and other modes of statement introduced, after Nestorius and Eutyches had appeared. This, indeed, he has in some measure attempted to do; but we think unsuccessfully.

In the first place, it would certainly seem, that a modern critic, who had no particular theory to defend, would be struck with the close resemblance between several of these clauses and the definitions of Chalcedon:—

#### THE CREED.

“ 30. Perfectus Deus, perfectus Homo, ex anima rationali et humana carne subsistens.

#### DEFINITIONS OF CHALCEDON.

Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν, τέλειον τὸν αὐτὸν ἐν θεότητι, τέλειον τὸν αὐτὸν ἐν ἀνθρωπότητι, Θεὸν ἀληθῶς, καὶ ἄνθρωπον ἀληθῶς, τὸν αὐτὸν ἐκ ψυχῆς λογικῆς καὶ σώματος,

“ 31. *Æqualis Patri secundum Divinitatem; minor Patre secundum Humanitatem.*

*ὁμοούσιον τῷ Πατρὶ κατὰ τὴν θεότητα, καὶ ὁμοούσιον τὸν αὐτὸν ἡμῖν κατὰ τὴν ἀνθρωπότητα.*

On this latter clause, Waterland has a remark, that only the Creeds subsequent to Nestorius have this critical phrase of our Lord's being “*consubstantial with us*” according to His humanity<sup>4</sup>. The mode of statement however, as Waterland does not deny, was not unknown to the Ecclesiastical writers before Eutyches; as St. Augustin says: “*Novimus et tenemus Mediatorem Dei et hominum, hominem Jesum Christum, in quantum homo erat, ejus esse naturæ cujus et nos sumus. Non enim alterius naturæ caro nostra et caro illius, nec alterius naturæ anima nostra et anima illius. Hanc suscepit naturam, quam salvandam esse judicavit.*” Serm. CLXXIV. And St. Ambrose still earlier: “*Caro Ipsius et anima ejusdem, cujus anima nostra caroque, substantiæ est.*” De Incarn. c. vii. § 76. And elsewhere, in the express form used by the Fathers of Chalcedon: “*Confitemur Dominum nostrum Jesum Christum, . . . consubstantialem Patri secundum divinitatem, et consubstantialem nobis secundum humanitatem.*” No argument therefore can be founded on the slight variation of phrase between the Latin Creed, and the Greek definition in this particular.

#### THE CREED.

“ 29. *Deus est ex substantia Patris ante sæcula genitus: Homo ex substantia Matris in sæculo natus.*

“ 32. *Qui licet Deus sit et Homo, non duo tamen, sed unus est Christus.*

“ 33. *Unus autem, non conversione Divinitatis in carnem, sed assumptione Humanitatis in Deum.*

“ 34. *Unus omnino, non confusione Substantiæ, sed unitate Personæ.*

#### DEFINITIONS OF CHALCEDON.

*πρὸ αἰώνων μὲν ἐκ τοῦ Πατρὸς γεννηθέντα κατὰ τὴν θεότητα· ἐπ' ἐσχάτων δὲ τῶν ἡμερῶν τὸν αὐτὸν δι' ἡμᾶς καὶ διὰ τὴν ἡμετέραν σωτηρίαν ἐκ Μαρίας τῆς παρθένου τῆς Θεοτόκου κατὰ τὴν ἀνθρωπότητα,*

*ἓνα καὶ τὸν αὐτὸν Χριστὸν,*

*ἐν δύο φύσεσιν ἀσυγχύτως, ἀτρέπτως, ἀδιαιρέτως, ἀχωρίστως· οὐδαμοῦ τῆς τῶν φύσεων διαφορᾶς ἀνηρημένης διὰ τὴν ἔνωσιν, σωζομένης δὲ μᾶλλον τῆς ιδιότητος ἑκατέρας φύσεως, καὶ εἰς ἓν πρόσωπον καὶ μίαν ὑπόστασιν συντρεχούσης.*

Although the phraseology in these later clauses does not so

<sup>4</sup> Hist. of Athan. Creed, c. vii. vol. iv. p. 257, ed. Oxon. 1823.

<sup>5</sup> Fragm. de Expos. Fidei, ap. Theodoret. Inconfus. vol. iv. 139. ed. Schulz.

exactly correspond, it seems clear that the doctrine of each several versicle of the Creed is comprised in the Definitions; and that the aim of the Latin writer and the Greek Fathers was one and the same, to guard the faithful against the same class of errors. Not that we suppose the compiler of the Creed to have seen the Definitions of Chalcedon: if he was Hilary of Arles, he died a short time before the assembling of that Council; and at all events, as Waterland and others have observed, he followed the modes of statement which he found in the Latin Fathers, whether his elders or contemporaries; and there is no proof, or reason to suppose, that this Creed was translated from any Greek original. The resemblance is here insisted on as a mark of the time when the Creed appears to have been composed: and it seems to us capable of almost certain demonstration, that as the Nicene Creed represents the decisions of the two first General Councils, so this embodies the sense of the two which next succeeded, whose authority the Church has ever held in equal honour.

Among other arguments for the date which Waterland fixes for this Creed, is one which requires a short notice. He observes, after Le Quien, that the familiar and easy comparison, "As the reasonable soul and flesh is one man, so God and Man is one Christ," was much made use of by the Catholics from the time of Apollinaris to that of Eutyches exclusively. But no sooner did the Eutychians wrest the comparison to their own sense, pleading for one nature in Christ, as the soul and body make one man, than the Catholics discontinued the use of this similitude; or, if they mentioned it, either disputed against it, or guarded and qualified it with cautions and restrictions<sup>6</sup>.

We do not know how far this argument is correctly taken from Le Quien; for his words, as quoted by Waterland in his note, do not speak of Eutyches, but of Severus and the Monophysites a full half-century later. It is certainly not correct to say, that this similitude was not employed against the Eutychians: for St. Leo, the great champion of the orthodox party, himself employs it, and nearly in the words of the Creed: "Cur inconueniens aut impossibile videatur, ut videlicet Verbum et Caro atque Anima unus Jesus Christus, et unus Dei Hominisque sit Filius, si caro atque anima, quæ dissimilium naturarum sunt, unam faciunt, etiam sine Verbi incarnatione, personam?"—Epist. xi. ad Julian. Coensem. The fact is, however, that the errors of Photinus, Apollinaris, Nestorius, and Eutyches, had such a mutual connexion, and were so involved in each other, that we find the

<sup>6</sup> Hist. of Athan. Creed, c. vii. p. 249.



Fathers of Ephesus and Chalcedon continually introducing the mention of them all jointly, and so repeating the arguments of earlier writers against the two former, that it would be impossible, without other evidence, to determine merely by this resemblance the date of a disputed Treatise. For instance, as St. Athanasius and St. Augustin speak of the doctrine of Apollinaris as making a quaternity in the blessed Trinity, so do Vincentius, and Capreolus of Carthage, of the doctrine of Nestorius'. And Eutyches was expressly charged with imitating Apollinaris by the Imperial Letters relating to the Chalcedonian Council, and by both Eastern and Western Fathers'.

What makes it still more difficult to found any argument on the insertion of this versicle in the Creed, and the supposition that it would have been omitted after the rise of the Eutychians, is, that St. Cyril of Alexandria was also accused by the Oriental Bishops of favouring the error of Apollinaris,—a charge repeated with more zeal than discretion by a foreign Protestant of the last century, who thought proper to write as a patron of the Nestorians'. Now, according to Waterland's argument, St. Cyril ought to have used the same caution, which the opponents of the Monophysites are said to have used afterwards, "to have grown strangely averse to this similitude, and rarely to have used it." But scarcely any of the Fathers uses it more frequently, and this even when he is refuting the charge of Apollinarianism, or Eutychianism by anticipation, of which he had been accused<sup>1</sup>. We must therefore conclude, that the similitude had not lost its use; still less was "condemned," or rejected, after the time of Eutyches.

Le Quien, whom Waterland here follows, may very probably refer to such passages as one in Facundus, Bishop of Hermianum, in the middle of the following century. *Pro Defens. Trium Capitt. Lib. i. c. 6.* That writer does indeed examine the use, which the Eutychians, or Semi-Eutychians, made of this similitude; but he by no means allows that it is available for their purpose. "*Videamus si, quemadmodum fidunt, vel secundum sapientiam mundi constare illis sua ratio potest. Dicunt igitur, sicut ex duabus naturis, id est anima et carne, una composita est humana natura, sic ex Deitate et humanitate una composita est Christi natura: et ideo ex duabus quidem, sed non in duabus*

<sup>7</sup> Athan. ad Epict. c. 10, 11. St. Augustin, Serm. cxxx. 3, et alibi. Capreolus ad Vital. et Constant. 3. Vincent. Commonit. 13. 16.

<sup>8</sup> Edict. Valentin. et Martian. Flavian. Epist. ad S. Leon. Gesta de Nomine Acac. c. 1.

<sup>9</sup> La Croze, *Christianisme des Indes*, vol. i. p. 24, 25.

<sup>1</sup> S. Cyrill. Alex. Epist. vol. v. P. ii. B. p. 73; 133; 136, 7, 8, ed. Aubert.

naturis Christum confitemur. Equidem nulla causa est, cur etiam unusquisque homo in duabus negetur esse naturis, in carne scilicet atque anima. Quæ tamen quia et una ex duabus composita, recte hominis naturam dici certissimum est; potuit enim hominis anima in unam naturam cum sua carne componi: de Christi vero Divinitate inconvertibiliter simplici, non sine ingenti blasphemia dicitur, quod in unam naturam cum suscepta humanitate componi potuerit." And he concludes a little further on: "Nihil igitur Eutychiani humanæ naturæ adjuvantur exemplo, ut unam asserant Christi esse naturam." A conclusion, surely, to which every sound mind must come upon this question. The similitude must be always as good as it was at first for clearing the truth to an orthodox believer. But the Eutychian, to apply it to his purpose, must be also a base materialist in his view of humanity, and maintain, against all true philosophy, that a compound nature may be made simple<sup>2</sup>.

To pass to another argument. It was impossible that Waterland should not have noticed the close resemblance between several of the versicles of this Creed, and the phrases collected principally in one chapter of the Commonitory of Vincentius,—a resemblance which had induced some previous critics to attribute the Creed to Vincentius himself. Waterland accounts for this resemblance by supposing Vincentius to have borrowed from the Creed<sup>3</sup>. It is perhaps as much open to conjecture, that the compiler of the Creed copied from Vincentius. But as neither supposition is capable of proof, leaving this as an undecided question, it is yet a circumstance which may aid us in fixing the age of the Creed. For the doctrinal statements in Vincentius are not scattered up and down, as they are in the writings of the earlier Fathers, but arranged together in an order not unlike that of the Creed itself, showing that some such definitions, point by point, were now thought necessary for the security of the Church's faith. Now Vincentius confessedly wrote to warn the faithful against the errors of Nestorius; and if the second part of his treatise had been extant in a perfect state, it would probably appear that his principal design was to support the authority of the Council of Ephesus, which he tells us was held three years before he wrote. But if Vincentius and the compiler of

<sup>2</sup> Questions on this subject are collected by Leontius of Byzantium, a writer of the seventh century, *Canisii Thesaur.* tom. i. p. 625. Cardinal Bellarmine objected to the similitude as defective; but he is well answered by Dr. Thos. Jackson, b. vii. sect. iii. c. 30. "If every resemblance of this or other sacred mystery, which is any way defective, were liable to exception, the Church should do well to give a general prohibition, that no man should attempt to make any."

<sup>3</sup> *Hist. of Athan. Creed*, c. viii. sub fin.

the Creed exhibit this close resemblance of doctrinal statement in form and matter, the probability is that they also wrote with the same purpose, and both after the Nestorian heresy was publicly known.

It may be worth observation, that Vincentius in this part of his treatise, where he speaks of the two substances of our Lord, lays down the doctrine of the "consubstantiality with us" as fully and particularly as it is to be found in any subsequent Creed. "*Ita igitur in uno eodemque Christo duæ substantiæ sunt; sed una divina, altera humana; una ex Patre Deo, altera ex matre virgine; una coæterna et æqualis Patri, altera ex tempore et minor Patre; una consubstantialis Patri, altera consubstantialis matri, unus tamen idemque Christus in utraque substantia.*" c. 13. Compare this with the versicle of the Creed, "*Deus ex substantia Patris ante sæcula genitus: Homo ex substantia matris in sæculo natus:*"—does it appear that the compiler of the Creed was not acquainted with the "critical phrase" before noted? His statement is altogether the same with that of St. Leo, and therefore good as well against the Eutychians as the Nestorians: "*Novus Homo, factus in similitudinem carnis peccati, nostram suscepit vetustatem, et consubstantialis Patri, consubstantialis esse dignatus est et matri, naturamque sibi nostram solus a peccato liber univit.*" Epist. xiii. ad Pulcheriam Augustam.

Lastly, Waterland's own supposition, that the Creed was the work of Hilary of Arles, makes his theory of the time, at which he tries to prove it to have been written, the more singular. Hilary appears to have died, according to an Epistle of St. Leo, some time in the month of August, A.D. 449<sup>4</sup>. He had therefore lived to witness all the progress of the controversy about Nestorius, and had heard of the commencement of Eutyches. The reasons which Waterland has adduced for believing him to be the compiler of the Creed, are certainly not improbable; but it is far from probable that he should have compiled it without reference to the dangerous doctrines, which, during the last twenty years of his life, were agitating the Church from Spain and Africa to Syria and Mesopotamia. In short, as was observed in the outset, we seem to want all adequate motive or occasion for the production of the Creed, if it has reference only to the effete heresy of Apollinaris: if it was put forth against those who were reviving the memory of what was past, and adding to it more disastrous subtilties of their own, the cause is

<sup>4</sup> S. Leo, Epist. cvi. Vid. Pagi, ii. 298.

apparent. And, what is more important, it proves that the origin of this Creed was, like that of the earlier formulary of Nice and Constantinople, owing to a time of public necessity in the Church. Hence, if it was first drawn up, as it seems to have been, for the use of the Catholics of Gaul, it was not long before it became a common symbol to all the Churches in the West; and, from its close agreement with the definitions of Chalcedon, may justly be esteemed as coming down to us with the authority of the united Church of the first ages.

Among the arguments for assigning it to Hilary, Waterland remarks on the fact, that "Vincentius and he were contemporaries and countrymen, both of the same monastery in the isle of Lerin, much about the same time; so that it is natural to suppose that they should fall into the like expressions, while treating on the same things; or that Vincentius might affect to copy from so great a man as Hilary, when writing on the same subject." On this last clause we have just before noted, Waterland having elsewhere assumed it as a fact. We might suggest, as another difficulty, that Vincentius seems to have been the elder of the two, and to have died first, if we are to believe Gennadius; but this may be a doubtful point<sup>5</sup>. The case however is this. We have a certain date for the treatise of Vincentius, A.D. 434. We have no certain date for the Creed, nor certain information who was the compiler of it. Hilary is recorded to have written a treatise, which Honoratus, his biographer, calls "a precious Exposition of the Creed"; and this is the strongest argument in his favour, joined to his well-attested learning, eloquence, and high character. This Exposition is lost, unless it be the identical symbol of which we are speaking, called by the Church "The Creed of St. Athanasius."

One thing it seems obvious to suggest, though we do not recollect to have met with it as a suggestion of any writer on this subject. The Creed, whether it originated with Hilary or Vincentius (and the balance of evidence seems to rest between them), was in all probability composed by some of the disciples of the religious home at Lerin. It was composed in the form of a psalm or antiphon, to be chanted in the public service, according to the use, which from the time of Ambrose had been received in all the Latin Churches. This again seems to mark its purpose and original as a means of security to the faith of the Christian

<sup>5</sup> Gennadius says, that Vincentius died in the reign of Theodosius II. and Valentinian III.; Hilary, in the reign of Valentinian and Marcian. Tiro Prosper's Chronicle places the death of Hilary in the last year of Theodosius, or A.D. 450.

<sup>6</sup> "Symboli Expositio ambienda." Quoted by Waterland.

assemblies from public assailants; as in the time of Julian the power of psalmody was invoked by the devout women of Antioch, and by St. Chrysostom against the Arians<sup>7</sup>.

This inquiry has indeed delayed us somewhat too long from the review of the excellently learned and argumentative treatise before us: but it is of some importance to know whether this Creed is, as we think it, a public record of the Church's faith opposed to the heresies which distracted it in the fifth century, or, as Waterland's view would clearly make it, a kind of retrospective summary of definitions against forms of error which had almost disappeared. Setting aside Waterland's date only, and supposing the Creed to have been composed by Hilary in the last years of his life, as he does not appear to have attained to a great age when he died, there is no further difference between us.

We have not, indeed, examined severally every thing that Waterland has said in maintenance of his date; but we have, we think, sufficiently gone into the question to show that it is too uncertain to be tenable. We have now only to apologize to Archdeacon Wilberforce for our long digression; and our best apology will be the true one, that his own work, full of many interesting suggestions of matters for research, has put us on this inquiry.

"The Church's faith," says Archdeacon Wilberforce, "as put forward in the Anathemas of Cyril, adopted by the Third General Council, is not built upon any system or school of philosophy, but aims only at maintaining what had been asserted from the first, that the same Person, Jesus Christ, was truly God, and truly man also. But, it may be asked, Can a point so intricate be really necessary, or is it possible, that the poor of Christ's flock, who form its most cherished portion, should be able to thread the mazes of so subtile a controversy? Doubtless they cannot. And yet the truth which is thus set forth, is not less necessary to them, than to the great and noble, nor are any persons better prepared to accept it to the saving of their souls. For even as our merciful Saviour, in the days of His flesh, while the covetous Pharisees derided, was ministered to by the poor women of Galilee, so are none more ready than the poor of this world to trust in Christ as their present God, and yet to look to the perpetual sympathy of Him, who in His poverty was their brother."—pp. 193, 194.

He then goes on to show how this lesson is brought home to the religious poor member of the Church, by that means, which God's providence and grace has provided, in the Holy Communion. We have however referred to this part of the work, con-

<sup>7</sup> Theodoret, Hist. iii. 14. Socrat. vi. 8.

necting it as a kind of moral to our previous remarks. It is perhaps unfortunate that the Creed in question should have been so generally known by the name of the Creed of St. Athanasius ; for the name is apt to guide the thoughts of those who hear it to the times of that great champion of truth, and the controversy, in which he was mainly engaged, to the exclusion of any subsequent forms of error. For instance, who that has not read Waterland's Treatise, in using that Creed, has any remembrance of the Apollinarians ?

But, what is of more consequence, this want of regard, to what we must consider as the main purpose of the Creed, has led to some consequences much to be lamented in our own Church, and the daughter Church of America. In submission to some unfortunate temporal pressure, the American Church first removed this Creed from the place it occupies in our Prayer Book, and placed it only among the Articles ; afterwards, we fear, she has suspended it altogether from her public formularies. We do not think this could have been done with the consent of a majority among her bishops, had there been either among us or them a proper historical examination of the question, or had they known, why the Church, a century after Athanasius, had such strong reasons for saying, " Furthermore, it is necessary to everlasting salvation, that we also believe rightly the Incarnation of our Lord Jesus Christ."

We must, with sincere sorrow of heart, go much further than this. We have too long admitted and tolerated among us such language on this awful and adorable mystery, as befits only the followers of Nestorius or Eutyches. Take as a specimen a work, now perhaps nearly forgotten, which, first produced in America, was published again, with some alterations by an English clergyman of high esteem for piety and doctrine, a few years ago in this country. It is of the Incarnate Saviour that Mr. Jacob Abbot wrote ; and Mr. Henry Blunt repeated, among other incautious words :—

" He evidently *observed and enjoyed Nature*. There are many allusions to his *solitary walks* in the fields, and on the mountains, and by the sea-side ; but the greatest evidence of his love for Nature is to be seen in the manner in which he speaks of its beauties . . . . Take, for instance, the case where he speaks of the decoration of the lilies. . . . A cold heartless man, *without taste or sensibility*, would not have said such a thing as that. He could not ; and we may be as sure that Jesus Christ had stopped *to examine and admire the grace and beauty of the plant*, and the exquisitely pencilled tints of its petal, as if we had actually seen him bending over it, or pointing it out to the attention of his disciples."—*Abbot's Corner-Stone*, c. 2.



We take the instance from a book, whose author is removed from us, and whose English editor is now deceased, because we desire not strife but truth. But what worthy thoughts could either writer or editor have entertained of Christ, the Wisdom of the Father, when they committed these unguarded sentences to the press? What notion could have crossed their minds, that they were speaking of Him, Whom "the Lord possessed in the beginning of His way, before His works of old,"—Him, Who "was set up from everlasting, from the beginning, or ever the earth was?"—Him, Whom "He appointed Heir of all things, by Whom also He made the worlds?" To ascribe to Him the lower faculties of the reasoning creature in conversing with the works of the Creator,—to talk of "taste and sensibility" in His discourses, Who spake as never man spake,—to ascribe to Him wonder and admiration in contemplating the works of His own Almighty hand,—how could such things come into the heart of men who had been duly taught to meditate on the mission of the First-Begotten into the world, with the command, "Let all the angels of God worship Him?" Far away from us be the time, when we shall cease to be reminded in our sanctuaries on the solemn days appointed, that this was done, "*Not by conversion of the Godhead into flesh*, but by taking of the manhood into God!"

It was therefore with an interest, which the able writer before us has not disappointed, that we took up this well-stored volume. For, while the Church of England since the Reformation has never wanted learned and religious defenders of the doctrine of the ever-blessed Trinity, we are not aware that hitherto she has to show any thing like an exact theological treatise on the Incarnation. There are some excellent chapters in Hooker's Fifth Book, and some portions of Dr. Jackson's Seventh Book, and other later parts of his writings; but these last are known to few, and perhaps the excellencies of such a great man, as he confessedly was, are a little less attractive from the discursive mode of writing, which from the fulness of his mind he was led to adopt, pouring out his stores of knowledge, but sometimes leaving his clue to be taken up at leisure.

The plan of Archdeacon Wilberforce's work can scarcely be exhibited sufficiently in a brief analysis. It is close and methodical. After speaking of Christ as God and Man in all the relations which proved His participation in our nature, the affections, will, and understanding,—the wonderful truths comprised in the confession of God the Incarnate Word, very God of very God, and yet the Son of Man,—the providential protection, which we have briefly touched upon, vouchsafed to these truths

in the trials of the Church during the early centuries (chap. i.—v.); the second portion of the work treats of the different acts and parts of our Lord's Mediatorial Office, as the result of His Incarnation, His intercession for us in heaven, His spiritual presence with His people, and how that presence is diffused through the Church, His mystical Body (chap. vi.—x.); the third and last portion, proceeding step by step, shows how this presence is to be realized, and the grace which it communicates to be sought by the faithful in the unity of the Church, in common worship, and in the Sacraments; and how it is by these means that the spiritual discernment is to be sought for of what is holy, and good, and true. (chap. xi.—xv.) This is a brief statement of the argument; but it is impossible that it should give any notion of the many learned and acute discussions, which attend the argument upon its progress; and in which the writer shows the accumulated stores of a well-trained mind, ready to meet all objections, whether raised by ancient heresy, later sectarianism, or modern metaphysical subtilty. It is indeed a book written by one, who is too good a disciple of Butler to write always in a style that may be understood without trouble; but the trouble will be repaid, as it is in the pages of Butler, to those who have not an idle curiosity, but "a curiosity to know what is true."

There seems to be something like a consciousness of this in some of the most striking passages of the work, as where Archdeacon Wilberforce speaks of Hooker; and of Hooker's chapters on the Incarnation:—

"The process [of doctrine in the Christian mind of the early centuries] may be illustrated by what befalls every young student, when he becomes acquainted with that systematic view of our Lord's nature which is given by Hooker. At first, probably, he admires the majestic and harmonious flow of those weighty sentences, their prodigious grasp of scriptural truth, and the deep reverence with which they touch things sacred. But though there is nothing which he does not seem to understand, there is in some points a copiousness which he is at a loss to account for. And it is only after repeated perusals, and in many years, that he discerns the full meaning of what had at first fallen idly on his incurious ear, and finds how far this great writer has entered into the deep things of God."—p. 123.

We cannot perhaps do better than extract the argument itself, to which this serves as an illustration; or rather the conclusion of the argument. It seems a very able and correct adjustment of the question of developments of doctrine, as they took place in early Church History. The archdeacon makes this use of his illustration of the reader of Hooker:—

“ If this happens,” he says, “ even when we peruse the writings of an earthly thinker, how much more when the mysteries of the kingdom of God were proclaimed in the words of Revelation! Hence the numerous heresies which sprung up in the early age of the Church, among those who had the letter of Scripture in their hands ; and hence, likewise, the incapacity of entering into Gospel truth, so often visible in those who have been brought up in error. These things show us the infinite importance of that gradual schooling of the Christian community in the truths of the Gospel, which was completed by the publication and general reception of the Creeds. The mere publication of these documents had been little ; but they were not published till every statement which they contain had first been verified,—till the various relations of each had been appreciated,—till all had been shown to stand in reality on scriptural authority,—till the Christian mind had been prepared by the teaching of the Holy Ghost for their reception ; and thus a foundation had been laid at once in man’s nature and God’s truth, on which stands the accumulated weight of our present Christianity.

“ And here we must carefully distinguish between two things of a very different nature,—the authority of the early Church as a witness to facts, and as the propounder of doctrines. Our article, by speaking of the Church as not only ‘ a witness and keeper of Holy Writ,’ but also as ‘ having authority in controversies of faith,’ suggests to us clearly this twofold relation. The early Church was a witness to facts, not only in that she received certain books as inspired, but in that she testified to certain practices. When disputes arose respecting the doctrine of our Lord’s Divinity, not only were certain statements to be found in Scripture, but it was an admitted fact that worship had been paid to Him in all Christian congregations. Thus the Fathers who opposed Paul of Samosata at Antioch, witness to the singing of hymns to Christ as a God as an acknowledged custom (Euseb. vii. 31). Again, a second fact, which was witnessed by the Church, was the use of Sacraments. ‘ At the head of the ancient Christian worship,’ says Professor Dorner<sup>8</sup>, ‘ must be placed the Eucharist, in which the congregation celebrates its atonement with God in Christ, the Mediator between God and mankind ; and in the perpetual celebration of this feast is seen the first proof of the belief of Christendom in Christ’s Divinity.’ ‘ The second proof,’ he adds, ‘ is the practice of Holy Baptism.’ A third fact of the same nature, is the existence of those early Creeds, to which the Church required men to give their assent in baptism. For though less detailed than was subsequently required, they all witness a belief in our Lord’s Divinity. A fourth thing is the existence of Doxologies, in which glory was wont to be assigned to Him, in conjunction with the Father and the Holy Ghost. A fifth is the setting apart of Holy Seasons in commemoration of His Birth, Death, and Resurrection. A sixth is the use of Emblems, by which the import of His Passion was impressed

<sup>8</sup> Dorner’s “ *Lehre von der Person Christi*,” chap. i. vol. i. p. 274 : a work of which great use has been made in the present chapter.—*Author’s Note.*

upon the mind. Here are six several particulars, independently of the preservation of the Holy Scriptures, in which the early Church witnessed to facts of great importance in the determination of our Lord's character.

"But, independently of her historical testimony, she possessed an authority in respect to the conclusions to which these facts conducted. That not only are these three persons in One God, but that the Son is 'very God of very God, of one substance with the Father,'—the Church, when stating this at Nice, was discharging a different function from that which she fulfilled when witnessing to the facts which have been previously noticed. In the one case she was only doing, what, in his degree, had been performed by the heathen Pliny, when he related that the Christians sang hymns to Christ as a God. In the other she was certainly exercising some 'authority in controversies of faith.' In the former case, her claim to respect is to be tested by the ordinary rules of evidence. But what is it in the latter? It stands on the validity of that promise, which assures us that the gates of hell shall not prevail against her, and which assumes therefore, that the Body of Christ will never be deserted by that guiding Spirit, which is as necessary for truth as for obedience. . . . .

"In the Apostles there was that original communication of all truth, which was given once for all for the instruction of mankind. The subsequent direction of God's Spirit was for the purpose only of interpreting what had already been delivered. Thus was it always regarded in ancient times; and, unless thus restrained, the Spirit's guidance might be a warrant for Neology on one side, or Mahometanism on the other. Whereas, the Christian covenant was from the first understood to be God's final dispensation with man.

"The Church's authority in controversies of faith, requires therefore, as its constant counterpoise, the paramount authority of Holy Writ. To adjust such varying claims may in some cases be difficult. But no such difficulty displayed itself in that early age, in which the system of her belief was embodied in the Creeds. For since no division as yet impaired her unity, the promise of Christ's presence was with her in its fulness, and the weight of her decision was without abatement. Had her interpretation of the fundamentals of the Gospel been erroneous, how had Christ's promise in her favour been fulfilled? This circumstance invests her judgment on these momentous subjects with an importance superadded to that which the fact of her testimony naturally commands. There are those, indeed, who seem as if they would be glad to divest themselves of the advantage of such decisions. They would rather fall back on the unreflecting simplicity of that early faith, which rested only on the single facts of the Gospel. But this is to be ignorant, that the gradual expansion of Christian doctrines was only the growth of the religious mind, as, under the moulding power of the Holy Ghost, it compared the individual truths with which it had been entrusted. . . . In the earnest obedience of the early age, when the warmth of love dispensed with the maturity of knowledge, there was a

moment indeed, when the outward growth of the Church scarce left time to embody what was believed in abstract formularies. But this infant security depended either on the personal guidance of the inspired Apostles, or on the witness of men, to whom, as to St. Ignatius, long habits of intercourse with the first leaders, had given such confidence respecting their decisions, both in faith and in practice, that a reference to the general principles of the Church's existence was not yet required. And those who seek to regain it by throwing away what was earned by the religious impulse then given to the age, do but restore the imbecility of childhood without its innocence."—pp. 123—129.

How little do those, who think lightly of the value of the Catholic Creeds, and the decisions of those early ages, perceive the force of this pointed truth ! It will easily be supposed, from the tenor of the Archdeacon's doctrine in this passage, how firmly he recognises "that providential government, which the Great Head of the Church has provided for His people" in the decisions of those general synods, "which carry with them all the weight, whether of testimony or authority, which belongs to the body of Christ."—p. 190.

It is impossible, within the space we must prescribe to ourselves, to extract many other specimens of this masterly treatise ; nor would it otherwise be satisfactory to exhibit one link in a chain of well-sustained and closely-connected argument. But we will mention as one excellence, which will strike the reader, or rather, we should perhaps say, the student of this work, the brief and forcible way in which objections, or heretical counter-statements, are disposed of. For instance :—

"It has sometimes been asked, Why our Lord's Atonement is not inserted in the Creed in such express words as in His Incarnation. The reason is, that our Lord's Atonement may be admitted in words, though those who use them attach no Christian sense to the doctrine : whereas, if the doctrine of our Lord's Incarnation is once truly accepted, His mediation follows as its necessary result."—p. 218.

"Our Lord's offering of Himself on behalf of man was the true sacrifice, which all the sacrifices of the ancient law served to introduce. Not that our Lord's offering was built upon them ; that it pleased God merely to give His sanction to an ancient usage, and to hallow it by the sacrifice of Christ. What happened was exactly the reverse ; the offerings of the law were built upon the offering of Christ ; they were the type of a future reality, which cast its shadow beforehand on the Jewish nation."—p. 230.

"The custom of putting inward acts of faith and love in place of those external means, whereby Christ vouchsafes to join men to His manhood, is in reality to make these the channel of mediation instead of Him ; it is to set up idols in our hearts, and thank them for our deliverance from the house of bondage."—p. 335.

“Those Christian writers, who reject the sacramental system of the Church, are led to speak of ‘the Law and Levitical arrangement’ as ‘introduced in God’s anger,’ (Bunsen’s *Kirche der Zukunft*, p. 77,) as though it were a diminution of that means of intercourse with God, which men before possessed. Since the sacramental system is the complete and full expression of that presence of an Incarnate Mediator, of which the Levitical scheme was the preliminary shadow, it is impossible that those who reject the one should do justice to the other.”—p. 393.

It is no doubt the corruption, that has grown up in the midst of long outward peace, that men have been brought so much to look upon Christianity as at best a private concern for individuals, without reflecting how the very knowledge of the Saviour whom they worship involves the principle of unity in one mystical Body, as branches of one Vine, “members of His Body, of His flesh, and of His bones.” But how much longer can this continue, every man walking in a by-way of his own? “The strange aspect of falling monarchies,” says Archdeacon Wilberforce, “the increasing commotions of daily life, show how perishable are the forms of natural society” (p. 546). Can we then hope, that, in the hour of trial, this binding principle, which preserved a Christian Church among the shocks which dissolved the great Empire of old Rome, will once more be found to animate a remnant with such faith, and hope, and love, that even yet among us “the things that cannot be shaken may remain?”

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*p. 46.* It may perhaps be as well to explain our meaning a little further on one point mentioned in the foregoing pages. When we said, (p. 7,) that “there is no reason to suppose that this Creed was *translated* from any Greek original,” it was not intended to be inferred that the compiler was ignorant of the formularies which were circulated in the East between the times of the Third and Fourth General Councils. He had in all probability seen the Creed of John of Antioch, sent to Cyril, about A.D. 433, and recited by Cyril in his Epistle to that Eastern Patriarch, and adopted by Theodoret (*Epist. ad Monachos*, c. 3), which bears so close a resemblance to the Definitions of Chalcedon. It is a little remarkable, that, when there are so many Greek copies of this Creed, Waterland should give it only in an imperfect Latin version.



- ART. VII.—1. *A Bill to Amend and Alter the Act of the Fifth and Sixth Years of King William the Fourth, as far as relates to Marriages within certain of the Prohibited Degrees of Affinity.*
2. *First Report of the Commissioners appointed to enquire into the State and Operation of the Law of Marriage, &c.* London: Clowes.
3. *The Report of Her Majesty's Commissioners on the Laws of Marriage, relative to Marriage with a Deceased Wife's Sister, Examined, in a Letter to Sir Robert Harry Inglis, Bart., M.P. By ALEX. J. BERESFORD HOPE, M.P.* London: Ridgway.
4. *A Plain Statement of the grounds on which it is contended, that Marriage within the Prohibited Degrees is forbidden in Scripture. By HUGH BENNETT, M.A., Fellow of Worcester College, Oxford, and Curate of Lyme Regis, Dorset.* London: Rivingtons.
5. *Against Profane Dealing with Holy Matrimony, in regard of a Man and his Wife's Sister, &c. By the Rev. JOHN KEBLE, M.A., Vicar of Hursley.* Oxford: Parker.

IN considering the proposed measure for the repeal of part of the marriage law of England, it is our intention, in the first place, to consider the question in its bearing on the Church of England, and then to proceed to more general topics.

The Bill, then, proposes to repeal the existing law, so far as to permit marriages between a man and his deceased wife's sister or niece; and to enable clergy of the Church of England to celebrate such marriages without fear of being prosecuted in the Ecclesiastical Courts for so doing; and also to authorize the grant of episcopal and other licences for such marriages.

The Bill takes no notice of any statute or law on this subject prior to Lord Lyndhurst's Act, passed in the reign of King William the Fourth, which made all marriages within the prohibited degrees null and void, instead of being merely voidable or capable of being dissolved by process in the Ecclesiastical Courts. It takes no notice of any canons or Ecclesiastical regulations, except indirectly, in exempting clergy who may perform the marriages referred to, from all process in the Ecclesiastical Courts. One might suppose, on reading Mr. Wortley's Bill, that there was nothing to stand in the way of such marriages except Lord Lyndhurst's Bill.

This, however, is not the case. The canons of the Church of England, made in the year 1603, at the accession of King James I., forbid the celebration of any such marriages. We must quote the canon at length, on account of its very great importance in this question :—

“ CANON XCIX. *None to marry within the Degrees prohibited.*

“ No person shall marry within the degrees *prohibited by the laws of God*, and expressed in a Table set forth by authority in the year of our Lord God 1563. And all marriages so made and contracted *shall be deemed incestuous* and unlawful, and, consequently, shall be dissolved as void from the beginning, and the parties so married shall, by course of law, be separated. And the aforesaid Table shall be in every church publickly set up and fixed at the charge of the parish.”

This canon has always continued in full force in the Church of England up to the present day, and its authority is independent of any Acts of Parliament. Were Lord Lyndhurst's Act repealed, and every other statute bearing on the point, this canon would still prevent all members of the Church of England from entering on such marriages ; and any clergyman performing them would be liable to suspension and other penalties.

And now to go a little further back : the Table of Prohibited Degrees approved in the canon, was compiled by Matthew Parker, Archbishop of Canterbury, and put forth by authority in 1563, immediately after Queen Elizabeth had established the Reformation by law in England. It was emphatically a law of the Reformation itself, coeval with the Act of Uniformity, and with the establishment of the Book of Common Prayer. Such has been the law of the Church of England ever since the Reformation. And now let us look at this Table of Prohibited Degrees. In the admonition prefixed to it, those who intend to enter the state of matrimony are admonished, “ that they contract not with such persons as be hereafter expressed, nor with any of like degree, *against the law of God, and the laws of the realm.*”

The doctrine taught by these two authoritative documents, *viz.* the canon, and the Table of Degrees, is, that marriage within all the prohibited degrees is “ forbidden by the law of God.” And the same doctrine was, in point of fact, one of the great distinctive features of the English Reformation throughout. It was the very point which first brought Cranmer into notice and favour with Henry VIII.—the very point on which the papal authority was thrown off.

Henry had, by papal dispensation, contracted, at his father's wish, when under age, a marriage with his deceased brother's wife. From whatever motives, he became persuaded that this

marriage was unlawful, and he sought to obtain from the pope a sentence annulling it. But various circumstances, chiefly of a political nature, prevented the accomplishment of his wishes, and deferred the matter indefinitely. At this crisis, two of Henry's courtiers happened to meet Cranmer at a private house, when (as we read in Bishop Burnet's History), "These two courtiers, knowing Cranmer's learning and solid judgment, entertained him with it [the divorce], and desired to hear his opinion concerning it. He modestly declined it; but told them, that he judged it would be a shorter and safer way once to clear it well, if the marriage *was unlawful in itself by any Divine precept*; for if that were proved, then it was certain, that the pope's dispensation could be of no force to make that lawful, which God had declared to be unlawful. Therefore he thought that instead of a long fruitless negotiation at Rome, it were better to consult all the learned men, and the universities of Christendom; for if they once declared it in the king's favour, then the pope must needs give judgment; or otherwise the bull being of itself null and void, the marriage would be found sinful, notwithstanding the pope's dispensation."

Cranmer's suggestion was adopted; and the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge being consulted, pronounced that the King's marriage with his deceased brother's wife was contrary to "the law of God." Burnet adds, that Crooke, the king's agent in Italy, "talked with divines and casuists about these questions: "Whether *the precepts in Leviticus*, of the degrees of marriage, do still oblige Christians? And whether the pope's dispensation could have any force *against the law of God*." In 1533, the question was brought before the Convocation of the Church of England, whether this marriage within the prohibited degrees, "was against the law of God, and indispensable by the pope;" and after the judgments of the Universities had been read, it was carried unanimously in the affirmative—a judgment, by which the Church of England proclaimed her belief that marriage within the degrees of consanguinity and affinity forbidden in Leviticus, is unlawful and unchristian. After this, followed the dissolution of the marriage by Archbishop Cranmer, and an open breach with the see of Rome.

Bishop Burnet, from whom we have taken the above particulars, has given us a summary of the arguments urged by Cranmer, and by all those who were favourable to the divorce, *i. e.* in fact, by the party opposed to the claims of the papacy—the party which included all the English Reformers. These arguments are precisely the same which are at this moment employed by those who are advocates for the preservation of the marriage law of England. To read them, one might suppose they were

written for the present session of Parliament. They all proceed on the ground that the law of God on the subject of marriage contained in Leviticus is a moral law of universal obligation, not limited to the Jews, but equally binding on Christians.

The legislation of the time all embodied the same principle. In acts of Parliament passed in 1534 and 1537, marriages within the prohibited degrees, (amongst which are specified marriage with a deceased wife's sister) are asserted to be "prohibited by the laws of God," "prohibited by God's law," and therefore are forbidden to be celebrated. So, again, in the *Reformatio Legum*, drawn up in the time of King Edward VI., by Cranmer and a number of the leading bishops, clergy, and canonists favourable to the Reformation, it is held that the Levitical restrictions on marriage are still binding, and that "all the degrees by name are not expressly set down; for the Holy Ghost there did only declare plainly and clearly such degrees, from whence the rest might evidently be deduced. As, for example, when it is prohibited that the son shall not marry his mother, it follows also that the daughter shall not marry her father . . . To which the same book adds two particular rules for our direction in this matter: 1. That the degrees which are laid down as to man, will hold equally as to woman in the same proximity. 2. That the husband and wife are but one flesh; so that he who is related to the one by consanguinity, is related to the other by affinity in the same degree<sup>1</sup>."

The next feature we have in the history of this matter, is the issuing by authority on the accession of Elizabeth, the Table of Degrees, which maintains the same doctrine, and which was followed by the canon of 1603—the last regulation on the point, which expresses the full and deliberate judgment of the Church of England, repeated again after the lapse of seventy years, that the Levitical law of marriage is binding on Christians,—that marriages within the prohibited degrees are forbidden by **THE LAW OF GOD**.

We have attempted only a very brief outline of the history of the doctrine of the English Reformation on this point. But what has been said will perhaps be sufficient to show, that the Church of England is very much committed in this question, and that it concerns her credit and moral weight very considerably. We cannot of course claim infallibility for the Reformation; but, at the same time, we confess that we think it might be as well for the Church to be able to show, that she has not, for the last three centuries, at least, been in grave error on so important a branch

<sup>1</sup> Burne, *Ecclesiastical Law*. Ed. Phillimore, ii. 447.

of Christian morality. In this question, the Church of England is decidedly on her trial. Those who advocate the Bill now before the House of Commons, or any other similar measure subversive of the prohibited degrees, are in fact accusing the Church of England of teaching error and falsehood up to the present moment. That the prohibited degrees are "forbidden by the law of God," is as much the doctrine of the Church of England, and of the English Reformation, as that the pope has no right to claim jurisdiction in England, or that transubstantiation is an error. It is true that the Thirty-nine Articles do not contain the Table of Prohibited Degrees; but that is a mere technical distinction between the sanction of the one doctrine and the other. The Church of England has really, and *bonâ fide*, again and again, declared herself just as clearly on the Divine obligation of the law of marriage in Leviticus, as she has on the question of transubstantiation, or the papal supremacy. The Table of Prohibited Degrees is part and parcel of the English Reformation.

Now of course we cannot expect that any considerations of this kind would have weight with those who are not members of the English Church, or induce them to look unfavourably on attempts to subvert the Table of Prohibited Degrees. To some of them, perhaps, it would be rather an argument in favour of Mr. Wortley's Bill, that it proposes to subvert the doctrine and discipline of the Established Church, and to give the clergy full leave and licence to set them at nought. Dissenters are not in any degree committed by the proceedings of the English Reformers. They have nothing to lose if the doctrines of the Church are interfered with. Nay, according to their accustomed mode of reasoning, the passing of the present Bill would be a positive boon to them. They would quote it as a fact, confirmatory of their continual assertion, that the religion of the Church of England is only "an Act of Parliament religion." And Romanists again, have no reason to be dissatisfied at the proposed alteration. As we might have expected, Dr. Wiseman, in his examination before the Commission, states that marriages within the prohibited degrees are allowed by papal dispensation in the Romish Church. That is to say, the very same practice is still continued in that Church, which Cranmer and the English Reformation condemned as unlawful and contrary to the laws of God. We know what the practice in the Church of Rome is. We remember Kings of Portugal being licensed by the pope to marry within the degrees of consanguinity—to marry their own nieces! We remember that the late Cardinal Acton was the fruit of an incestuous marriage in the same degree, also contracted by

papal licence. We have read in the *Theologia Moralis* of "Saint" Alphonso Ligorio, that the majority of casuistical writers in the Church of Rome hold that no degrees are "prohibited by God's law," except the marriage of parents and children, or, perhaps, brothers and sisters. The views on this matter, therefore, in the Church of Rome, are even more lax than those of the advocates of the present Bill. They throw aside the Levitical law of marriage altogether. Under these circumstances the Romish communion can feel no objection to Mr. Wortley's Bill: indeed we should say, that to them also the benefit would be not inconsiderable from the passing of this bill; because they will then be able to allege, with the Dissenters, that ours is "an Act of Parliament religion"—the very ground (it is needless to say) which they do take on all occasions, and which has shaken the faith of many persons before now. Such amiable persons as Mr. Noel, with moderate reasoning faculties (and there are many such), are liable to be led astray in different directions from the Church of England, by such arguments as we have referred to.

In the case of Romanists the passing of Mr. Wortley's Bill would be a very great triumph. It would amount to a declaration on the part of Parliament, that the English Reformation had been in error in this matter, and that the Church of Rome had maintained the truth throughout. It would amount to a censure on Cranmer, Jewell, Parker, and the English Reformers generally—on the Convocations of the Church of England in 1533, 1571, and 1603, as guilty of error in this great point of Christian doctrine. How readily would such a measure be employed by all the enemies of the English Reformation—and we have had such amongst ourselves—to throw discredit on the Reformers and the Church of England. The Newmans, Wards, Oakleys, and their followers, would rejoice in a reversal of the doctrine of Cranmer and Jewell, and more especially in its reversal by a mere Act of Parliament. Their triumph would be very great indeed.

But to pass from these considerations to the case of common people. The Table of Prohibited Degrees is printed in almost all our Prayer Books. It is there headed thus, "A Table of kindred and affinity wherein whosoever are related *are forbidden in Scripture* and our laws to marry together." In many of our churches this Table of Degrees is set up, according to the directions of the canon of our Church. Every one may know, that the canon of 1603 declares all such marriages to be "incestuous" and "contrary to God's law." What must be the effect on the minds of our people, when they see their clergy celebrating such marriages—authorized by Act of Parliament to set at nought the doctrine and discipline of the Church of England on this point? In the



first place, will such a result tend to make them respect the doctrine and discipline of their own Church? Will it not shake their confidence in the truth of that Church's teaching, when they find the clergy doing what the Church has up to the present time declared to be deeply criminal? And to look at its effect on the prohibited degrees in general. If even now so many cases can be produced, of persons who have shown themselves so ~~dis~~regardless of their religious obligations, as to contract incestuous marriages, the evil would be indefinitely increased, if the Parliament were to declare, as it would by the proposed Bill, that marriages within the prohibited degrees are not forbidden by God's law, but are merely positive institutions of men. The Table of Prohibited Degrees would at once lose every vestige of moral authority or influence. If illegal marriages were contracted by persons of unruly passions and without respect for religion, it would be perfectly hopeless for the clergy to remonstrate with them, and point out that such incestuous marriages were forbidden by the law of God in Holy Scripture. Their immediate answer would be, that the law of the land allows marriages within the prohibited degrees,—marriages which have been generally reputed to be forbidden by the Levitical law; and therefore that the law of Leviticus cannot be any longer binding. We know, of course, the fallacy of this kind of reasoning; but we also know that when men are bent on indulging their passions, they are very ready to adopt any kind of reasons which may afford an excuse for their conduct. We have heard of a case in which a man married his deceased wife's daughter, having first sworn that there was no impediment of affinity between them, in order to obtain a licence. In this case the defence set up was, that various persons had married their deceased wife's sisters; and, therefore, that there could be no harm in breaking through the Table of Prohibited Degrees. Now if such a Bill as Mr. Wortley's should pass, we really cannot calculate the amount of mischief that would be done to morality. The Table of Prohibited Degrees would at once become a dead letter. It would lose every vestige of moral weight and influence. If any one instituted prosecutions under it, he would be regarded as a persecutor. The people would set it at defiance. The clergy would be unable to appeal to it, or to the Scriptures, in order to prevent incestuous connexions.

Such considerations as these may weigh very little with the promoters of Mr. Wortley's Bill, whose simple object is to legalize marriages which they have contracted in defiance of the laws of God and man. Those persons who have been guilty of the crime of incest, have been struggling for several years to get their marriages recognised, and their children made capable of

inheriting their names and property. Having by their own crimes made their children bastards, they now seek to have those crimes legalized, and their penal consequences removed. This most audacious attempt could never have been made had not a prior compromise of principle taken place in Lord Lyndhurst's Bill, by which marriages celebrated previously within the prohibited degrees were legalized. This was a wrong step—it was a compromise of principle; but, as the same Bill contained enactments calculated to render the operation of the law against incestuous marriages for the future more stringent, we presume that the faults of the Bill were excused for its merits. From this mistaken concession, however, arose, we are persuaded, the attempt which is now being made to legalize all past and future marriages within certain of the prohibited degrees. And this is a sufficient warning for the future. If so comparatively small a concession in practice has been laid hold of, to urge a breach in the whole structure and theory of the Table of Degrees, what will be the result if that breach should actually be made? May it not be expected that tenfold encouragement will be given to incestuous marriages of all kinds? Persons who are guilty of such crimes will all buoy themselves up with the hope, that in a few years the Parliament will rescind the whole Table of Prohibited Degrees, and legalize all marriages contracted in opposition to it.

And now let us consider the position of the clergy, in case this or any similar Bill should pass into law. By Mr. Wortley's Bill the clergy are left at liberty to celebrate marriages within the prohibited degrees, and are not liable to any process in the Ecclesiastical Courts for performing them: that is to say, the clergy may at pleasure hold, in opposition to the doctrine of their Church, that marriages within the prohibited degrees are not forbidden by the law of God; and they may with impunity set the canon of the Church, which has up to the present moment been in force, at defiance.

We regret to see that there are some of the clergy who have, without sufficient consideration, set themselves in opposition to the doctrine of the Church of England in this matter. We may be mistaken; but such is our view of the authority and obligation of that doctrine in the English Church, that we hold it a matter very highly probable, that proceedings might be taken in the Ecclesiastical Courts against such persons, and censures inflicted upon them. We see that the Archbishop of Dublin has avowed his open dissent from the established doctrine on this point; and that he holds the Levitical law of marriage to be no longer binding. We should

be glad to think that the very indiscreet letters which have been written on the subject, and which are published in the Appendix to the Commissioners' Reports, were written without any attentive examination of the subject; but the truth is, that the principles put forth in these papers go to the denial of any obligation to attend to the Levitical law of marriage at all; and this is evidently a branch of that doctrine which has led the writer into errors on the subject of the moral law. Archbishop Whately is well known as a writer against the obligation of the Sabbath. He blots out the Fourth Commandment as of no obligation upon Christians; and we believe that the Bishop of Llandaff concurs in these views.

The fact is, however, that some of the clergy of the Church of England—comparatively few indeed, yet certainly some—do not object to marriages within the prohibited degrees, and have not apparently made up their minds as to which of those degrees ought to be retained as prohibited. If Mr. Wortley's Bill should pass, therefore, there would probably be several of the clergy who would act upon it, and perform such incestuous marriages.

But then, on the other hand, it is a matter of notoriety—the Report of the Commissioners admits the fact—that the great majority of the clergy and of the laity of the Church of England disapprove of marriages within the prohibited degrees. It is a matter of certainty, also, that numbers of them regard those marriages as absolutely prohibited by the Word of God. The Bill itself is a concession to this strong feeling. Its concoctors knew that many of the clergy would not, for any earthly consideration, celebrate such marriages; no, not if twenty Acts of Parliament enjoined them to do so. They know that there are conscientious objections in the minds of many to such marriages—that they are regarded by them as incestuous, and forbidden by God's law. Here then we have the prevalent opinion and feeling of the Church of England. What would be the result if particular clergy should be found celebrating such marriages? The result would be, that they would be looked on by the majority of the clergy and laity as men of unsound principles, and as patrons of immorality. They would be regarded as men who were habitually violating the rules of their own Church, grounded on the belief of that Church, that certain Scriptural prohibitions are still binding—men who availed themselves of the protection of an Act of Parliament, to act in opposition to the established rules of their own Church—who were only saved from censure and suspension by the intervention of the temporal power. We feel confident that such would be the feeling in the minds of very many members of the Church, when they behold their ministers

or their brother clergy thus acting in opposition to the laws of the Church and the laws of God. We feel confident that the influence of many a clergyman would be most fatally injured in his own parish were he to act on Mr. Wortley's Bill, and celebrate incestuous marriages. We feel certain, also, that he would be looked on with disapprobation, and that his conduct would be severely censured by numbers of his brother clergy. All this might seem to be, and would no doubt be, called great bigotry and intolerance ; but it would really be quite impossible to avoid it, if men were guilty of performing marriages which the Church holds to be incestuous.

Now then let us take another side of the question. What would be the position of the clergy who should refuse to celebrate such marriages? In the first place, their refusal would be considered, by persons seeking to contract such marriages, as a mere matter of private choice or scruple, since such marriages would be legal, and some of the clergy would celebrate them. A clergyman would therefore be obliged to fall back on his private opinion in order to excuse himself from celebrating marriages of this kind between his parishioners. If he were to appeal to the canons, he would be told that they are no longer binding on him ; if he still maintained their obligation in spite of an Act of Parliament, he would be charged with "Puseyism." In short, it would come at last to his own private choice and opinion, as he could not pretend that there would be any penalty on him for celebrating the marriage. Under these circumstances, if he should refuse, it would very commonly be made a matter of personal offence. He would raise up personal enemies by his refusal. He might have to speak his mind very plainly to his parishioners, and to tell them that he considered any such unions as sinful and forbidden by God's law. In many places, especially where there were clergy of contrary principles in the neighbourhood, a question would thus be raised, which would lead to continual strife and division, and place a clergyman in great difficulties.

The proposed interference with the laws of the Church of England with regard to marriages, is of a very different character from any mere interference with the Rubrics or disciplinary regulations of the Church. Any alterations, even in the Rubrics, would give much dissatisfaction ; but here the alteration is attempted to be made in a great point of moral doctrine—a point which touches the deposit of the Christian faith. If the Church is not the guardian of such a matter as that of the prohibited degrees of marriage—if it does not constitute one of her first duties, to ascertain carefully the laws of God in such matters, and neither to go beyond them, nor to fall short of them, we know not what

her office is. The question is really a momentous one for the Church—it is whether she has been a faithful guardian of the law of God in relation to marriages; or whether she has mingled with her creed judaical errors, and imposed them on her members. Those who want to subvert the Table of Prohibited Degrees, virtually accuse the Church of England of judaizing. In any question of this kind far deeper interests are at stake, and far more important questions are pending, than would be the case in any mere abolition of Rubrics or of canonical regulations. The attempt is now to sanction what the Church has declared to be incest, prohibited by Holy Scripture.

It seems to us that it were an extreme act of injustice to the Church of England to hold out encouragement (as is done by this Act) to her ministers to violate a canon grounded on the unvarying belief of the Church. It seems to us that the Church ought to be exempt from such interference with her doctrine and her discipline. If certain persons are anxious for relief, let them not seek to gain it by subverting the established doctrine and discipline of the English Church. Let them not seek for the sanction of a religion which has always denounced such persons as guilty of incest, and which cannot possibly now turn round on all its laws and principles. The State can legalize any marriages whatever in the eye of the temporal law. To the State and the State only should be the application of such persons; but it is really an outrage on the Church to endeavour to release her Clergy and laity from obedience to her great principles of morality and religion. The Commissioners report that the Dissenters have no objection to marriages within the prohibited degrees. We are sorry to hear it; but we have no doubt that if they think themselves aggrieved by being so restrained, the legislature will relieve them. The same may be said of Romanists. If any sect feels their need of relief from such restrictions, they will of course petition for relief. We have, however, no evidence that there is any feeling of the kind prevalent in any religious communion. In the Church of England it is admitted, even by the very partial Report of the Commission on the Law of Marriage, that the general feeling is against such marriages, as it is also strongly in the Presbyterian Kirk in Scotland. In the Church of England alone is the performance of incestuous marriages absolutely prohibited by the principles and law of the Church. This constitutes a wide difference between our case and that of other communities. They would not suffer by any alteration in the law; but we should suffer in very many ways. And yet, notwithstanding this, it is the Church of England that is singled out by this Bill for especial interference. The Ecclesiastical Courts of *the Church*

*of England* are prohibited by Clause 2 from annulling or pronouncing void certain incestuous marriages. The clergy of *the Church of England*, "clergyman or other person," are, by Clause 3, declared not to be liable to any action in any Ecclesiastical Court of *the Church of England* for celebrating such incestuous marriages. "Licences" are to be granted by functionaries of *the Church of England*, *i. e.* by chancellors, surrogates, &c. *in the name of the Bishops of the Church of England*, for the celebration of such incestuous marriages! The Church of England is specially singled out by the Act, which scarcely seems to recognise the existence of Dissent or Romanism. It is an Act wholly intended for the Church of England. Why does not the Bill restrict itself to the case of those who are not members of the Church of England? They seem to have no objection to such marriages; and if the Bill had been to relieve them, we should have been less surprised at the proposal: but here, without any demand from the Church of England, nay, in admitted opposition to the wishes of the majority of her members, a Bill is introduced, which, in order to legalize certain illegal and incestuous marriages, subverts the doctrine and discipline of the Church of England; authorizes the Clergy to rebel against the canons of their Church; prevents the Ecclesiastical Courts from punishing incest; calls on the Bishop to licence incestuous marriages; demolishes the authority and moral influence of the Table of Prohibited Degrees; opens the way for infinite licentiousness; sows the seeds of permanent dissension in the Church; affords a triumph to her bitterest enemies; and supplies them with new arguments and inducements to persuade unstable minds to forsake her communion. Such is the Bill which Mr. Wortley has been persuaded to introduce. A greater and more audacious outrage on public morality, and on the Bishops, the Clergy, and all the members of the Church of England, we have never heard of.

We must be here permitted to ask one question of the advocates of this measure. On what do they propose to build any future restrictions on marriage? The Archbishop of Dublin speaks contemptuously of those who produce any arguments from Leviticus against marriage with a deceased wife's sister. He says, "As for the allegations from the Levitical law, if any one brings them forward in sincerity, he should be prepared to advocate adherence to it in all points alike; among others, the compulsory marriage of a brother with his deceased brother's widow." If then, submission to the prohibitions of the Levitical law in this matter be so very absurd, on what are we to found any restrictions on marriage? If the Archbishop of Dublin holds the Levitical prohibitions to be of no obligation on Christians, may



we be permitted to ask where he is to stop in his concessions? Would he concede to brothers freedom to marry their sisters? or to uncles permission to marry their nieces? Or would he permit a man to marry his father's wife? The Bishop of Llandaff also appears not disinclined to grant relaxations even beyond what Mr. Wortley asks for; though he does not express himself very distinctly. But seriously we would ask of those who advocate the subversion of the Table of Prohibited Degrees, and the reversal of the judgments of the Church of England, what ground they can possibly take in order to prevent the marriage of uncles and nieces, brothers and sisters. If there are no prohibitions of such connexions in the Word of God now binding on Christians—if all restrictions are merely created by human law, then it will be absolutely impossible to maintain them against pressing demands for the removal of all restraints on the liberty of individuals, and against the lax and immoral practice of the Church of Rome, and of those bodies on the Continent which are nominally connected with the Reformation. If we take our stand on the principle of the Church of England, that marriages within the prohibited degrees are forbidden by the Word of God, our position is clear, firm, and consistent; but if we once permit ourselves to descend from this ground of our own Church to argue the question on grounds of expediency, policy, domestic advantage, or abstract morality alone, we forsake the only position from which we can protect the country and the Church from the pollution of sanctioning a number of connexions which every Christian would now look upon with abhorrence. Can those who argue from the law of nature alone maintain their ground successfully against a demand for liberty to marry several wives? There are instances in Scripture of men marrying their wives' sisters during the lifetime of their wives; many instances of polygamy; many of concubinage combined with polygamy; others of marriages between brothers and sisters, fathers-in-law and daughters-in-law, uncles and nieces, and other connexions of the same kind; which will at once prove, that connexions of almost any kind are reconcilable with men's feelings and sense of right and wrong.

We have hitherto been considering the bearing of Mr. Wortley's, or any similar Bill on the interests of the Church of England and on general morality. We have been writing for and to the members of the Church of England exclusively, because the question affects them almost entirely. To other religious communions it is a matter of comparatively trifling importance. But we must now proceed briefly to state the grounds on which we believe that the Church of England is perfectly right in her repeated declarations on this subject. And here we cannot do better

than avail ourselves of Mr. Bennett's clear and cogent reasoning in the excellent pamphlet which we have mentioned at the head of these pages.

"The passage of Scripture, upon which the Table of Degrees is chiefly based, is the eighteenth chapter of Leviticus.

"II. Here the first question which meets us is, whether the precepts contained in this chapter are binding on Christians; in other words, whether they belong to the moral law, or only to the ceremonial or political law of the Jews<sup>2</sup>.

"(1.) To determine this question, first, let my readers refer to the passage itself. It will be obvious to any one who reads it, that the whole chapter is in contrast with *heathen* practices;—those of Egypt and Canaan. God relates<sup>3</sup> in the beginning of it that there were certain 'doings' of the land of Egypt, which the Israelites had just left, and of the land of Canaan, whither they were going, after which they should not do: 'After *their* doings shall ye not do; neither shall ye walk in *their* ordinances:' but 'ye shall do *my* judgments, and keep mine ordinances,' 'and my statutes,' 'which if a man do, he shall live in them: I am the Lord.' After this preamble (so to speak), the Divine law on the subject follows, forming the main body of the chapter, to which is appended the solemn admonition, 'Defile not ye yourselves in any of these things: for in all these things the nations are defiled which I cast out before you<sup>4</sup>.' Now, if the practices forbidden in these precepts were accounted sins when done by the *heathen*, and drew down God's wrath on *them*, it is plain that the prohibitions belong to that law which is binding on all nations, i. e. the moral, and not the ceremonial or judicial laws, which were intended for the Jews alone.

"(2.) Another argument may be drawn from the words which God here uses to denote the nature of the sins forbidden. They are called (and the words are emphatically repeated in successive verses) '*defilements*,' and '*abominations*;' and they are spoken of as *defiling the land* in which they were committed. Expressions so strong, and such as these, would not have been applied to the transgressions of merely ceremonial precepts.

"(3.) It may be noted, also, that these laws are given separately from the judicial laws on the same subject. In Levit. xviii. these things are laid down simply as *things not to be done*. What related to the judicial law of the Jewish people, seems to be recorded in another place, (*viz.* in the twentieth chapter<sup>5</sup>), where the same degrees are mentioned again, with special penalties annexed to intermarriage within them.

"(4.) Again: let those who contend that the law of marriage, which God has given in Scripture, belongs only to the ceremonial or political law, say in what light they regard the sacred ordinance of marriage itself. Are they prepared to consider this as a merely civil or cere-

<sup>2</sup> See Article vii.

<sup>4</sup> See ver. 24—30.

<sup>3</sup> See ver. 3—5.

<sup>5</sup> See Levit. xx. 21.

monial institution? If not, let them beware of relaxing on this plea the restrictions with which God has fenced it round, lest they insensibly lower their own and other men's views of the holiness of the state of matrimony itself.

"(5.) I may add further, that it would be contrary to the analogy of all the other dealings of God with men on this subject to suppose that more licence is given to Christians than was to the Jews. The constant course of God's dealings, from the beginning of the world, has been gradually to increase the restrictions on marriage, and so to draw the bond closer, and render the union more holy in the eyes of men, by the fences placed around it. The Creator made it necessary, in the first generation after Adam, that brothers should marry their sisters. Abraham, for whatever cause, was permitted to marry his niece, if not his half-sister. Jacob married two sisters at once; Jochabed, the mother of Moses and Aaron, was aunt to her husband. By the law which God gave to Moses, the licence formerly permitted in these and other instances was abridged. But polygamy was still practised, of which David and Solomon afford sufficient examples; and divorces 'for every cause' were yet allowed to the Jews by the law itself, 'for the hardness of their hearts';<sup>6</sup> but by the Gospel of Christ the licence in these respects was restrained. Polygamy became unlawful for Christians, and divorce was restricted to the cause of fornication alone. It would appear, therefore, to have been the uniform tenor of God's dealings with men, under each successive dispensation, to lay increased restrictions on the licence of marriage. And as the Christian Church was intended to be the home of a higher degree of purity than found shelter either in the Jewish or Patriarchal Church, it would be contrary to all the revealed designs of God to suppose that what was forbidden to the Jews in these respects is allowed to Christians. So strongly did the Church, in the early ages of Christianity feel the force of this, that they, we know, did, whether wisely or not, increase the restrictions on marriage amongst themselves to a much wider extent even than the law of God in Scripture obliged them.

"(6.) Lastly, these laws were considered, as well by the ancient Jewish authorities, as by the general consent of the Christian Church, to be not confined to the Jews alone, but to be intended for heathens and Christians also<sup>7</sup>."

"It is hoped that enough has now been said to establish beyond a doubt, that the prohibitions in the eighteenth chapter of Leviticus are binding on mankind universally as part of the moral law of God."

These arguments are substantially the same which were employed by Cranmer and the other English Reformers, in the sixteenth century, against the advocates of Romish laxity. The

<sup>6</sup> See Matt. xix. 8, 9.

<sup>7</sup> See Questions 439, 470, and 471, p. 45, in Report of Commissioners. See also Hammond on this point, vol. i. of his works.

first principle on which the doctrine of the English Church on this point depends, *viz.*, that the Levitical prohibitions of marriage are binding on Christians, has thus been satisfactorily established.

The next point which we have to prove, is, that all the prohibited degrees contained in our Table are prohibited by the eighteenth chapter of Leviticus. Mr. Bennett proceeds thus:—

“The sixth verse, which stands at the head of God's statutes on this matter, at once enunciates the *principle* on which all these prohibitions rest, and declares the law, of which the following verses contain particular instances:—‘None of you shall approach to any that is *near of kin* to him;’ ‘I am the Lord.’

“Here, then, we find a law, expressed in general terms, which directly forbids any who are ‘near of kin’ to marry together. Our question, therefore, is now brought to this,—What is meant by that ‘nearness of kin’ here spoken of? and how far does it extend? If it can be shown that ‘*nearness of kin*,’ according to the intention of this law of God, includes every degree of relationship set forth in the table, then it must be admitted that this law obliges persons so related together in every case, ‘not to approach’ each other; in other words, ‘that whosoever are related within these degrees are forbidden in Scripture’ ‘to marry together.’

“(1.) Now, first, it will not be disputed that the ‘nearness of kin,’ which is the foundation of these prohibitions, must be supposed to reach through all those cases enumerated in the following verses<sup>\*</sup>; and as we find amongst these, the instances of a son's wife, a brother's wife, a father's brother's wife, and a wife's daughter and granddaughter, it is evident that the ‘nearness of kin’ here spoken of must be taken to include cases of *affinity* as well as of consanguinity; and of these, some that are quite as remote in degree as any instances of consanguinity to which it is extended.

“(2.) Secondly, it cannot be denied that there are some degrees of nearness of kin, not expressly mentioned in these verses, within which it is impossible to suppose that marriage was intended to be permitted, *e. g.* a grandmother and a daughter. The principle, then, will not hold good in this case, that whatever is not specifically forbidden is permitted. It is necessary to think that some more instances are comprehended under the general prohibition in ver. 6, besides those enumerated in the following verses.”

\* \* \* \* \*

“(3.) But how, then, are we to know the *extent* of the application here contended for? How must we ascertain what those other instances are which are prohibited by virtue of verse 6, and yet are not expressed in the following verses? It is necessary and easy to suppose that a daughter and a grandmother are included,—but what others? One simple rule of interpretation will remove every difficulty. *Whatever*

<sup>\*</sup> Ver. 14—17.

*instances are exactly equal, or parallel, to those mentioned in the chapter, are to be esteemed as falling under the same prohibition.*

“We have, then, arrived at this result, that the ‘nearness of kin’ which, according to the intention of God’s law, is a bar to marriage, includes not only whatever is found *specifically* mentioned in the following verses of the same chapter, but whatever is *equal or parallel* to the instances therein given.

“(4.) It only remains to be said, that every degree expressed in the *table* is included under one or other of these two classes. There is not one degree prohibited in our laws at present which is not either explicitly mentioned in the eighteenth of Leviticus, or exactly equal to one that is there mentioned. The conclusion, therefore, is inevitable, that the relationship existing in each of these degrees is within the meaning of that ‘nearness of kin’ which, according to God’s law in Leviticus xviii. 6, is a bar to marriage.

“(5.) It seems scarcely necessary to say more—this rule of parity of reason, or of relationship, on which the Church of England has proceeded in interpreting this chapter, and in constructing her Table of Degrees upon it, is almost self-evident. Without it no consistent interpretation of these laws can be arrived at. For no reason can be given why marriage with a father’s brother’s wife should be forbidden<sup>9</sup>, which does not apply equally to a mother’s brother’s wife, which is not mentioned. No ground can be alleged for the exclusion of those instances of daughter and grandmother (some of the nearest degrees of consanguinity) to which I have before referred. Nor can any principle be discovered on which some degrees of affinity are omitted, which are nearer than others that are specifically mentioned, *e. g.* a wife’s sister, which is as near as a brother’s wife, or a wife’s granddaughter, and *nearer* than a father’s brother’s wife. On the other hand, if this rule be adopted, all inconsistency is at an end. We learn to regard the chapter as forbidding *all* nearness of kin, and illustrating its meaning by some particular instances. The rule itself is found in its application to involve no more than two recognised principles of God’s word, which are attested both by the general tenor and express declarations of Holy Scripture:—1st, That man and wife are, by God’s ordinance, made ‘*one flesh*’; whence it follows, that whoever is related to one by consanguinity, is to be accounted as related in the same degree to the other by affinity: and 2nd, That purity and incest are the same in both sexes<sup>1</sup>; whence it follows, that whatever prohibitions are made to a *man* in these laws, are to be understood as extending to a *woman* in the like case, and vice versâ, And the Table of Degrees, which is constructed on the eighteenth of Leviticus, interpreted by this rule, is seen to contain a reasonable and perfectly consistent law, all the parts of which are in harmony with each other, and rest on one intelligible principle, *viz.* that the ‘nearness of

<sup>9</sup> See ver. 14.

<sup>1</sup> Gal. iii. 28. “In Christ Jesus there is neither male nor female.”

kin' (which, in the intention of God's word, is a bar to a lawful marriage) extends to every case *within the third degree.*"

We now come to the particular degree of affinity which is the subject of legislation in Mr. Wortley's Bill—we mean, the affinity between a man and his deceased wife's sister. That this degree is not expressly mentioned in the prohibited degrees in the eighteenth of Leviticus, is conceded, but it must be intended to be included in other parallel prohibitions, or else it may be held that a man may marry his grandmother, or his niece, for those degrees are not expressly mentioned.

As Mr. Bennett argues:—

"I appeal, first, to the general law laid down with so much solemnity in the 6th verse of Leviticus xviii. The prohibition there is direct and peremptory: 'None of you shall approach to *any that is near of kin*:' 'I am the Lord.' Is, then, a wife's sister amongst those that are 'near of kin' to a man, or not? If she is, marriage with her is here forbidden, not simply by way of inference, but in express terms.

"(1.) Now, before I have recourse to that rule of interpretation which I have already laid down for ascertaining what degrees are included in the nearness of kin here spoken of, I am anxious to call attention to the literal force of the scriptural expression. The best Hebrew scholars<sup>2</sup> tell us that it is in the original, literally, 'None of you shall approach to *the flesh of his flesh*,' which, they say, is rightly translated in our language, 'any that is near of kin.' Do we want to know, then, whether this expression applies to a man's wife's relations in the same degree as to his own? Let Holy Scripture interpret for us the meaning of its own words. It is usually allowed to be a good method to compare one passage with another. Let us use this method in the case before us. We find it declared elsewhere, in more places than one, of husband and wife, that 'they twain shall be *one flesh*;' and again, that the wife is 'bone of his bone, and *flesh of his flesh*.'<sup>3</sup> This is, in fact, the constant language of Scripture, in reference to the union formed between those whom God has joined together by the Divine institution of marriage. Now here we have the very same words used, 'flesh of his flesh,' 'one flesh.' It seems not possible, therefore, to doubt that the 'nearness of kin' spoken of in this prohibition extends equally to those who are 'near' by the bond of marriage, as to those who are near by the bond of blood. And St. Basil's reasoning again seems irrefragable: 'This prohibition,' he says, 'includes this kind of *'nearness'* also; for what can be 'nearer' to a man than his own wife; or rather than his own 'flesh?' So then, through the wife, her sister comes to be 'near of kin' to the husband. For as he is not to take the 'mother' of his wife, nor the 'daughter'<sup>4</sup> of his wife, because neither can he take his own mother, nor his own daughter; so neither may he

<sup>2</sup> See Commissioners' Report, Question 436.

<sup>3</sup> See Gen. ii. 24; Matt. xix. 6; Eph. v. 31.

<sup>4</sup> See Levit. xviii. 17.



take the 'sister' of his wife, any more than he may take his own 'sister.' It does appear, therefore, sufficiently clear, that this expression, interpreted by its use in similar passages of Scripture, reaches to these degrees of affinity: and that as none would deny that a man's own sister, and daughter, and mother are within the 'nearness of kin' there intended:—as, moreover, the wife's *mother* and *daughter* are found amongst the degrees *specifically* prohibited;—so the *sister* also of her who is made 'one flesh' with him, must be esteemed as falling within the meaning of the same expression.

"(2.) But let us next apply to this instance the rule which has been before shown to be necessary, in order to a right understanding of this chapter. We acknowledge that the sister of a deceased wife is not expressly enumerated amongst those with whom a man is forbidden to marry; but our position is, that there is one instance mentioned so *exactly parallel* to it, that the 'nearness of kin' which is prohibited in one, cannot but be held to exist in the other also. In verse 16, a man is forbidden to marry his 'brother's wife;' or, in other words, a *woman* is there forbidden to marry her '*husband's brother*;' which is so exactly parallel to the case of a *man* marrying his '*wife's sister*,' that it must be a very subtle refinement indeed which would establish any distinction between them. We should rather accept Bishop Jewell's judgment: 'When God commands me, I shall not marry my brother's wife, it follows directly by the same, that He forbids me to marry my wife's sister; for between one man and two sisters, and one woman and two brothers, is like analogy.'"

The general principle and its mode of application have been very clearly stated in the above passages. We apprehend that the Scriptural argument is sufficiently clear to justify the conduct of the Church of England for the last three centuries in her opposition to Romish laxity. If the prohibited degrees in Leviticus are not acknowledged as our guides,—if the awful denunciations of God against those who transgress them may be set aside, and disregarded by Christians, notwithstanding the practice of the universal Christian Church from the very beginning till shortly before the Reformation, when in the most corrupt ages the popes claimed the right of dispensing with *all laws*, both Divine and human—if this be so there is nothing to oppose an effectual barrier to the impulses of human passions. The Council of Trent indeed denounces anathemas against us for asserting that the Levitical prohibited degrees cannot be dispensed with by the pope; but as we have for two centuries and a half been borne up by the clear and express language of the Word of God in opposition to so wicked a claim, so we trust and hope that the Church of England is not now to recede from her recorded principles, and to yield to any enactment which embodies, as Mr. Wortley's Bill does, the principles of Romish error.

We have no case to establish. We stand on the ground of prescription. We seek no change in the principles or the enactments of the law. We have nothing to prove or to gain. The Church is assailed: its principles are denied: its discipline is sought to be subverted: its clergy and laity are invited to rebel against her established maxims. But the burden of proof rests with our antagonists. It is for them to demonstrate that the Church has been in error for three centuries.

We appeal to members of the Church of England whether the uniform teaching of their Church is not sufficiently authorized by Holy Scripture: if it be so—if it be not plainly and distinctly unscriptural, it is surely our duty to oppose by all means in our power, the infliction of so great a disgrace and so great an injury on that Church.

Various arguments have been got up against the Table of Prohibited Degrees. Nothing else could have been expected. There is not a point in Christian doctrine against which plausible objections may not be raised. The Socinians can make out a plausible case by quoting detached texts against the divinity of our Lord Jesus Christ. The Dissenters can make out a plausible case against the temporal establishment of the Church by quoting detached texts. The Presbyterian can quote Scripture, and raise difficulties against Episcopacy. And so, also, can the paid advocates for the subversion of the law of God on marriage make out a case by quoting detached texts. We can only say, that, if difficulties of this kind are to be attended to, and to induce us to doubt or to subvert these principles of the Church which have stood the test of eighteen centuries, we ought, in consistency, to doubt, or to reject, the Athanasian or the Nicene Creed.

The advocates of this Bill argue that God enjoined the marriage of a brother to his deceased brother's wife, when no children had been left; and hence they infer that marriages in such degrees of affinity, may be dispensed with. Certainly they may be—but BY GOD ALONE. The command of God changes the character of actions. His will was sufficient to justify Abraham in the intention to put his own son to death—to justify the children of Israel in slaying the Canaanites; and Samuel in hewing Agag to pieces.

So, again, the argument founded on the case mentioned by the Sadducees of a woman who had married seven brethren, and in which no censure was passed by our Lord on the woman, is of no force, because the dispensation or injunction given by God in this case of course excepted the Jewish woman from all blame.

The Archbishop of Dublin has argued, that if we admit the Levitical prohibitions of marriage, we must also take the above Levitical injunction along with it. But there is a great difference

between the cases. The Levitical *prohibitions* are accompanied by most dreadful denunciations of God against those who violate them, and they are placed on the same level as idolatry. But marriage with a deceased brother's wife is merely a *positive* institution of the law: it is not fenced in by any of those formidable denunciations which prove the moral character of the prohibitory code. It is grounded on a reason peculiar to the old dispensation, and to the Jews—"that his name be not put out of Israel" (Deut. xxv. 6). The only penalty is, that the person who refuses to do so is to be publicly insulted by his sister-in-law, and that an opprobrious name is to be given by the Israelites to his house. Such a law as this is palpably of no moral character; and to draw a comparison between it and the prohibitions in the Levitical law is simply absurd.

The only remaining argument against the principles of the Church of England on this point, is taken from the passage in Leviticus xviii. 18, in which it is said, "Neither shalt thou take a wife to her sister to vex her," &c., "beside the other in her lifetime." And it is contended that here the restriction is limited entirely to the lifetime of the sister, and that therefore it must be lawful to marry afterwards. The reply to this is, that the text in question evidently is intended to forbid specially a kind of polygamy which the Jews had practised after the example of Jacob. It was directed specifically against this evil; and we have no right to draw inferences from it, for the purpose of authorizing what is forbidden elsewhere. Mr. Bennett observes in reply to this objection:—

"The answer to this argument is as old as the time of St. Basil: 'If such an interpretation,' he says, 'be admitted, he who wills may take the sister even during the wife's lifetime, for the same sophism will fit this case also. For it is written, he may say, 'Thou shalt not take a wife to her sister *to vex her*.' So, then, there is no prohibition against taking her, when there is nothing 'vexing' in it. Whereupon he, who is pleading for his passion, will decide that the temper of the sisters is such that there is not any danger of 'vexing.' The reason, then, being done away for which he was prohibited from living with both at once, what is then to prevent his taking both sisters together? This is not written, we allow; but no more is the permission contended for in the other case expressed<sup>5</sup>.' The two arguments are exactly parallel, and are about as conclusive as this, 'The raven returned not again to the ark until the waters were dried up from the earth,' *therefore* it returned after the waters were dried up; or, 'Michal the daughter of Saul had no child unto the day of her death<sup>6</sup>,' *therefore* she had a child after her death."

<sup>5</sup> Epistle to Diodorus.

<sup>6</sup> 2 Sam. vi. 23.

These are the arguments on which the advocates of the Bill rest their cause. Are they sufficient to induce the members of the Church of England to condemn their own Church by supporting that Bill? The Bill is, we repeat it again and again, A CENSURE ON THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND. It is a Bill to establish the truth of the Roman Catholic view of the question in opposition to that of the Church of England—to that of Cranmer, Jewell, and the Reformers—of the Convocations in the reign of Henry VIII., Elizabeth, James I.—of the authors of the *Reformatio Legum* in the time of Edward VI.—of all theologians and casuists of our Church from the time of Henry VIII. to the present day.

The Report of the Commissioners on the Marriage Laws has been ably dissected by Mr. Beresford Hope, who has shown its excessive partiality and one-sidedness, and has left it without a fragment of authority. The voice of the Church is, we may say, all but unanimous on the subject, as is proved by the number of publications which are appearing, and the petitions which are pouring into Parliament. It is, we conceive, absolutely impossible, that so unjustifiable a measure, one so injurious to public morality in all its tendencies, one so insulting to the Church of England, and one so destructive of the character, the peace, the influence of that Church, can pass through the legislature. We would infinitely sooner have seen Mr. Trelawny's motion for the abolition of the Church-rates carried, than this abominable Bill for legalizing incest, and making the Church of England give her sanction, directly or indirectly, to what she believes, and has repeatedly declared to be, "contrary to the Scriptures," and "prohibited by the law of God."

We say confidently, that the Church of England has not been convicted of error in her belief on this point; and therefore we hold it to be the duty of all her members to take every means in their power for defeating any attempt like that which is now being made. Let every deanery—let every parish, send in their petitions and their remonstrances against so great an outrage to their Church.

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## NOTICES OF RECENT PUBLICATIONS,

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1. "Thou shalt not bear false Witness against thy Neighbour." 2. The Name and Number of the Apocalyptic Beast. 3. Sertum Ecclesiæ. 4. Lays of the Scottish Cavaliers. 5. The Path of Life. 6. Loci Communes. 7. L'Anima Amante. 8. The Order of Confirmation. 9. The History of a Family. 10. Smith's Canadian Gazetteer. 11. Roman Forgeries and Falsifications. 12. The Four Gospels, with Annotations. 13. The Search after Infallibility. 14. Posthumous Works of Rev. Dr. Chalmers. 15. Epitome of Alison's History of Europe. 16. Outlines of English Literature. 17. The Trial of Creation : The Sea King. 18. The Haunted Man. 19. Nind's Lecture Sermons. 20. Liber Precum Publicarum. 21. Ramsay's Catechism for Young Persons. 22. Every Child's History of England. 23. Thoughts in Verse : The Triple Judgment. 24. Kings of England. 25. The Words from the Cross. 26. Brief Sketch of Human Nature in Innocency. 27. Journal in France in 1845 and 1848. 28. Sacred Latin Poetry. 29. The Inheritance of Evil. 30. Lectures on the Apocalypse. 31. The Acts of St. Mary Magdalene Considered. 32. Lectures on the Nature and Use of Money. 33. Godfrey Davenant at College. 34. Nelson's Companion for Fasts and Festivals. 35. Demoniacal Possession. 36. The Romaunt Version of St. John's Gospel. 37. Discourses on the Life of Christ. 38. Original Letters relative to the English Reformation : The Zurich Letters. 39. Life and Times of King Alfred the Great. 40. Poetry, Past and Present. 41. Woodward's Thoughts on the Character and History of Nehemiah. 42. Marsh's Christian Doctrine of Sanctification Considered. 43. The Scottish New Generation. 44. Woman ; the Help Meet for Man. 45. The Life of Christians during the First Three Centuries of the Church. 46. Friends and Fortune. 47. Pinacothecæ Historicæ Specimen. 48. Correspondence between the Duke of Argyll and the Right Rev. W. J. Trower. 49. Stray Suggestions on Colonization.
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1.—"*Thou shalt not bear false Witness against thy Neighbour :*" *A Letter to the Editor of the English Review. From JULIUS CHARLES HARE, M.A., Archdeacon of Lewes. With a Letter from Mr. Maurice to the Author.* London : J. W. Parker.

WE have perused this publication with considerable attention. It will be remembered that in our last number notice was drawn to certain tendencies in the present day towards the subversion of faith ; and in connexion with, and exemplification of the dangers we were referring to, we were obliged to quote pretty copiously from a work which the Author of this Letter had recently edited, and to comment with severity on the sentiments advanced in that work, and on its editor. The pamphlet before us professes to be a reply to our strictures.

It is a most painful part of the reviewer's duty to point out offences against Christianity on the part of those who are its appointed teachers ; but it becomes indispensably necessary to do so, when we conceive that the foundations of all Christian belief are, even unconsciously, shaken by writers whose names carry any weight with the public. The merits which a writer may pos-

sess in *other* respects, his correctness of view on this or that matter of detail, on this or that particular Christian doctrine, is not to protect him from just and severe criticism, when his principles or teaching leads directly or indirectly to the subversion of the Christian faith.

Of course, when persons holding office in a Christian Church render themselves liable to such strictures as we have felt it a matter of duty to make on Sterling's Remains and its editor, it cannot be a matter of surprise, that such persons, more especially if they have assumed the office of leaders of public opinion, should writhe under the castigation which they have received, and should endeavour to represent themselves as unjustly and cruelly treated. The publication before us exhibits, accordingly, very slight traces of the philosophical temper. Its author is evidently at least no follower of the Stoic philosophy. Its tone of impassioned declamation would be almost comic were it on less grave topics. As a vocabulary of invective, it is really curious. We must frankly and unreservedly concede to the author the possession of very considerable attainments in this respect, as in so many others.

But, seriously speaking, how is the subject matter of our remarks affected by comparing us to "Iago," or to the "father of lies;" or speaking of our article as "shuffling," "malignant," "false," "mean," "insolent," "cribbed and cabined by party spirit;" or by asking how we "dare" to speak as we have done? The imputation of ignorance (without any proof of the correctness of the imputation) and of personal enmity in our criticisms, was a matter of course. The former is Mr. Hare's usual mode of dealing with those who hold different opinions from himself; and the latter is so common an artifice to distract attention, and to create feelings of sympathy, that we cannot in the least wonder at the author's resort to these expedients. We have no personal enmity whatever against any one of the writers referred to in our article; but we have read some of their productions with alarm and indignation at their principles and aims, and not without surprise at their arrogance and intolerance; and we shall not hesitate to direct attention to them whenever we deem it needful.

With these explanatory remarks, we shall put aside the personalities of the pamphlet, and proceed to consider its bearing on the grave and important subject of our article.

As far as we have been enabled to see, the publication before us substantiates the correctness of our statements in all material points, and proves that we were no mere alarmists in calling attention to what we conceived to be the dangerous character of Sterling's works, and to the conduct of Archdeacon Hare as editor of those works. It appears from this pamphlet, that Mr.



Hare was himself *fully aware* of the scandal which was likely to result from his publication. He tells us that he "did not undertake it without counting the cost, nor without much hesitation and reluctance;" and that "no other work he ever engaged in, caused him a hundredth part of the painful anxiety." He dreaded, lest he should be the instrument of holding up Sterling "to severe reproach and condemnation;" lest "the vultures or other obscene birds that infest our Religious Journals," should "mangle" his Remains. And, though last, not least, "he could not but foresee the likelihood that *he himself might incur blame*, and might give offence to many *pious persons*, which his office rendered it a special obligation to avoid." At the close of the pamphlet, too, we learn that these anticipations have been, unfortunately for its author, realized. He would have left our remarks unrefuted, "if they had stood alone;" "but there was a *good deal of censure on my conduct* in publishing the Life of my friend, Sterling; and being aware that *divers good persons*, not knowing the circumstances which led me to undertake that work, have been grieved by my having done so, I deemed it right to make the foregoing statement, which I alone could make," &c.

The whole of this proves distinctly, that the publication of Sterling's Remains was no mere act of thoughtless or blind partiality to a friend, which might have afforded some feeble excuse for the course adopted by the editor; but that he distinctly foresaw the scandal which the publication of rationalistic sentiments under his auspices would cause; and we must therefore say, that if Mr. Hare has been involved in a position of a very disagreeable kind, in consequence of his own deliberate act, he has no one but himself to blame. We know, of course, that this consciousness is not calculated to put a man in the best humour with himself or with others, and therefore we can make considerable allowance for the very angry and abusive tone of the pamphlet before us.

But let us revert for a moment to the reasons which this writer assigns for undertaking to usher into public the infidel opinions of his friend, with the certainty of "giving offence to many pious persons." He was of opinion that the Life of Sterling might be so represented, as to be a useful lesson and warning to "the many young men of our age" who are "entangled in similar difficulties." But this alone would not, it seems, have determined him to encounter the dangers which he foresaw. At length, however, as he tells us, "the power of choice was scarcely left to me. For the alternative presented to me was, that I should execute the work, or else that it would be executed by another."

Now on this excuse, we must be permitted to offer a few

remarks, because it appears to us to involve a most unsound and mischievous principle. That principle is, that if a work, in itself exceptionable and dangerous, is likely to be executed by the enemies of Religion, the friends of Religion must anticipate them, by undertaking it themselves, and making the best they can of it. If, for instance, men suppose that German Infidelity is likely to gain attention—that there is a craving in some minds for such unwholesome diet, we are to lay ourselves out to gratify that longing as far as possible, by exhorting every one to study German theology, and by directing particular attention to those authors who are *less* unsound than others. We are to translate and to applaud works in which the most grave errors exist, because they are *less* unchristian than other works. We are to lay poison before the public *with* an antidote (which we cannot compel them to take); because others may perhaps lay it before them *without* an antidote. We are to give the weight of our stations and names to the dissemination of bad principles, because others may put forward worse, if we do not do so. Now we admit that this mode of proceeding is strictly accordant with the tortuous, vacillating, unprincipled policy of this world. We recognise it as a form of that wretched spirit of the Age, which regards all firmness and stability of principle as bigotry, and which, without any fixed principle of its own, is willing to make concessions to an aggressive principle of error, under the pretence, or in the hope of propitiating a foe which cannot be propitiated. Weak men, or interested men, seek to gain popular applause by sailing with the current of the times wherever it is setting; and they delude themselves in the vain hope that they can guide the torrent; whereas they are only adding their own momentum, whatever it may be, to its forces. Evil principles have gained a great advantage, when they have formed any kind of alliances with names of respectability. It adds tenfold to their power and their mischief. We have seen many fearful exemplifications of the truth of this.

Mr. Hare is a decided advocate of this false principle: it runs through the whole of his defence of those who are endeavouring to promote the study of infidel and heretical writings in England. But on this point we shall speak hereafter.

He justifies on this ground, as we have seen, his publication of the *Life and Remains of Sterling*. But he goes on to add, as another motive, that “if such a monument was to be erected to Sterling,” he was the person whom Sterling could have “*wisht*”<sup>1</sup> to erect it. We confess that we cannot see the weight of any such argument, when it is remembered that the real question was,

<sup>1</sup> We copy Mr. Hare’s affected mode of spelling.

- whether scandal should be given to religious persons, and mischief in many ways done by the publication. The mere wish of Sterling himself (and that, too, an imaginary wish) was, we think, but a weak excuse for Mr. Hare's proceeding. Nor do we perceive that the only remaining reason which he assigns for his publication improves the case in any way. It was desirable, it seems, in his opinion, that *he* should describe Sterling's brief career as a Clergyman; for, "if the picture of his ministerial life had been left out, the whole would have been sadly distorted, and would have assumed a much greater similarity to that of Blanco White, with which the Reviewer compares it."

So that the state of the case appears to be this. The publication of the *Life and Remains* was calculated to shock the religious principles and feelings of pious persons, and, perhaps, to excite doubts in some quarters; but Mr. Hare was justified in doing this, because he could show that Sterling had been a good and active Parish Priest. He could prove that this man who denied the Inspiration of the Bible, was an *admirable* man—quite a model Priest! Does Mr. Hare imagine that *this* was the way to diminish the uneasiness which religious persons might feel at the Rationalistic sentiments of Sterling, or to neutralize its evil tendency? In our view it only does harm, and increases the danger of infection from evil principles, when men are able to allege that those who hold them are endued with the most attractive virtues and the highest abilities. Honesty, of course, obliges us to allow such things when they are true; but they are, in the eyes of most men, *recommendations* to any doctrine with which they are connected. We are persuaded (and in this opinion we shall be joined by all men of sound judgment), that any evil or danger to Religion which may arise from the publication of Sterling's *Life*, is enhanced by the glowing colours with which Mr. Hare endeavours to invest its subject, and that a *Life* penned by another Editor, in which the element of Christianity which exists in Mr. Hare's portraiture had been omitted, would have been less mischievous. No one fears the effect of Blanco White's *Life*: it is simply shocking to Christian feeling: it is wholly unrelieved by any attractive features. As we have observed elsewhere, the open avowal of Rationalism, or Infidelity, or gross error of any kind in this day, is a circumstance which overthrows all influence. Compare the influence which Mr. Newman's, or Mr. Ward's, or Mr. Oakley's writings have *now*, with what they had while these writers were professedly members of the Church of England, and the case will be clear.

How far Mr. Hare's excuses for the part he has taken in publishing the infidel sentiments of Sterling will be deemed satisfac-

tory to the pious and religious persons of whom he speaks, we can scarcely conjecture ; but we must be permitted to say, that they appear to us very weak and insufficient.

We now proceed to another important branch of the subject—we refer to the systematic and persevering attempts made by certain persons to lead the public mind to a taste for German writers on Theological subjects, who may be pronounced, as a body, unsound and heretical. We spoke *generally*, not merely in reference to Mr. Hare, when we spoke of their “fostering that taste” which is now being gratified by translations from German Infidels. That writer, with some ingenuity, endeavours to clear himself from any such imputation by informing us, that the first work in which he openly spoke concerning the merits of German Theology, and attempted formally to promote its study, was published only in 1846 ; and therefore, that it is quite impossible that *his* writings can have created the taste for such studies. But we must distinctly assert that we did not impute the *origin* of this taste to him, or to his writings ; we attributed it rather to his coadjutors, Mr. Coleridge and Mr. Carlyle ; but most assuredly he has been, and is “fostering” and encouraging that taste. What may have been his private exertions in promoting the study of German Theology, we have no means of knowing ; but we find him admitting in the pamphlet before us, that he is “ashamed” that he has allowed “so long a period of his life to pass away,” without taking up the public defence of what is sound and good in German Theology, to which he “owes so much.” We find him, as we might have expected from so ardent a disciple of Coleridge, a student of German Theology for “thirty years,” and referring to it in his earlier writings, as he himself admits. And we find his friends and pupils all students of it likewise. He will not deny that a taste may be fostered and promoted as much by example and conversation as by writings ; and really it is rather too much for him to endeavour to throw off from himself and his connexion the imputation of fostering a taste for German Theology, which is a matter of notoriety, and which, we shall presently see, he affirms to be in itself desirable and advantageous.

The truth is, that this writer is so much bent on exculpating himself and his friends on this point, that he unconsciously takes very inconsistent positions. We have seen that he denies that his writings can have had any thing to do with fostering a taste for German Theology, from which we might infer that he did not feel any wish to promote that object. And the same inference is clearly deducible from the line of argument which he subsequently adopts (pp. 45, 46) ; where, in defence of his friend Mr. Maurice,

he quotes that writer's assertion, that "the Jerusalem bishopric will not bring us into contact, either with that which is most feeble in the Pietistic, or that which is most dangerous in the Rationalizing side of German life. That contact exists already; the commerce is established; the sea has failed to be an effectual *cordon sanitaire*; all our devices will assuredly fail also. The question is, how the intercourse may be turned to profit and not to evil." After which he goes on to argue "that Mr. Maurice is not speaking (in a subsequent passage) of the introduction of German Theology, *as desirable in itself*, but as having been already accomplished, and as inevitable." He remarks that, "the rationalizing and infidel Theology of Germany has made its way into England without Mr. Maurice's aid and without mine. The question is, How is it to be *resisted*? How are we to draw good out of this evil? Faith, we know, through God's help, can, out of all evil." (p. 47.) So that, it seems, this taste for German Theology which exists, is a thing which those writers have had no part in; they repudiate all connexion with it; they look at it as having been productive of great evil; and their great object is to resist the evil which has arisen from it. All this is very fine, and might be very satisfactory if it stood alone; but in the sequel it turns out that, so far from being regarded as an evil, this taste for German Theology in general is regarded as a good—a thing in itself desirable!

The pamphlet in fact goes on to argue, that if any system of exclusion were adopted, religion would become extinct. "The living faith of the nation wanes away when it is debarred from intercourse with all that has life in it;" and accordingly, in Romish countries, where the introduction of different doctrines is prevented by law, "every thing connected with religion becomes hollow, nominal, unreal." In any such case men "find out, after a while, that they are dancing round a dry mummy of orthodoxy." This line of argument goes to prove that religion would perish, if a free course were not given to discussion on all points of belief; so that the taste for German Theology must be beneficial, and even essential. And further on the writer says, "that German Theology may *render us valuable service in the training of our divines*; we may in some measure infer, from what has already been effected in England by the influence of German Philology. . . . Of a similar kind, I feel confident, will be the result in Theology; and that here, too, our peculiar English gift of choosing out and adopting what is practically good and useful, and rejecting what is excessive and extravagant and merely notional, will manifest itself very beneficially. Nay, we have already seen proof of this. The great superiority of Mr. Trench's works to our

common English exegetical writings is evidently owing in great measure to his familiarity with the best German divines." (p. 53.) He urges (we cannot help smiling at the comparison drawn), that, "at a time when we are abolishing all commercial restrictions, it would indeed be a wild paradox if we were to enact a Bill of exclusion against the products of German thought ;" and he winds up his remarks by *praying* that "our Church and the Protestant Church of Germany may be drawn more and more closely together." All this is perfectly in accordance with the position taken by Mr. Maurice, in the passage quoted in our article above referred to, in which he anticipates benefits of the most important nature from the introduction and study of German Theology. But then it is scarcely consistent with what had been previously urged : it gives a character of unreality to Mr. Hare's attempt to free himself from the responsibility of having promoted this taste for German Theology. If he is anxious to evade the responsibility of having promoted studies which are introducing heresy and infidelity, he can scarcely plead that such a mode of proceeding is beneficial to the Church ; and if, on the other hand, it be desirable on the whole, it is not an evil ; and these writers need not be ashamed to own their share in promoting it. But when men attempt to take both grounds at once, it seems that such a course indicates more of an anxiety to make out a case, than of any other nobler aim.

There is one other topic of importance, on which the pamphlet before us confirms, in the fullest way, the view which we have taken. We refer to the general characteristics of the school of which its author is a member : we have described that school as consisting of men who are not connected by agreement in any positive doctrines or creed ; but who range in their religious tenets from Orthodoxy of a certain kind, to Pantheism. We have included in that school such men as Coleridge, Carlyle, Hare, Bunsen, Maurice, Blanco White, Sterling, Arnold, and many others, who differed on many points, and perhaps held very few, if any, doctrines in common ; and we have described the characteristic of that school as consisting in "the striving after intellectual liberty, a tendency to reject all which does not commend itself to the individual reason as right and true ; a tendency to resist *authority*, of whatever nature it may be, which interposes any restraint on the freedom of speculation. It is not so much any objective truth which thinkers of this class contend for, as liberty of thought in general. Their objection is not to particular doctrines, but to any supposed obligation on individuals to receive these doctrines." Hence we find them all concurring in denouncing and sneering at orthodoxy as a bigotry or a shadow.



Mr. Hare talks sneeringly of "telling the beads of an orthodox rosary," in speaking of those who have no inclination for the speculative religionism which he would fain introduce. To such thinkers any person who firmly and stedfastly adheres to the great forms of Christian doctrine, which have come down to us hallowed by the consenting voice of the universal Christian Church, or of the particular Church of England, is pretty sure to be a person who dreads inquiry,—one who has no confidence in his faith's power to stand the shock of rival opinions! He must feel "insecure" in his religion, if he is not prepared to throw down all barriers which may interfere between the settled faith of a nation, and a scene of tumultuous daring speculation (such as we see in Germany), which would subvert all that remains of morality and religion in the land.

Now it appears, from the pamphlet before us, that we were substantially correct in describing the principles of this school as consisting simply in a struggle for absolute liberty of thought, unrestrained by any authority whatever. Mr. Maurice admits that all the persons whom we included in our remarks do, in a certain sense, stand on the same ground; they all "did or do feel more or less strongly, that the popular English religious systems cannot last;" that High Churchmen, Low Churchmen, Anglicans, Evangelicals, &c., will see the destruction of their religious tenets. And they all agree in declaring "*liberty, liberty of conscience, heart, reason, spirit,—to be the great blessing of man.*"

And in the same tone, Mr. Hare admits that the various members of the school have a certain spirit in common, as far as he can judge, which *he* describes as "a desire to seek truth and justice—(not mere "liberty," as Mr. Maurice more correctly describes it)—in all things and above all things;" a resolution not to "sacrifice our reason and our conscience to *empty forms and lifeless conventions*;" a feeling that "we cannot recognise any great value in *a belief*, unless it be a living faith," &c. So that, on the whole, we are sufficiently borne out in maintaining, that the general characteristic of this school of the "Church of the Future," is the assertion of unbounded liberty of speculation, even on the very first elements of religion; and a consequent enmity, more or less developed, to all existing forms of religion; an impatience of all that lets or impedes them in the career of speculative reasoning. It is no objection to this, that some of these men praise the Creeds or the Articles; all that can be said is that such individuals find in those forms a response to their present feelings and views; they concur with their subjective religion. But where this spirit is cherished, there can be no security for any

stability in faith ; for Creeds and Articles *are* checks on “liberty” of speculation. No objective faith is really admitted ; it is regarded as a lifeless orthodoxy. And, in fine, what is all this but the very spirit which has been dominant for more than half a century in Germany, and which has reduced that country, once the abode of faith, and the birth-place of the Reformation, to a howling wilderness ?

Where is Christianity in Germany ? Where, at least, is (not merely nominal and professing Christianity, without any real creed, but) any fixed and settled faith in the inspiration of Scripture, and in the first, vital, essential principles of Christianity—the doctrines of the Divinity and the Incarnation, and the Atonement as connected with them ? We are grieved to say, that it is a matter of *notoriety*, that in Germany the Church of Rome is the only body which maintains these essential tenets ; and that even she is deeply tainted by Neologian infidelities. Mr. Hare asserts that there “is such a thing as German faith,” and that “a Christian substance” is not “wholly wanting” to German Theology ; and we admit the truth of this in a certain sense, in individual instances ; but we have yet to learn that there is such a thing as orthodox faith in Germany ; we have yet to learn that there are any writers who are not tainted more or less by the horrible errors universally prevalent. Mr. Hare himself does not attempt to show that there are any such writers. He tries, indeed, to answer one charge against Olshausen, which we quoted from a contemporary journal ; but our other charges he leaves unanswered. He does not attempt to defend Schliermacher, Luecke, Neander, Tittman, &c. He disclaims any intention of saying, “that any German divine of the present day is to be taken as an infallible guide ;” which, as a reply to us can only mean, that none of them are really orthodox. He does not allege any instance of a German divine who is wholly free from the errors of his country. He is not able to allege that they are safe guides, though he recommends them to students ; and when we remember *what* the errors of German Neologianism are, when we reflect that they render Christianity a mere philosophy, and denude it of all that *we* mean, when we speak of a Revelation from God, we confess that we cannot find any excuse for persons holding office in a Christian Church, and yet persevering in patronizing and recommending a Theology, which is in all parts tainted with heresy and infidelity.

Mr. Hare endeavours by all means to represent the question as a personal one between us and himself. We have felt it a duty to remonstrate strongly against the course which he and

other writers have been pursuing. But we have no personal feeling against Mr. Hare or his friends<sup>2</sup>; nor have we charged him with personal infidelity or rationalism. We have even stated, that he is careful to avow his belief in some of the cardinal doctrines of Christianity. We have admitted, in a passage which seems unintentionally to have given him great offence, that he is *not* a Pantheist. Our censure has been chiefly directed against that systematic attempt to promote the circulation of writings tinged with heresy and infidelity, of which Mr. Hare has himself afforded so woeful an example in the publication of "*Sterling's Remains*;" and we have expressed, what we now reiterate, and for reasons which we have assigned, our distrust of his opinions, in reference to the inspiration of Scripture—the very foundation, we need not say, on which the Christian Religion reposes.

We have been somewhat surprised to observe that Mr. Hare uses the Ninth commandment as the title of his pamphlet. Might we be excused for suggesting a little more attention to the *Third* commandment? It seems to us that the sacred name is somewhat unnecessarily introduced by writers of this school when they mean to be emphatic. For instance, Mr. Hare, in the pamphlet before us, begins by asserting, that all our "charges," as he calls them, "are utterly false and malignantly slanderous; and this I will prove them to be, so **HELP ME GOD!**" Now, surely, the resolution to prove our charges unfounded was scarcely an occasion to call for an oath; any more than M. Bunsen's disclaimer of any wish to introduce a real, not a mock episcopate into Prussia, when *he* also says, "if by merely favouring the introduction of such an episcopacy, I should successfully combat the unbelief, Pantheism, and Atheism of the day, I would not do it; so **HELP ME GOD!**" We do not think that the name of God ought thus to be introduced in vehemence, and without necessity. We observe another instance of the same uncalled-for use of the name of God in page 21.

Space forbids us to follow Mr. Hare through the whole of the production before us; but we must, however briefly, advert to one or two more points in his defence.

We felt it necessary to comment on the fact, which is apparent on the surface of "*Sterling's Life*," that Archdeacon Hare had

<sup>2</sup> We perceive that Mr. Maurice, also, at the end of the pamphlet before us, endeavours to make the question a personal one. We have heard, from a source on which we can rely, a very different version of the story told by Mr. Maurice, which, if it be correct, goes to prove, that while Mr. Maurice possesses the very convenient faculty of forgetting all facts which make against himself, he is liable to great error in passing judgment on the motives of others from whom he differs. The latter portion of this remark applies equally to Mr. Hare.

recommended him to take holy orders at a time when he must have been aware that his views on religion were sceptical and unsound. Mr. Hare is anxious to clear himself from any such imputation; and accordingly (p. 9) he implies, that the history of Sterling's early education was not known to him till after his ordination; and he observes, that he "had expressly said in page viii., that the information concerning his early education was communicated to me in later years." (p. 9.) On reference to the passage in Sterling's Life, cited by Mr. Hare, we find him certainly saying,

"In later years, speaking of the crude opinions on morals and politics and taste, which he held when he first went to college, he told me, that while a boy, he had read through the whole *Edinburgh Review* from its beginning."

But, of course, this passage does not refer to Sterling's religious views. We have nowhere referred to it as such, that we are aware of; but we *have* referred to *another* passage which Mr. Hare himself quotes in a postscript to his pamphlet, published separately, and directed to his exculpation on this particular point. We must here cite Mr. Hare's words in this postscript, which may possibly not come into the reader's hands.

"Subsequently, in page cxxviii. where I have to introduce some remarks on the change in his religious views, I say, with reference to the foregoing statement, that 'the tendency of his early education had been negative, after that mode of negativeness which we may remember as characteristic of such as drew their opinions from the oracles of the *Edinburgh Review* thirty years ago.' I have said nothing about his early religious opinions, for the simple reason, that I knew nothing about them. I speak merely of his opinions '*on morals and politics and taste*'—'*in philosophy and taste*,' with regard to which, when he came to college, he held Mr. James Mill and Lord Jeffrey to be the first, or at least among the first living authorities. In asserting that he 'commenced life as a follower of that negative system *in reference to religion*, which distinguish the *Edinburgh Reviewers* thirty years ago,—*i. e.*, in fact, as a sceptic,' our assailant quietly slips in the words *in reference to religion*, out of his mischief-breeding brain, and then draws an inference, after his own fashion, that Sterling commenced life 'as a sceptic,' without any ground for it."—pp. 73, 74.

In commenting on these statements we must cite the latter passage referred to by Mr. Hare at full length, which will, we believe, settle this matter at once. In the Life of Sterling, then, Mr. Hare thus speaks of his friend:—

"These remarks are called from me here, when I am about to speak of the latter years of my dear friend's life, and of the changes which took place in his opinions on subjects of the highest moment. We have

seen how he attached himself to critical theology, and with what continually increasing interest he studied that of Germany. *The tendency of his early education had been negative, after that mode of negativeness which we may remember as characteristic of such as drew their opinions from the oracles of the Edinburgh Review thirty years ago.* A variety of influences, among others, the fascination of Coleridge's genius, drew him away from this negative state, and wrought a temporary reconciliation with that which is best and soundest in the faith and institutions of his countrymen. Under these and other calming and sobering influences, he took orders. How he did so, how he devoted himself to the duties thus incurred, with his whole heart and soul, we have seen. Still there was *always* a broad divergence in his opinions from those which are held by the great body of the Church, the very same divergence of which Coleridge speaks in his 'Confessions of an Enquiring Spirit.'" —Sterling's Life, pp. cxxviii. cxxix.

If Mr. Hare is not throughout the whole of this passage speaking of "religious" views, we really know not the meaning of words. Most assuredly, in the passage marked in italics, he meant us to understand, that the early education of Sterling had been negative in a "religious" point of view. His words cannot fairly be construed to have any kind of relation to matters of "philosophy and taste," which he now contends was their only reference. We are concerned to think, that a writer, in many respects so respectable, and who is usually not deficient in candour, should permit himself to be hurried away in the eagerness of self-defence, into assertions so unfounded.

It appears then, conclusively, from this passage, that Mr. Hare was himself of opinion that Sterling's early tendencies had been sceptical; and that there was "always," even when he had adopted more or less of Christianity, a broad divergence in his views, from those of the great body of the Church. Mr. Hare now asserts, on Mr. Maurice's authority (p. 75), that this was not the case—that Sterling was a "strong believer" in Christianity while at the University. Yet this is, we think, quite compatible with Mr. Hare's own former statement in his Life. It is very probable that the "Edinburgh Reviewers" professed themselves "firm believers" in Christianity, just as the Rationalists of Germany do, and as Sterling himself did in after life, notwithstanding his denial of the inspiration of Scripture; which, as his biographer tells us, he considered, "as Coleridge did, to be thoroughly compatible with a deep and lively Christian faith, and with a full reception of all that is essential in the doctrines of our Church." (Life of Sterling, p. ccxxix.) And, as the biographer of Sterling does not express any dissent from this opinion, might we not very reasonably infer, that the knowledge of Sterling's views on such material points, which we cannot do Mr. Hare the

injustice of supposing him entirely ignorant of, when he invited Mr. Sterling to take orders and to be his Curate, would not have been regarded by him as offering any bar to the accomplishment of his wish ! We have expressed a surprise which will be shared by others, at the very sympathizing and exculpatory tone in which the author of *Sterling's Life* has spoken of the infidelity of the subject of his memoir, and at the praises which are lavished on him throughout. We may perhaps be sadly bigoted, and unenlightened on such matters ; but we confess that while we can very well understand that even tender affection may exist between a believer and one who has apostatized from the faith, we cannot understand that believer, when he holds up his friend to admiration as one whose opinions are leading to an improvement in our religious system. It is really curious to contrast the tender way in which Archdeacon Hare speaks of Sterling's infidelity, and refrains from condemning him in any way, with the vehemence of his denunciation of "orthodox" opinions. To disbelieve the inspiration of Scripture, and to side with Strauss and Carlyle in favouring the doctrines of Pantheism or Atheism, is excusable ; but to be of opinion that Episcopacy is essential to the Church, is to hold "a hateful Anti-Christian doctrine." (p. 28.)

The author of the pamphlet (p. 15) refers to our question whether Sterling's negative views were shared by certain college friends, to whom he professed himself indebted for the formation of his opinions, and he convicts us very satisfactorily of injustice and absurdity, by quoting the *end* of a passage referred to by us, (E. R. xx. 401.) Our question was founded on the *preceding* part of the passage, which Mr. Hare has taken no notice of. In one passage, we are supposed to have made Mr. Hare responsible for the opinions of Paulus and Strauss, which was certainly contrary to our real meaning. Of course we are aware that they are not amongst his representatives of the "better school" of Theology in Germany. But we were there speaking not of Mr. Hare exclusively, but of Blanco White, Coleridge, and Sterling also. It was not our intention to assert, that each of the German writers mentioned was approved of by each of those English writers referred to. We regret that Mr. Hare has so misconceived our meaning, as to assert that our statement in this place is "utterly false, and that the Reviewer himself well knew that it was so." (p. 33.)

We must now take our leave of this pamphlet, without any further attempt to defend ourselves against Mr. Hare's imputations of ignorance, blundering, false reasoning, and so forth ; which arise in many cases from misconception of our meaning, and which we are very well content to leave to the judgment of intelligent readers.



II.—*The Name and Number of the Apocalyptic Beasts: with an Explanation and Application.* In 2 Parts. Part I. By DAVID THOM, Ph. D., A. M., Heidelberg, Minister of Bold Street Chapel, Liverpool. London: H. R. Lewis.

THE object of this work is to supply the right interpretation of the number and name of the Apocalyptic Beasts. The author is a dissenting minister of some sect: we rather imagine he must be a universalist, judging from the list of his works appended to this volume. We have here only half the work contemplated by Mr. Thom; and in it he is almost wholly occupied in stating all the various interpretations of the names and number 666, while at the close he selects some words as particularly deserving of attention, such as LATEINOS, and some others bearing directly on the Church of Rome, and adds two of his own, which are apparently intended as a masked battery preparatory to an attack on all established churches and creeds, as antichristian. The author has evidently bestowed much pains in putting together his work; and though his details are much too lengthy for the general reader, his garrulity is amusing enough in places, as he takes every opportunity of letting the world know the names of his private friends and every possible particular about them. We extract the following note as an illustration of our meaning:—

“Since writing the above, indeed just as I was on the eve of finishing my work, I have been honoured with the correspondence of the learned and talented author of the ‘Dissertation.’ He lives, I find, in retirement, or rather, in the undisturbed enjoyment of literary leisure, at Kennison Green, Maghull, in the vicinity of Liverpool. To his kindness and gentleman-like liberality of conduct, I confess myself much indebted. Several solutions he has supplied me with, which had previously escaped my notice. As the nephew of the celebrated Dr. Adam Clarke (referred to, by the bye, in the ‘Autobiography’ of that eminent person, vol. i. pp. 21, 22, and in vol. iii. p. 114 of the edition published by J. B. B. Clarke, London, 1833), he evidently possesses in no small degree his honoured relative’s literary tastes, love of research, and general ability. Concerning the facts of this gentleman’s existence, of his being my neighbour, and of his relationship to the most learned and able writer whom Wesleyan Methodism has produced, I was, until within the last fortnight (I write this, December 29th, 1847), entirely ignorant. Mr. Clarke has honoured me with the information, that the ἡ Λατίνη βασιλεία was computed by him on the morning of Thursday, June 1, 1809, although not published until 1814.”—p. 356.

The details which the public prints have supplied about the Pope’s body-linen are nothing to this.

Imagine publishing such details of a man of whose very existence

you have been entirely ignorant till within a fortnight ! The Messrs. Jones, Higginson, Kewley, Roe, Cowan, Seabrook, Waldie, Mence, &c. &c. &c., who figure in this writer's pages, are, we suppose, or ought to be, celebrated characters ; but it is our misfortune to be in somewhat the same predicament as Mr. Thom himself was in regard to the author of the "Dissertation." We were never before aware of their existence. We trust that we shall not be considered as influenced in these passing remarks by any wish to "burk" Mr. Thom's book ; a wicked practice which he attributes to critics in general, in their dealings with his productions, and which cannot be too much reprobated. We are rather of opinion, on the other hand, that this work will *not* experience that disagreeable fate, which is technically termed, "falling dead from the press ;" that it will be handed down to posterity. Its biographical mementos of the author's innumerable friends amongst the Joneses, Higginsons, Smiths, Kewleys, &c., is almost certain to procure a sale amongst those respectable gentlemen whose names have thus had actually the honour of being "in print," in genuine, *bonâ fide*, "pica type !" The year 1848 will be to numbers of these men an eventful era in their lives : Higginson and Smith will stand an inch higher in their shoes henceforth ; and we have no doubt that Mr. Thom's work will be bequeathed by many a parent to his children, with honest pride, as a kind of heir-loom—a proof of family respectability.

III.—*Sertum Ecclesiæ : the Church's Flowers*. Edinburgh : Grant.  
London : Rivingtons.

THIS volume comprises a selection of Scriptural texts, and of the poetry of our best writers, adapted to most of the Festivals and Saints' days in the year ; and a special flower is assigned to, and represented at, the beginning of each particular day. There is something rather fanciful in this ; but the volume is a pretty one, and the poetry is apparently well selected. It is published for a charitable object—to obtain the means of educating a young person whose parents were formerly in affluence. And we can assure our benevolently-disposed readers, that their guinea bestowed in aid of this charitable object, will make them all proprietors of a tasteful and elegant volume.

IV.—*Lays of the Scottish Cavaliers, and other Poems*. By  
WILLIAM EDMONSTOUNE AYTOUN. Blackwoods : Edinburgh  
and London.

WE have been much interested by all we have read of this volume of poems, which possesses decidedly far more of the fervour and passion of true poetry, than any volume we have perused for a

considerable time. We gather from the name of Aytoun that the author is connected by family associations with the old and romantic scenes of Scottish history which his muse delights to pourtray in all their living colours. His sympathies are all with the Scottish cavaliers, as every poet's, of course, must be. In the introduction to one of these poems on "Charles Edward at Versailles," we find the following affecting anecdote :—

"Mr. Greathead, a personal friend of Mr. Fox, succeeded, when at Rome, in 1782 or 1783, in obtaining an interview with Charles Edward; and being alone with him for some time, studiously led the conversation to his enterprise in Scotland, and to the occurrences which succeeded the failure of that attempt. The prince manifested some reluctance to enter upon these topics, appearing at the same time to undergo so much mental suffering, that his guest regretted the freedom he had used in calling up the remembrance of his misfortunes. At length, however, the prince seemed to shake off the load which oppressed him; his eye brightened, his face assumed unwonted animation, and he entered upon the narrative of his Scottish campaigns with a distinct but somewhat vehement energy of manner—recounted his marches, his battles, his victories, his retreats and his defeats—detailed his hair-breadth escapes in the Western Isles, the inviolable and devoted attachment of his Highland friends; and at length proceeded to allude to the terrible penalties with which the chief among them had been visited. But here the tide of emotion rose too high to allow him to go on—his voice faltered, his eyes became fixed, and he fell convulsed on the floor. The noise brought into the room his daughter, the Duchess of Albany, who happened to be in an adjoining apartment. 'Sir,' she exclaimed, 'what is this? You have been speaking to my father about Scotland and the Highlanders! No one dares to mention this subject in his presence.'"

With this introduction we quote a few lines from Mr. Aytoun's poem on Charles Edward at Versailles on the anniversary of Culloden :—

"Take away that star and garter—  
 Hide them from my aching sight :  
 Neither king nor prince shall tempt me  
 From my lonely room this night.  
 Fitting for the throneless exile  
 Is the atmosphere of pall,  
 And the gusty winds that shiver  
 'Neath the tapestry on the wall.  
 \* \* \* \* \*  
 Fatal day, whereon the latest  
 Die was cast for me and mine—  
 Cruel day that quell'd the fortunes  
 Of the hapless Stuart line !

Phantom-like, as in a mirror,  
 Rise the grisly scenes of death—  
 There before me, in its wildness,  
 Stretches bare Culloden's heath :  
 There the broken clans are scatter'd,  
 Gaunt as wolves and famine-eyed,  
 Hunger gnawing at their vitals,  
 Hope abandon'd—all but pride—  
 Pride—and that supreme devotion  
 Which the Southron never knew,  
 And the hatred, keenly rankling  
 'Gainst the Hanoverian crew.  
 Oh, my God ! are these the remnants,  
 These the wrecks of the array,  
 That around the royal standard  
 Gather'd on the glorious day,  
 When in deep Glenfinnan's valley,  
 Thousands on their bended knees,  
 Saw once more that stately ensign  
 Waving in the northern breeze ?  
 \* \* \* \* \*

Hark ! the bagpipe's fitful wailing :  
 Not the pibroch loud and shrill,  
 That with hope of bloody banquet,  
 Lured the ravens from the hill ;  
 But a dirge both low and solemn,  
 Fit for ears of dying men,  
 Marshall'd for their latest battle,  
 Never more to fight again.  
 Madness—madness ! why this shrinking ?  
 Were we less inured to war  
 When our reapers swept the harvest  
 From the field of red Dunbar ?  
 Bring my horse, and blow the trumpet !  
 Call the riders of Fitz-James :  
 Let Lord Lewis head the column !  
 Valiant chiefs of mighty names—  
 Trusty Keppoch ! Stout Glengarry !  
 Gallant Gordon ! Wise Lochiell !—  
 Bid the clansmen hold together,  
 Fast, and fell, and firm as steel !”

We wish that space would permit us to quote more of this fine poem. But what has been said will, we trust, induce the reader to open the book when he meets with it, and Mr. Aytoun needs no more.

v.—*The Path of Life*. London: Masters.

A SIMPLY and beautifully written Allegory, in which the course of various classes of Christians is portrayed. This little book seems adapted for circulation amongst young persons of some little education; it is scarcely suited to the labouring class.

vi.—*Loci Communes. Common-Places delivered in the Chapel of Christ's College, Cambridge.* By O. A. SWAINSON, M. A., and A. H. WRATTISLAW. London: Parker.

THIS little volume contains a series of short Essays, chiefly on religious subjects. It is very pleasing and healthy in its tone, and free from all party bias, while it inculcates sound doctrine on various points, though the narrow limits of the Essays preclude any very profound discussion.

vii.—*L'Anima Amante; or, The soul-loving God. Translated from the Italian of the Very Rev. J. B. PAGANI, Provincial of the Order of Charity in England.* London: Burns.

THIS is a very respectable book of religious reading, suited to the taste of pious persons in the Roman communion. It presents no features which distinguish it from the common run of such books. There is much in it which is exactly what is found in similar books written by persons of widely different religious opinions from that of the author, intermingled with a good deal of that kind of "oh!" and "ah!" style, which is peculiar to Romish writers; and, as usual, copiously interlarded with edifying anecdotes of the saints, which one involuntarily distrusts as one reads them. Anecdotes are, indeed, a staple commodity in Romish books of devotion, and assertions on matters of fact like the following:—

"Jesus has placed his beloved Mother on a throne of glory, elevated far above all the choir of heaven, at his own right hand. There, seated as a queen, clothed with the splendour of the sun, having in her hand a brilliant diadem of twelve stars, with the moon for her footstool, she now enjoys the clearest vision, the nearest, the fullest participation of the glories of her Divine Son."—p. 227.

Here are certain *facts* very minutely detailed, even to the number of stars which adorn the Virgin Mary's diadem. We should be glad to know where Mr. Pagani has learnt all this, or whether he lays claim to special revelation on the subject. We are bound to presume that statements on so grave a point

would scarcely be thrown out without any authority whatever. If then the statement is believed to be true, where are the proofs of its truth?

We cannot, for our own part, admire the devotional phraseology of this volume, such for instance as :—

“ *O my Jesus, transfix my heart and my inmost soul with the dart of Thy love! Make me to languish with desire after Thee, my life, and aspire continually after Thy heavenly tabernacles, that I may enjoy Thee eternally with Thy blessed Mother, and all thy Angels and Saints.* ”  
—p. 58.

We cannot help thinking that such addresses are in the worst possible tone—indeed, almost revolting to Christian feeling.

Mr. Pagani states the doctrine of the Mass in such terms as are distinctly and directly contradictory to the doctrine of St. Paul in the Epistle to the Hebrews, who teaches us that the sacrifice of Jesus Christ for sin was only once offered. The contrast presented by the following passages is very striking :—

“ He (Jesus Christ) was pleased to establish the Sacrifice of the Mass, in which is *renewed* every day in his Church the *same sacrifice* which he offered on the Cross, and will be continued to the end of time, with this difference only, that . . . upon our altars He makes the *same oblation* without the effusion of blood.

“ Who can describe the glory and holiness of our altars upon which is *daily accomplished* the great mystery which *was consummated at Golgotha*? We offer each day, the *very same Victim* which was offered upon the altar of the Cross. We possess constantly in our temples a Mediator . . . who, *for the sins of the people*, offers Himself to the Father, holy, innocent, undefiled . . . *This is the oblation which appeases the wrath of God, and reconciles the world to Him.* ”—Anima Devota, pp. 169, 170.

“ Christ is entered into heaven itself, now to appear in the presence of God for us : *nor yet that he should offer himself often*, as the high priest entereth into the holy place every year with blood of others ; for then must he often have suffered since the foundation of the world : but now *once* in the end of the world hath he appeared to put away sin by the sacrifice of Himself . . . Christ was *once offered* to bear the sins of many. We are sanctified through the offering of the body of Jesus Christ *once for all.* ”

“ This man, after he had offered *one sacrifice for sins.* ”

“ By *one offering* he hath *perfected for ever them that are sanctified.* ”

“ Without *shedding of blood* is no remission.”—Hebrews ix. 24—28 ; x. 10—14 ; ix. 22.

It is to language like that of Mr. Pagani that the Church of England refers in the 31st Article, where “ the sacrifices of Masses,



in the which it was commonly said that the Priest did offer Christ for the quick and the dead, to have *remission of pain and guilt*, are declared to be "blasphemous fables, and dangerous deceits." Mr. Pagani's doctrine really substitutes the sacrifice of the Mass, as the salvation of the world, for that of the Cross, though the latter is nominally admitted.

VIII.—*The Order of Confirmation, &c. By the Rev. HENRY HOPWOOD, M.A., &c.* London: J. H. Parker.

THIS is the third edition of a Manual on Confirmation, which not only contains suitable devotions, but very considerable information on the history of this rite, and its practice in the primitive Church.

IX.—*The History of a Family; or, Religion our best Support.* London: Grant and Griffith.

THIS is just one of those books which make us wonder how well-meaning people can give themselves the trouble to put together the most utterly common-place circumstances and conversations, and then imagine that they are doing good. The book is one which a school-girl might have written.

X.—*Smith's Canadian Gazetteer, &c.* Toronto: Rowsell.  
London: Aylott and Jones.

THIS work will be found very useful by emigrants to Upper Canada, comprising as it does a great mass of statistics and local intelligence, arranged in the shape of a Gazetteer. Post-offices, distance-tables, stage and steam-boat fares, hotels, tolls, prices of lands, nature of soils, climate, &c., are all ingredients in this compilation, the accuracy of which we have no means of testing, but which we see no reason to doubt. It will doubtless be welcomed by many emigrants.

XI.—*Roman Forgeries and Falsifications; or, An Examination of Counterfeit and Corrupted Records; with especial reference to Popery. By the Rev. RICHARD GIBBINGS, M.A.* London: Petheram.

THIS volume, which appears from the Preface to have been composed several years since, comprises a critical survey of the forgeries of documents purporting to be of Apostolic antiquity, on some of which Romish doctrines or practices have been made

to rest ere now. The Epistle of Abgarus, of the Virgin Mary, and other documents, are criticized with very considerable learning and research ; but we think the work is somewhat overloaded with quotations ; nor can we agree with the author in all his conclusions.

XII.—*The Four Gospels, with Annotations. By the Right Rev. JOHN LONSDALE, D.D., Bishop of Lichfield, and the Ven. WILLIAM HALE HALE, M.A., Archdeacon of London.* London : Rivingtons.

THESE Annotations take their origin, if we mistake not, from a projected Commentary on the Bible, which was, many years since, under contemplation by the Christian Knowledge Society ; but which was subsequently abandoned. The Editors of that intended work, have now given to the world a portion of their original undertaking, on their own responsibility.

These Annotations are intended to aid ordinary readers of some little education, in their study of the Gospels ; and they appear to be very well calculated for their purpose. We should be glad to see the same plan carried further out, and to have an annotated Testament, in a cheap form, for circulation.

XIII.—*The Search after Infallibility. Remarks on the Testimony of the Fathers to the Roman Dogmas of Infallibility. By J. H. TODD, D.D., &c.* London : Petheram.

THIS volume contains a critical examination of all the passages from the Fathers adduced by a Romish Priest, named O'Connell, in a pamphlet which was published some time since, in support of the Romish doctrine of Infallibility. Dr. Todd has carefully examined all these quotations, which he shows to be taken at second-hand from the work of Messrs. Berrington and Kirk ; and he has very effectually demolished the whole of Mr. O'Connell's arguments. The tone of the inquiry throughout is exactly what it ought to be.

XIV.—*Posthumous Works of the Rev. THOMAS CHALMERS, D.D., LL.D. Edited by the Rev. W. HANNA, LL.D.* Vol. vi. London : Hamilton, Adams, and Co.

THE volume of Dr. Chalmers's Posthumous Works before us, will, we suspect, excite more interest than any of its predecessors. Such, at least, has been its effect on ourselves. It comprises a

series of Sermons delivered by Chalmers at various periods, from the commencement of his ministry till its conclusion, and it is curious to trace the growth and development of his very peculiar style. In those Sermons which were delivered about the period when he first became known to the public at large as a powerful and eloquent preacher, there is a peculiarity in his subjects, and in his mode of treating them, which renders them wholly unlike any other discourses that we have seen. They refer to all the political and social events of the day, with a familiarity and a vigour of illustration, which would, we suspect, in any English congregation, make the hair stand on end with amazement. In places, his Sermons are all but jocose. We must really quote some passages from a discourse which he preached, complaining of the amount of secular business pressing on the ministers of religion.

“ I proceed, in the first place, to the narrative.

“ Among the people of our busy land, who are ever on the wing of activity, and, whether in circumstances of peace or of war, are at all times feeling the impulse of some national movement or other, it is not to be wondered at that a series of transactions should be constantly flowing between the metropolis of the empire and its distant provinces. There are the remittances which pass through our public offices from soldiers and sailors in the service of Government to their relations at home. There are letters of inquiry sent back again from their relations. There is all the correspondence, and all the business of draughts, and other negotiations which come upon the decease of a soldier or sailor. There is the whole tribe of hospital allowances. There is the payment of pensions, and a variety of other items, of which I am sorry that I have kept no register. . . . So it is. The minister is the organ of many a communication between his people and the offices in London—and many a weary signature is exacted from him, and a world of management is devolved upon his shoulders; and instead of sitting, like his fathers in office, surrounded by the theology of present or of other days, he must turn his study into a counting-room, and have his well-arranged cabinet before him, fitted up with its sections and its other conveniences for notices and duplicates, and all the scraps and memoranda of a manifold correspondence.”

“ But the history does not stop here. The example of Government has descended, and is now quickly running through the whole field of private and individual agency. The negotiation of the business of prize-mones is one out of several examples which occur to me. The emigration of new settlers to Canada is another. It does not appear that there is any act of Government authorizing the agents in this matter to fix on the Clergy as the organs, either for the transactions of their business, or the conveyance of their information to the people of the land. But they find it convenient to follow the example of

Government, and have accordingly done so, and in this way a mighty host of schedules, and circulars, and printed forms, with long blank spaces, which the minister will have the goodness to fill up according to the best of his knowledge, come into mustering competition with the whole of his other claims and his other engagements. It is true that the minister in this case may decline to have the goodness—but then the people are apprized of the arrangement; and trained as they have been too well to look up to the minister as an organ of civil accommodation, will they lay siege to his dwelling house, and pour upon him with their enquiries. . . .”

“When a patriotic fund, or a Waterloo subscription, blazes in all the splendour of a nation’s munificence and a nation’s gratitude before the public eye, who shall have the hardihood to refuse a single item of the bidden co-operation that is expected of him? Surely, such a demand as this is quite irresistible; and, accordingly, from this quarter too, a heavy load of consultations and certificates, with the additional singularity of having to do with the drawing of money, and the keeping of it in safe custody, and the dealing out of it in small discretionary parcels, according to the needs and circumstances of the parties—all, all is placed upon the shoulders of the already jaded and overborne minister.”

“But the greater number of these employments, it may be thought, originated in our state of war; and now that war is at an end, they will cease with the winding up of the old system! Oh! no, my brethren: this great event which has brought peace to the whole country, has brought no peace to the minister. In some unlucky hour or other the Secretary-at-War seems to have had a conversation with the Secretary for the Home Department, and to have supplied him with the mischievous hint of how vastly convenient a set of people were we ministers. I do not know if this is the exact account of the matter; but this much I know, that some such hint has been given, and that the hint is most assuredly acted on—for the practice has now fairly got in, when the right man cannot be found for doing any piece of provincial business, just to hinge it all upon the minister. Ay, my brethren, and should you hear of your minister sitting in judgment on the qualifications of hawkers and spirit dealers, and of certifying accordingly, you must just put it down among the first-fruits of that precious system which has lately been devised, and is now in a state of hopeful perseverance, for conducting the matters of our home administration.”

This is undoubtedly a very curious style of preaching. We cannot of course regard it as a good model; but it is most singular; and much of the volume is in the same style, though on various subjects. In the earlier discourses, there is a remarkable deficiency in appreciation of the doctrine of grace.

xv.—*Epitome of Alison's History of Europe, from the Commencement of the French Revolution in 1789, to the Restoration of the Bourbons in 1815.* Blackwoods: Edinburgh and London.

THIS volume is intended for the use of schools and young persons, and it is most admirably adapted for its purpose. The interest is sustained throughout, and enough of detail is given to impress the more important facts on the memory. We rejoice to see the fruit of Mr. Alison's labours thus brought, in some measure, within the reach of every one.

xvi.—*Outlines of English Literature.* By THOMAS B. SHAW, B.A., Professor of English Literature in the Imperial Alexander Lyceum of St. Petersburg. London: Murray.

MR. SHAW has supplied a desideratum in English Literature. His book contains a brief but satisfactory sketch of all the great English writers, from the earliest period to the present day. On the whole, it appears to be a fair and impartial summary, and ought to find a place in all libraries. We cannot say much for the author's views on religious points.

xvii.—1. *The Trial of Creation, and other Poems.* By the Rev. G. W. BIRKETT, A.M. Oxford: John Henry Parker. 1848.

2. *The Sea King, a Metrical Romance, in Six Cantos; with Notes, historical and illustrative.* By J. STANYAN BIGG. London: Whittaker. Ulverston: Soulby. 1848.

It is certainly very pleasing to contemplate our own benevolence, and the sympathy which we now so largely bestow on the less fortunate members of our community; and if we doubt the extent of that benevolence, or the intensity of that sympathy, we have only to look at the public press, and we shall soon be satisfied. Look at the volumes before us: a series of mercantile and financial misfortunes, added to the recurring failure of the potato crop, and aggravated by a series of revolutions abroad, and an excessive quantity of rain at home, has reduced our working classes to great distress. In this dilemma, it has occurred to Messrs. Birkett and Bigg that the best way of alleviating the distress of the working classes is to furnish them with remunerative labour as printers' devils. Fired with this glowing thought, they have each of them perpetrated a volume of poetry!

"The Trial of Creation" is a very poor affair, in our opinion; but some of the smaller poems are rather pretty than otherwise.

It is to be regretted that such writers as Messrs. Birkett and Bigg do not understand, that, although verses may do very well for an album, or may be praised by kind-hearted friends and neighbours, it does not exactly follow that they are suited for the eye of the public.

Mr. Bigg is far the more ambitious of these two writers.

This young aspirant for poetic fame informs us, that he was eighteen when he wrote his poem, and nineteen when he published it; so that he must be about twenty now. He is therefore, we trust, not too old to learn; and we certainly advise him to learn many things before he publishes a second poem; amongst the subjects we would recommend especially to his notice, are, the proper use of words, composition, rhythm, time, and—if he would not find our list too comprehensive, we would add,—modesty and common sense. Let him be particular in his study of “*Master Shakspeare* ;” let him, moreover, study the writers of other lands, both ancient and modern. Let him break in his Pegasus, and cure it of its ugly trick of kicking, lest he meet with the fate of the author of *Sandford and Merton*.

We will, however, give him one drop of comfort: we do not give a decided opinion; all we say is, that Mr. Bigg, if he will divest himself of the delusion that he is a poet now, may possibly become one hereafter.

XVIII.—*The Haunted Man, and the Ghost's Bargain; a Fancy for Christmas Time.* By CHARLES DICKENS. London: Bradbury and Evans. 1848.

THE present tale has a more directly religious bearing than Mr. Dickens's preceding publications; and it is pleasing to trace in the works of such a man the gradually increasing acknowledgment—a verbal, formal acknowledgment, we mean,—of those great truths which alone can render man wise or happy.

Throughout all his writings, there has always been a pervading atmosphere of pure natural religion; but the more decidedly Christian character has developed itself more of late years. To pass over the Sketches, many of which could not, by any possibility, have been written by one who was not a Christian at heart; the light in which the clergyman is represented in *Pickwick* is a clear symptom of the author's feelings; the more so, as he is introduced as it were gratuitously, and has no effect whatever on the story.

It is, however, in “*The Haunted Man*” that we have clearer indications of positive as well as practical Christianity. Not only does the whole story warn us to be kind and true to others, and



contented in our own hearts ; not only are we taught throughout that even those very things which appear curses are, when rightly understood, blessings, so that to be bereaved of them would be itself a curse ; but the doctrine of Christ crucified is—in few words, it is true, but still clearly and emphatically—made the centre of love, the source of joy, and the mainspring of hope and life.

XIX.—*Lecture Sermons, preached in a Country Parish Church.*  
By WILLIAM NIND, M.A. London: Hatchard. 1849.

THE many who have read the first volume of these Sermons, will welcome, no doubt, with joy, the appearance of the second. There are indeed few Sermons that are readable, and fewer still that are preachable: we do not understand the fact, but fact it is. Mr. Nind's Sermons possess both these merits; and those of the second volume are even plainer and simpler than their predecessors: they have not so much originality; but the style is more flowing. Still, however, there is at times a want of fluency and absence of rhythm, which frequently hurt the ear, even when the judgment is pleased, especially in the openings of the Sermons in the first volume: and though the diction is simple, it is not always Saxon enough. In our opinion, no writer, especially the author of Sermons intended for a country parish, is at liberty to use a word derived from any other source where one can be obtained from the Teutonic without inelegance or obscurity. The volume, however, has high though unpretending merits; without entering into, or even touching upon, or alluding to the questions which agitate the Church, Mr. Nind, simply and unobtrusively, without fear or favour, endeavours to expound the most important and practical doctrines. Thus the efficacy and the responsibility of baptism are admitted, though not placed as prominently as we should wish; thus the doctrine of justification by faith is clearly put forward; thus the necessity of personal holiness and the certainty of future judgment are continually insisted on. We recommend both volumes most heartily.

XX.—*Liber Precum Publicarum, Ordo Administrandæ Cœnæ Domini, Catechismus Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ, Psalterium.* Londini: Impensis JOANNIS GULIELMI PARKER, in vico dicto West Strand, MDCCCXLVIII.

VERY well and neatly got up, and does great credit to the publisher. Every Englishman going abroad should have a copy. Its study and use in Latin might perhaps exercise an influence in leading the minds of some, who are now in comparative darkness,

to a taste for purer and higher things, and might tend to disengage them from their superstitions by showing, that the renunciation of Romish errors does not lead to infidelity. It is to be regretted that there does not exist, in this country, a single institution where converts from the errors of Rome may find refuge, and receive instruction and discipline at that critical period when soul or body are often one or both irrecoverably lost from the want of some fostering hand to cherish and to guide.

XXI.—*A Catechism, compiled and arranged for the Use of Young Persons.* By EDWARD B. RAMSAY, M.A., F.R.S.E., Incumbent of St. John the Evangelist, Edinburgh, and Dean of the Diocess. Fifth Edition. Edinburgh: Grant. London: Rivingtons. 1848.

THIS excellent little volume has reached a fifth edition; we trust that it may obtain a fiftieth. It is sound and clear, the great requisites in such a work. We advise every parent or teacher to possess themselves of it: it is pre-eminently good.

XXII.—*Every Child's History of England.* By MISS CORNER. London: Dean.

A most pernicious book; we are in doubt whether the authoress be a papist or an infidel.

XXIII.—1. *Thoughts in Verse, from a Village Churchman's Note-Book.* By the Rev. SAMUEL CHILDS CLARKE, M.A. Oxford: Parker. 1848.

2. *The Triple Judgment; or, The Origin of Evil.* By ETHELMUND, a Saxon Bard. London: Shaw. 1848.

MR. CLARKE and the Bard "Ethelmund," do not rise beyond mediocrity as poets.

The illustrations of the first volume are exceedingly tasteful, and deserve a better fate, with the exception of a grotesque figure apparently intended to represent the ideal of a Village Churchman. It is a *very* fat friar—fatter than any we ever beheld in those lands where, some years since, friars had the opportunity of growing fat. The original must assuredly have been a portrait of Friar Tuck. The verses themselves are utterly devoid of any merit of any kind.

As to the resuscitated Ethelmund, we strongly advise him to

return to his grave, and remain there. We cannot imagine how even a man's own vanity could lead him to employ such a composition for any other use than that of lighting fires.

xxiv.—*Kings of England. A History for Young Children.* London: Mozley :—and Masters. 1848.

A VERY well written volume—sound and moderate in its principles both of Church and State—decided throughout, but never offensive; though Dunstan and Becket are treated, perhaps, too tenderly, and Edward the Confessor praised rather too strongly. The book was much wanted, and we feel grateful to the author for having done real service to the rising generation.

xxv.—*The Words from the Cross. A Series of Lent Sermons.* By W. H. ANDERDON, M.A., Vicar of St. Margaret's, Leicester. London: Pickering. Leicester: Cropley. 1848.

WE have seldom been so much pleased with any course of Sermons as with these—they are simple, loving, earnest, real. Reality is a quality too frequently wanting in such collections—a quality, indeed, the absence of which renders the vast majority of able Sermons almost totally inefficient. The little volume before us is equally suited for the closet and the pulpit—for devotional or didactic use. We have been delighted not only by the unaffected beauty of the work taken as a whole, but by the manner in which, on delicate and difficult questions, exactly the right thing is said, without one shade or one line too much or too little. The following passage meets our eye on opening the book:—

“ What were our early years? Were we sheltered in a holy home, and did we break through the enclosure that should have guarded our purity? Was the early dew of our baptism scorched up by the glare of sin, and unrenewed by faith and prayer? Did we forfeit our privileges before we became awake to them?

“ Again: what have been our latter years? Have we walked on blindly, missing opportunities, neglecting warnings, stopping our ears against invitations, amusing our listless spirits with every trifle upon the road, admiring our fancied selves because ignorant of our real selves, falling, perhaps, into more grievous depths of sin, going clean contrary to the express will of God, and doing that for which the Lord of Life and Glory came to die?

“ Father, forgive us, for we knew not what we did! We were blind. There were upon our eyes as it had been scales. We knew nothing of ourselves nor of Thee. The present was our home. We had no eyes but for the things which are seen and temporal. The spiritual, the

eternal world was to us as though it were not. Thy Presence was shrouded from us: we were under eclipse. No wonder, then, that we walked in darkness, knew not what we did, where we stood, whither our wayward feet were conveying us."

The passage is rather too long to quote; it merely exemplifies the style and tone of the whole work. The manner in which the writer speaks of the Blessed Virgin has peculiarly delighted us, stinting her of none of that honour and reverence which is her due, yet sternly denouncing the sin of Mariolatry.

xxvi.—*Brief Sketch of Human Nature in Innocency.* By the Rev. W. GURDEN MOORE, M.A., Vicar of Aslackby, Lincolnshire. London: Painter. 1848.

FROM what we have seen in the volume, there does not appear to be any thing in it either very new or very striking.

We extract a sentence, that our readers may judge for themselves of the style:—

"The powers we now possess are naturally incapable of such nice discrimination as to resolve into their elements the severalities of which our being consists."—p. 64.

xxvii.—*Journal in France in 1845 and 1848, &c.* By THOMAS WILLIAM ALLIES, M.A., &c. London: Longmans.

WE have perused this volume with much interest, and, we confess, with still more regret. The position and some of the principles of the author forbid us to express fully the uneasiness which we feel in regard to himself; but the fact is, that Mr. Allies, in his anxiety (we presume) to promote what he thinks more just and tolerant views of Romanism, describes that system in such a way, that the effect is calculated to be extremely injurious. There is much in the volume which betokens (we will not say an unsettled mind, but) a mind which is strangely reconciled to practices and theories which have been justly disapproved by the Church of England. The tendency of the volume is, we think, adverse to the English Church and favourable to that of the Church of Rome.

It is throughout a panegyric on Romanism at the expense of the Church of England. The work in many parts might have been the production of a Romanist. Take the following passage as an instance:—

"The sun shines, though we are blind to its rays. Wisdom utters her voice in the streets, though none listen to her. Now incomparably the most important facts in the Roman Church are those which concern

not merely a member of it, but the whole communion, *e. g.* its extent, its doctrine, its internal discipline, its vital principle, and its generative and expansive power. If under these heads we consider the Roman Church, taking it merely as a fact, like the British monarchy, is it too much to say, that no work of art, no discovery of genius, no scheme of philosophy, physical or metaphysical, earthly or heavenly, no history of human deeds in doing or in suffering, no political constitution, no scientific confederacy, no association of monarchs or of peoples, no past or present civilization, nothing about which men have wearied themselves in research and discussion, is so worthy of patient thought and humble consideration as is that communion? The following are a few reasons for the above observation :—1. The Roman Catholic hierarchy depends on the pope as its centre of unity, and as the divinely-appointed head of the Church on earth. From him all its bishops receive canonical institution, that is, the grant of spiritual jurisdiction," &c.—pp. 356, 357.

Then the author proceeds to state the numbers of the Roman Catholic bishops, and continues thus :—

" Here then is one spiritual empire, stretching over all the continents of the earth, entering into so many various nations utterly different in manners, language, origin, and temper. This empire, though outnumbered in some few of these nations by other Christian communions, yet has no one other over against it, equally wide-spread, united, and claiming, like it, universality. And its functions, though necessarily exercised in this world, sometimes in friendship with, sometimes in opposition to, the civil power, have to do exclusively with man's relations to the unseen world. So that it is strictly in this aspect a ' kingdom of heaven ' on earth, whose several members hold together by their common union with their chief."—p. 361.

The author labours to establish the truth of the pretended miracles of the Estatica and the Addolorata, and other Romish miracles. On the whole we must say decidedly, that we deem the work most offensive to the Church of England, and unfit for the perusal of its members. It may be placed in the same category as Froude's Remains, or Mr. F. Faber's work on Foreign Scenes. Mr. Allies will be charged by many persons with being a Romanist; and we know not how he can be defended by any one. Books of this kind were bad enough eight or ten years ago; but after all that has passed they are really intolerable. We deeply regret to be compelled to use such strong language, but we deem it a positive duty to warn our readers against this most objectionable work.

xxviii.—*Sacred Latin Poetry, chiefly Lyrical, selected and arranged for Use; with Notes and Introduction.* By RICHARD CHENEVIX TRENCH, M.A., &c.

A VERY pleasing and well-selected series of Latin poetry commencing with St. Ambrose and Prudentius, and continued to the present age. The volume is copiously illustrated with English notes, and biographical notices from the pen of the editor. Most of the fine old hymns and proses of the Roman Church find a place in this selection.

xxix.—*The Inheritance of Evil; or, The Consequence of Marrying a deceased Wife's Sister.* London: Masters.

THE object of this tale is sufficiently explained by its title. It portrays in a forcible way the social evils arising from such unhallowed connexions as it alludes to. The writer makes terrible work towards the latter part of the tale, when a series of catastrophes demolish (with one exception) all the characters in the piece.

xxx.—*Lectures on the Apocalypse; Critical, Expository, and Practical; delivered before the University of Cambridge; being the Hulsean Lectures for the year 1848.* By CHRISTOPHER WORDSWORTH, D.D., Canon of Westminster, &c. London: Rivingtons.

THE present times are teeming with events which almost compel the mind to seek for their solution in the pages of prophecy; so that such works as Dr. Wordsworth's are calculated to supply a want which is very generally felt. It is true that the writings of many eminent commentators are already in circulation; but any thing which proceeds from Dr. Wordsworth's pen on this awfully interesting subject, is certain to be worthy of diligent perusal. The volume before us, which is to be followed by another comprising the text of the Apocalypse with much critical apparatus, is chiefly occupied in the interpretation of that obscure and sublime portion of Holy Writ. It comprises a full discussion of the doctrine of the Millennium, which the author rejects as inconsistent with Scripture and the general belief of Christians, though it was held by some of the early fathers. The subjects of the genuineness and inspiration of the Apocalypse are also treated with much care and learning; and its relation to the canons of Scripture, its doctrinal finality (which is argued as conclusive against the advocates of rationalistic and Romish development), and the symbols employed in it, are also the subjects of well-considered



discussion. To enter into any detail on the Exposition itself would be impossible. Suffice it to say, that, as regards the interpretation of the mystic Babylon, and the two beasts, the author adopts generally that which has been the prevalent view amongst the opponents of Romanism ; while he does not accept the doctrine which marks 1260 days as the symbol of an equal number of years. We anticipate an extensive circulation for this able and learned volume.

XXXI.—*The Acts of Saint Mary Magdalene Considered, in a Series of Discourses, &c.* By HENRY STRETTON, M.A., St. Mary Magd. Hall, Oxford, Perpetual Curate of Hixon. London : Masters.

THE question of the identity of Mary Magdalen with the sister of Lazarus, and with the woman who was a sinner (mentioned in the 7th chapter of St. Luke), is one of very high interest, and has given rise to much discussion, and many a learned treatise before now. The early Church was divided on the question ; but the authority of St. Augustine, who, after weighing the evidence, pronounced in the affirmative, caused that view to be adopted generally in the Western Church up to the Reformation. At that period opinion again became divided ; and although the Services of the Church of Rome decidedly support the notion, the great body of her learned men have as decidedly denied it. The volume before us contains a full and carefully digested analysis of the arguments on this question ; and it proceeds to consider the Life of St. Mary Magdalen in the same point of view as St. Augustine did, *i. e.* as identifying the Magdalen with two others mentioned in Holy Writ, who are usually considered as distinct persons from her. Unquestionably this provides fuller materials, and a much more remarkable combination of circumstances than the opposite theory ; and Mr. Stretton has availed himself of the advantage thus afforded, to produce a series of discourses which are of unusual interest, and combine much sound argument, with much practical and devotional exhortation. We have been highly gratified by the tone of all that we have read of the work, and especially with its cordial and unmistakeable spirit of attachment to the Church of England.

XXXII.—*Lectures on the Nature and Use of Money. Delivered before the Members of the Edinburgh Philosophical Institution.* By JOHN GRAY. London : Longmans. Edinburgh : Black.

THE author of this volume appears to be at least thoroughly

satisfied of the correctness of his views: indeed, his confidence appears to us somewhat excessive; but, as he is of opinion that this country is taxed to the extent of one hundred millions a year beyond what is needful, we cannot doubt, that if his theories are correct, they will be very thankfully accepted by the people of England. His plan includes an alteration in the present monetary system. He would make labour the standard of value; would constitute the pound note the unit of our monetary system, and fix its value by Act of Parliament; and would render the value of all coins or their weight fluctuating. He would also establish National Banks in England, Scotland, and Ireland, for carrying out this system, by which "Proportionate production would, in these lands, become, and for ever continue to be, the unfailing Cause of Demand, and that *ad infinitum*." We must be excused for being rather incredulous as to the beneficial effects of such vast schemes as this, involving a revolution in our whole monetary system.

XXXIII.—*Godfrey Davenant at College. By the Rev. W. E. HEYGATE, M.A.* London: Masters.

THE readers of the former part of Godfrey Davenant will be glad to peruse this continuation of that interesting tale, in which the hero is carried through his residence at the university. We have here a lively description of the characteristic dangers, temptations, advantages, and pleasures of a college life at Oxford.

XXXIV.—*Nelson's Companion for the Fasts and Festivals of the Church of England. Abridged, with Notes, by J. POYNDER, Esq.* London: Painter.

WE are inclined to look with some degree of doubt on abridgments of works so justly esteemed as that of Nelson on the Fasts and Festivals; but from what we have seen of the work before us, Mr. Poynder appears to have very fairly represented the sense of his author, and to have produced a very excellent and unexceptionable book. The catechetical form of the original is certainly an obstacle to its popularity, and this form is changed in Mr. Poynder's Abridgment.

XXXV.—*Demoniacal Possession: its Nature and Cessation. An Essay by the Rev. THOMAS WOODWARD, M.A., formerly Scholar of Trinity College, Dublin, Curate Assistant of Fethard, in the Diocese of Cashel.*

IN this ingenious and learned dissertation, Mr. Woodward main-

tains the *reality* of demoniacal possessions against the theories of those who would resolve the phenomena described in the Gospels under that term, into the results of ordinary physical causes. He also labours to establish the position, that the Evil Spirit was permitted to resort to this fearful mode of tormenting his victims in an eminent, and indeed unique degree, during the period of our Lord's ministry, and that these impersonations of himself and of his evil angels partook of the nature of imitative parodies of the Incarnation itself. *Simius Dei Diabolus* is a true saying, and it seems to have suggested to Mr. Woodward the idea which he has since developed with considerable ability in his Essay. The reader cannot fail to be interested with his researches; but perhaps an argument against the theory may be alleged, in the fact that the Evangelists do not represent demoniacal possession as *a new thing*, nor do we hear any expression of *surprise* from the mouth of those who are witnesses of it.

Mr. Woodward may confirm his opinions on the cause of the fall of angels (p. 14), by the observation of Hooker (Eccl. Pol. i. iv. 3); and his remark on the two opposite kingdoms of Christ and Satan become more forcible, when the words of the Apocalypse are quoted according to their true reading—in the singular and not plural—"The kingdom of this world is become the kingdom of the Lord and of his Christ." (Rev. xi. 15.)

We specially recommend for perusal pp. 40—50 of this Essay, on the *personality* of the Evil Spirit and his ministers; a doctrine too often lost sight of in the theological teaching of the present day.

XXXVI.—*The Romaunt Version of the Gospel according to St. John, from MSS. preserved in Trinity College, Dublin, and in the Bibliothèque du Roi, Paris, &c.* By WILLIAM STEPHEN GILLY, D.D., Canon of Durham. London: Murray.

DR. GILLY has in this volume presented the Public with the results of his researches into the history of the Version of Scripture anciently in use among the Waldenses, and has published the text of one of the Gospels, with various readings, prolegomena, and fac-similes. The work appears to be very carefully executed; and the Version itself, Dr. Gilly ascribes to the 12th century. We have no doubt it will be a valuable addition to the existing published remains of the Romaunt language.

XXXVII.—*Discourses on the Life of Christ; or, The principal Events in the personal History of the Redeemer.* By the Rev. WILLIAM DE

BURGH, *M.A.*, &c. London: Rivingtons. Glasgow: Ogle. Dublin: McGlashan.

THE little volume before us contains a series of expository discourses on all the chief events of our Lord's life on earth, including all those which the Church commemorates in her fasts and festivals. We have been much struck by the great familiarity with the Holy Scriptures evidenced in every page of these Sermons; and we have been much gratified with all that we have perused of the volume. Mr. De Burgh appears to take a firm and consistent course, avoiding extremes on either side; and his spirit as a Churchman is most reverential. In point of style, we should say, that his sentences are sometimes rather too long, which have the effect of rendering the meaning less easily discernible than might be wished.

xxxviii.—1. *Original Letters relative to the English Reformation, &c. Edited for the Parker Society. By the Rev. HASTINGS ROBINSON, D.D., &c.* Cambridge: Pitt Press.

2. *The Zurich Letters, &c. Edited for the Parker Society. By the Rev. H. ROBINSON, D.D.* Cambridge: Pitt Press.

THESE volumes, comprising as they do a great mass of correspondence from persons of all classes of society in the reigns of Henry VIII., Edward VI., Mary, and Elizabeth, all bearing on the Reformation of the English Church, are, of course, a valuable contribution to Ecclesiastical history, many of them having never been published before. To the general reader, they will, as a body, be not peculiarly attractive; but to all who are interested in the history of the English Reformation, and tolerably acquainted with its main facts, they will be very interesting. We cannot pretend to have perused the whole of this correspondence, but we have seen enough to convince us that it is valuable. As an illustration of the kind of thing which may be found in these volumes, we must extract the following graphic account by a foreigner of a visit to the Palace at Salisbury in the time of Bishop Jewell:—

“Although the whole of the city belongs to the Bishop, his domestic arrangements delighted me more than any thing else. His palace, in the first place, is so spacious and magnificent, that even sovereigns may, and are wont to be suitably entertained there, whenever they come into these parts. Next, there is a most extensive garden, kept up with especial care, so that in the levelling, laying-out, and variety, nothing seems to have been overlooked. A most limpid stream runs through the midst of it, which, though agreeable in itself, is rendered much more

pleasant and delightful by the swans swimming in it, and the abundance of fish, which (the Bishop) is now causing to be enclosed in an iron lattice-work. After having most courteously saluted me on the following day, he turned to his attendants, and 'let the horses,' he said, 'be saddled and bridled, and take this guest of mine a hunting.' Accordingly, having taken our dogs with us, when we arrived at the place where the game was wont to hide, we pursued two deer which we had discovered, both of which, before they were worn out with running, the dog with incredible swiftness quickly came up with, and easily caught, and brought them to the ground. \* \* \* The Bishop, indeed, I perceive, does not take much delight in this kind of amusement."

"On the 21st of July we rode into the country with a large retinue, as the bishop said he would show me something that would astonish me. When I saw the cavalcade in the middle of the plain, 'Why,' said I, 'is not Josiah Simler a witness of this? or Bullinger? or indeed any Zurichers? For as to Peter Martyr, he is well acquainted with all your circumstances.' 'I wish,' he replied, 'all these worthy men were here.' 'But what do you think they are now doing?' 'Perhaps,' he said, 'they have finished their dinner, and I fancy that I see Martyr in his elbow chair.' When we had gone on a little further, he very kindly pointed out to me the whole character and bearing of the neighbourhood. 'There,' says he, stretching out his arm, 'was formerly Old Sarum; there are the mounds which you can distinguish even now, and there the ramparts. And there, in another place, there was a camp of the ancient Romans, of which there are the vestiges before us.' At length we arrived at the place which Jewell had particularly wished me to visit, and respecting which I should hesitate to write what I have seen, unless I could confirm it by most approved witnesses \* \* \* I beheld, in a very extensive plain, at a great distance from the sea, in a soil which appeared to have nothing in common with the nature of [the] stones or rocks, I beheld, I say, stones of immense size, almost every one of which, if you should weigh them, would be heavier than your whole house. The stones are not heaped one upon another, nor even laid together, but are placed upright, in such a way that two of them support a third."—*Zurich Letters*, pp. 150—153.

Dr. Robinson appears to have taken very great care in editing this curious collection of Letters.

xxxix.—*The Life and Times of King Alfred the Great. By the Rev. J. A. GILES, D.C.L., &c.* London: Bell.

To some readers the principle on which Dr. Giles proceeds in this work, *viz.*, that of making the contemporary historians relate the events in their own language, will be unsatisfactory. It will appear to them that such a mode of writing affords less prospect of a generally accurate view of history, than a careful induction

from the facts supplied by all ancient writers on the subject ; and possibly there may be some truth in this. Yet we confess that we think there is a great feeling of satisfaction in perusing the very expressions of contemporary writers. There seems more of reality in it ; and less exercise for an inventive imagination. The Life of Alfred before us is a very readable book, and Dr. Giles has evidently taken much pains with it.

**XI.—***Poetry, Past and Present. A Collection for Every-day Reading and Amusement. By the Editor of Church Poetry, &c.* London : Mozley.

WE have been charmed by every page of this Collection that we have read. Its Editor is thoroughly familiar with the writings of all our poets ; and has, in these pages, woven from them a garland of the richest flowers. We especially recommend the volume to young persons.

**XLI.—***Thoughts on the Character and History of Nehemiah. By the Rev. HENRY WOODWARD, M.A., formerly of Corpus Christi College, Oxford, Rector of Fethard.* London : Hatchard.

THE venerable author of this little work is already so well known as an eloquent, thoughtful, and practical writer, that any recommendation of ours must be unnecessary in order to draw attention to his work. The volume before us bears the impress of the author's mind very distinctly. It connects a series of practical and spiritual reflections with the events of Nehemiah's history. There are some very interesting remarks on the subject of "shyness"—a subject rarely treated of ; and the remarks on "extempore prayer" seem extremely judicious and sound.

**XLII.—***The Christian Doctrine of Sanctification Considered, in Eight Sermons, preached before the University of Oxford, as the Bampton Lecture for the year 1848. By EDWARD GARRARD MARSH, M.A., Canon of Southwell, Vicar of Aylesford, and formerly Fellow of Oriel College.* London : Seeleys.

THIS interesting and valuable work might well furnish subject-matter for a long and deliberate examination of the theological views propounded in it ; with a considerable part of which, speaking generally, we have no hesitation in expressing our concurrence. There are, however, indications herein, some merely external, and some of a more vital character, of a certain *tendency*, at least, to undervalue those elements of the Church's life, which constitute



her the *visible* pillar of the faith. We trust, however, that this tendency in Mr. Marsh's Theology is rather apparent than real. He is obviously possessed with an excessive dread of so-called High-Churchmanship; a dread which manifests itself, for instance, in the invariable writing of "our Lord," with a small "l"—"*lord*," &c., and in an apparent unwillingness to recognise the real spiritual efficacy of the appointed means of grace, holy sacraments, and the ministrations of the Catholic Church. It is true that Mr. Marsh does aver (p. 196)—"the aid of the Church is necessary and indispensable in the process of our sanctification; and of that aid the administration of the sacraments forms an essential, and a principal part." Afterwards, he says, that, to believers, "as baptism is, to them, a baptism of the Holy Ghost, so also is the Lord's Supper, *to them*, a communion of his most blessed body and blood." He does not, however, seem to apprehend perfectly the nature of Baptism: for, on page 152, we find him say, "How often have we known the mere *act of baptism* relied upon, as a sufficient test of discipleship, without due regard to *that work of the Holy Spirit* which alone constitutes a true Christian," &c. Now here it seems implied that baptism *need not be* the work of the Holy Spirit. We have no hesitation in declaring, that it either is *that work*, in the case of infants, or else a mere carnal form, one of those ordinances, concerning which St. Paul wrote, "Touch not, taste not, handle not." Of course, in the case of adults, the real grace of baptism cannot be conveyed, unless the baptized person believes with the heart to righteousness; but in the case of children, it is obvious, that unless baptism be a mere legal form equivalent to Jewish circumcision, grace *must be* conveyed. Mr. Marsh adds a note on this objectionable passage, which rather tends to darken the matter than otherwise; for he says, "The intricate questions, arising out of the practice of infant baptism, do not fall within the compass of the present inquiry:" strange language, surely, and moreover at variance with the text; for adult baptism, at least in Christian countries, is now so rare, that those condemned for making the mere "*act of baptism*" a test of discipleship can surely not be held to have referred to any thing but "infant baptism." There can be no doubt, that baptism is the broadest and most liberal of all tests of Church-discipleship, and it is rather difficult to understand what Mr. Marsh intends by his censure. If he means to say, that all who have received grace as children in baptism have not *kept it*; that many, from subsequent fallings away, do not in a true sense pertain to the Church of God, we are of course ready to re-echo his conviction. His language with regard to the other sacrament, too (p. 152), seems studiously obscure: he censures those who attach

a literal signification to our Lord's declaration, "Except ye eat the flesh of the Son of Man," &c. ; but he leaves us in doubt whether he condemns those who would prove Transubstantiation by this text, or those who would apply it in any but a figurative sense to the Lord's Supper. Of all such ambiguities we are bound to express our disapproval ; but, having done thus much, we have great pleasure in being able to state, that the Bampton Lecture before us confers no little honour upon its author. His views of Justification and Sanctification are essentially sound and correct. Thus he says (p. 171), "Let us look to the Bible itself, that we may discern what is the plan devised by Almighty wisdom for bringing back a sinner to God, and training him gradually up to that *perfection*, from which he has fallen, and to which he is invited to return ! That plan consists of *two parts* : and it is in disjoining these parts that all the errors of Christians on this vital question essentially originate, and by which they are sustained. Those two parts are, first, reconciliation ; secondly, sanctification. When these two works are fully accomplished, and have produced their true effect, then, and not before, is attained the great end of all, which is perfect salvation. The reconciliation to God, which is the first and greatest need of a sinner, was once for all effected by our blessed Redeemer upon the cross. *It was effected, but not applied.*" Mr. Marsh goes on to show, how justifying faith alone, that is, a faith which works by love, of which perfect trust and humility are the main characteristics, *can* apply this reconciliation to ourselves. He says (p. 177), "In the humble and confiding state of mind in which he (the Christian) applies for justification, and obtains it, *his sanctification also is begun* ; for that state of mind is essentially a holy state, the work of the Holy Spirit upon his heart ;" and then he goes on to show, that sanctification is a gradual progress towards perfection, which however can never be attained. On this subject he says (p. 205), "The purest saint on earth may be purer still ; the holiest, holier ; the best love may be improved ; the liveliest devotion invigorated."

We must confess, however, that while we consider Mr. Marsh's statements to be in the main orthodox, and assert with him the priority of Justification to Sanctification, we think he has missed the whole truth from his inattention to the great question of Infant Baptism. We hold, that the faith of Christ's Church in bringing the child to the font, together with the passive receptivity of the child, represent and virtually constitute that justifying faith, which reconciles the recipient of baptismal grace to God, and makes him or her, verily and indeed, a member of Christ, and an inheritor of the kingdom of heaven. We do not think, that this justification, or seal of God's pardon and reconciliation,

is accompanied by absolute sanctification ; no, that has only commenced ; the seed of divine life has been implanted ; it may grow and bear fruit, if it be duly watered, or it may wither away.

The Eight Sermons before us have all considerable merits. Mr. Marsh has very clearly and strikingly described the original glory and happiness of man, and has treated the question of the fall most satisfactorily. He has proceeded to trace the consequences of that fall in the wickedness of the human race. He has then set forth the great doctrine of the Atonement, and examined the various attempts made by the Pagan world to approach God without the direct aid of his revelation. Then, he has traced the erroneous views of sanctification held by the Jewish Church, and which have further prevailed, to no slight extent, within the Christian also. And, finally, he shows us, as we have seen, that justification through faith in Christ, is the origin of sanctification in the Christian soul ; and that sanctification itself is a perpetual progress in faith and love towards perfection ; which, however, can never be attained, whilst we are wanderers here on earth, though it must be constantly aimed at, and striven after.

XI.III.—*The Scottish New Generation ; or, The Reaction.* By HUGH SCOTT, Esq. London : Saunders and Otley. 1848.

THIS is a remarkably curious pamphlet, written in a tone of fervid eloquence, in which the writer, despite the name on the title-page, adopts throughout the editorial We, and in one passage seems to indicate that his essay is reprinted from some Scotch Review. If this be *not* the case, we must confess, that the self-conceit breathing from many passages is not a little offensive to our eyes. Nevertheless, there is so much of which we heartily approve, and with which we thoroughly concur, that we can scarcely adopt the tone of harsh censure. Mr. Scott's main object seems to be, to induce the Episcopalian aristocracy of Scotland to come forward, as the leaders and regenerators of the Scottish people ; but he also zealously advocates the formation of Home Missionary Societies ; and has indeed a word of admonition for all classes and all Church communions. We subjoin a characteristic passage, in which our Author admonishes the so-called Free Kirk :—

“ We cannot but feel,” he says, “ that we are addressing ourselves to the historical descendants of our old enemies, the Covenanters. We are addressing noble foes. Every inch of ground have we contested throughout broad Scotland—every mountain, every glen, every hamlet, has been the arena of our combat. Success has been various—fierce has been the conflict : both have had their martyrs and dying confessors ;

both their saints, their fathers, their devotees. At length the stern and gloomy Covenant triumphs. She becomes the national creed; the Church becomes a small and insignificant minority: yet she retains her nationality. She loudly and clamorously protested against the Act of Union. She raised the standard of revolt against usurped authority in glorious FIFTEEN. The blood of her sons fertilized the field, and drenched the scaffold. She burst like a torrent of the mountain in FORTY-FIVE; she yielded alone to numbers. The last charge at Cul-loden was her death-knell. She fell, but she fell gloriously—true to her country and her king—true to the nationality of Scotland. She in the nineteenth century preaches a new creed—a creed which her fathers knew not—a creed more ennobling in its influences than all the horrors of war; majestic in its character; ancient in its pedigree; lofty in conception; replete with proud aspirings and noble daring; connecting the broken links of Scotland's history; adorned with all the pageantry of the past; shedding a bright ray over the most disastrous epochs of our national history; and telling us what a future will be. The creed, indeed, is childishly simple—peace, mercy, and truth. Let us banish the seventeenth century from memory! Erase its records for ever! Let us no longer talk. The steeds are prancing, the bugle is sounding the advance. The Crusaders, varied indeed in guise, under various leaders—speaking different tongues, yet animated by the same hopes—the Crusaders are there. Their mission is no earthly one. It is no earthly Jerusalem they desire to conquer. It is to rescue their fallen country from the iron rule of a foreign usurper." (We presume, heresy.) "The infidel is trembling; he feels his doom is sealed; his reign is over. His fate is written on the walls of the capitol. His foes have united. In the agony of despair he awaits the last charge. He wavers, he sinks, he flies; he seeks a foreign shore; he looks for a stranger's land to confiscate, to devastate, to ruin. Scotland is free."

Here we have enthusiasm at least on the right side. We have, too, brilliant and graphic eloquence; a little too dramatic perhaps, but altogether worthy of admiration. But setting aside this, we admire Mr. Scott's principles, and we delight in his warmth of heart. May he elevate many another scion of ancient lineage to an equal standard of enthusiastic reverence for the true Church of Scotland!

XLIV.—*Woman; the Help Meet for Man.* By ADOLPHE MONOD, Professor of Theology at Montauban. From the French. By ELIZABETH MARIA LLOYD. London: Allan. 1849.

A HARMLESS, and, indeed, rather interesting volume. We discern nothing very original in it; but old and familiar truths are lovingly realized. It is well that such works should receive their due share of praise.

XLV.—*The Life of Christians during the First Three Centuries of the Church ; being a Series of Sermons on Church History.* By DR. CHR. LUDW. CONARD. *Translated from the German.* By the Rev. LEOPOLD J. BERNAYS. Edinburgh : Clark.

AN exceedingly useless volume, at least to members of the English Church, though it may not have been uninteresting to the very ignorant Berlineſe ; ignorant, that is, of the elements of Church history. It ſeems free from rationaliſm, though dedicated to ſuch a man as Neander, among others, and manifeſtly proceeds from one of that “ pietiſt ſchool,” who, by condemning the arts and the rightful uſe of this world, have almoſt done as much as the infidels themſelves to prejudice the cauſe of Chriſtianity in Germany. There is no point of view in which this volume could be of any uſe to the Engliſh reader.

XLVI.—*Friends and Fortune ; a Moral Tale.* By ANNA HARRIET DRURY. London : Pickering. 1849.

WE have rarely met with a tale which raiſes higher expectations of its authoreſs’s future, than this of Miſs Drury’s. It is at once amusing and inſtructive, genial and healthful : it breathes throughout the ſoundeſt Church principles and feelings, and evinces a graſp of mind of a moſt uncommon character, which may achieve great things. Miſs Drury has previously given a ſmall volume of poems to the world, bearing evidence of cultivated taſte, real powers of pathos, and general poetic ability. This tale riſes, we think, to a higher level. We ſhall not foreſtal the pleaſure of our readers, whom we recommend to poſſeſs themſelves of this volume, by giving any abridgment of the plot. One paſſage we ſhall quote, however, the deſcription of the Vicar, Mr. Leyden, which is quite “ after our heart,” and will, we ſuſpect, win the affections of many of thoſe who peruſe our pages :—

“ The Vicar was an old man, but ſtill vigorous ; his ſpare frame was ſlightly bent with age, but his active and temperate habits had left him his faculties unimpaired ; and his bright grey eye, though it had loſt its power, ſtill retained its intelligence and penetration. His dreſs was that of the olden time ; his ſilver hair ſprinkled with powder, an old-faſhioned coat with large pockets, ſilk ſtockings and buckles ; nor could any remonſtrance or entreaty perſuade him to admit the ſmalleſt innovation on any of theſe antiquated articles. Indeed, to have done ſo would have deſtroyed a picture, and a real picture he appeared, in Margaret’s eyes, as he ſat in his arm-chair of carved walnut, with the firelight beaming on his benevolent features, and on the ſunny curls of

Rosy, seated on his knee. Every one knows, or ought to know, Goldsmith's Country Clergyman, and that beautiful simile quoted at the head of my chapter; but it is not every one who has seen it exemplified. It was so *here*: the 'eternal sunshine' was stamped on that white head and gentle mouth; it emanated in every action, and beamed in every glance. From the days of his childhood he had walked with his God; he and his religion had grown up together; he had lived under the guidance of the pillar and the cloud, and grown old by the bank of Jordan; waiting for his appointed time, with his loins girt up for action, and his lamp trimmed and bright. In the words of the unconsciously-eloquent Bunyan, 'He had his eyes lifted up to heaven; the best of books was in his hand; the law of truth was written on his lips; the world was behind his back; he stood as if he pleaded with men, and a crown of gold did hang over his head.' Mary Leyden, the Vicar's only daughter, was one of those gracious womanly beings that are difficult to describe, from possessing no one prominent characteristic, nor aspiring to any; but whose presence is felt wherever they move, from the blessings they scatter around them. Her features were pleasing, her figure graceful; she had that simple lady-like manner that invariably creates respect, and a sweet gentleness of voice and expression that at once made its way to Margaret's heart. The room was old-fashioned, but commodious; the shelves were stored with books of all kinds, for our Vicar was a man of taste and literature, as well as a sound divine, and had both an eye and an ear for whatever was excellent, whether of sight, sound, or conception. He had one little weakness—must we confess it?—he was fond, very fond, of his snuff-box; and certainly contrived to indulge in that untidy luxury with as little inconvenience to others as possible. In proportion, however, as he patronized this particular branch of the incomprehensible happiness produced by that too popular weed, did he frown upon all its kindred, condemning alike the humble clay tube of his old sexton, and the delicate exotics preserved from vulgar eyes in Ferdinand's cigar-case. He could prove to any one, we do not exactly know how, that there was an immense difference between the two. 'Snuff, Sir,' he would say, 'clears the brain—smoking stupefies it;' and as the clearness of his own was a standing argument in favour of sternutation, his hearers were fain to yield the point, and not light their Havannahs till he was out of sight."

Is not this a charming portraiture? Our readers may at once observe that Miss Drury's style is peculiarly correct and elegant. She writes, indeed, simple, honest, unaffected English, quite refreshing after the artificial semi-barbarous Teutonic gibberish of the day. Some of her characters are very pleasing. Her heroine, though somewhat headstrong, is, in our opinion, interesting, and very well delineated. The young poet, Arthur, is rather exaggerated, and yet perhaps not an impossibility. Nelson is another very pleasant character. So is the old nurse. There are some improbabilities and some exaggerations, but life itself is not without



them ; and altogether Miss Drury has satisfied us, that she has a natural dramatic faculty—the power of entering into the feelings of others, and speaking in their persons.

XLVII.—*Pinacothecae Historicae Specimen, Auctore* F. K., A.M.  
Londini: G. Bell. Bathoniae: S. Sims et Fil. M.DCCC.XLVIII.

As many of our readers may not at once recollect what *Pinacotheca* is, and as some of them have possibly never seen the word, we will begin by telling them that it means a picture gallery. We are the more determined on doing this, seeing that we recollect a case in which an unfortunate “*man*” was once worsted in the schools of Oxford from chancing to forget the signification of the word *Cercopithecus*, which signifies a large kind of baboon. But to our task.

The work before us consists of seventy pages of Latin, carefully written and elegantly printed. It is supposed to be the guide-book to a picture-gallery of historic notables (or rather, a collection of the inscriptions written under their portraits), commencing with King Alfred, and ending with Jacobus Brooke. There is a good deal of force and ingenuity in the style: take, for example, that on James I.:—

“JACOBUS .  
Magnae . Britanniae . rex .  
nominis . primus .  
naturae . lusu . homo .  
fortunae . rex .  
cujus . qualescunqve . virtutes . privatae .  
pvblice . vel . in . vitivm .  
vel . in . ridiculum . abiere .  
civili . prudentia . cum . versuta . calliditate .  
pacis . studio . cum . belli . timore .  
amore . paterno . cum . delira . fatuitate .  
literarum . ardore . cum . ineptiis . insulsissimis .  
ad . ludibrium . usque . confuso . ”

We do not ourselves concur in all this ; but it is well done. There is, however, one odd mistake, namely, that James I. was *not* king of Great Britain—he wished to assume the title, but was told by his lawyers that it was not allowable.

Amongst those which please us most are “Guilielmus Temple,” Franciscus S. Fenelon, Guilielmus Pitt, and that on Fox, beginning, “Qvi ista legis ;” also that to the Duke of Wellington. We would humbly suggest that the following be added to the second edition :—

LYDIA SELLON .  
 Virgo . praeclara .  
 nobilis . dives . juvenis .  
 summa . prudentia . summo . ingenio . summa . eloquentia .  
 summa . pietate . erga . Deum . atque . hominem .  
 praedita .  
 quae . non . odio . sed . amore . humanae . gentis .  
 accensa .  
 mundi . gaudia . resignavit .  
 “ ut . visitaret . pupillos . in . tribulatione . eorum . ”  
 et . domum .  
 domum . carentibus .  
 praeberet .  
 “ primum . quidem . pudica . fuit . deinde . pacifica .  
 modesta . suasibilis .  
 bonis . consentiens .  
 plena . misericordia . et . fructibus . bonis .  
 non . judicans . sine . simulatione . ”  
 cui . cum . turba . hominum . improborum .  
 prava . ambitione . conjurata .  
 falsis . criminibus . opprimere . conata . esset .  
 non . sine . malis . artibus .  
 non . sine . ineptiis .  
 lux . clarior . effulsit .  
 erat . enim .  
 lux . ejus .  
 LUX . MUNDI .

XI.VIII.—*Correspondence between His Grace the Duke of ARGYLL,  
 and the Right Rev. W. J. TROWER, Bishop of Glasgow and  
 Galloway.* London: Rivingtons.

WE have perused this Correspondence with interest. The Duke of Argyll is a writer by no means deficient in ability; but rather arrogant in tone, and very unsound in principle. The tone and spirit of the Bishop of Glasgow is all that we could have expected and wished. As to the main question at issue, “the right of Presbyterians to partake of the sacrament in the Church, from which they have dissented,” the claim appears too monstrous to need refutation. If the Church was so seriously in error as to justify Presbyterianism rising in opposition to it, it cannot be fit to be communicated with: if it is lawful to communicate with the Scottish Church, Presbyterianism must be an unjustifiable schism. The separation of religious bodies is a serious and important thing: it is not afterwards to be treated as if it was a matter of no importance, and involved no difference.

XLIX.—*Stray Suggestions on Colonization.* By RICHARD WEST NASH, Esq., Barrister at Law, Late Acting Advocate-General at Western Australia. London: Effingham Wilson.

FROM all we have seen of this pamphlet, we have been much struck by the clear-headed and common-sense view which the author takes of the important subject of Colonization. His argument goes to prove the high importance or rather necessity of Colonies to the mother country, and to show that a very improved system, including the creation of an aristocracy, and of the various ranks of civilized society, is essential to the prosperity of Colonies. We can recommend the pamphlet to our readers, as replete with vigorous argument, clear views, and suggestions deserving of the attentive consideration of all persons interested in the important subject to which it relates.

NOTE.—We have received a letter from Dr. Peile, comprising an explanation of his views, in reply to some remarks which we offered in our last number (p. 465). We deviate from our usual course in this instance, in giving insertion to Dr. Peile's communication, the tone of which is very creditable to the writer, and which will evince his soundness of view on some important points.

SIR,

I HAVE just received the last Number of The English Review, to which I have been a subscriber from the first, and of the general tone and tendency of which I most heartily approve ; and I trust you will excuse my freedom in requesting you to correct an utterly mistaken and injurious impression of my views as to the "Christian Ministry," and of the authority I attach to "German writers," which, towards the conclusion of your obliging notice of Part III. of my Annotations, you have conveyed to your readers—in the discharge, I am still willing to believe, of what is your duty as the accredited organ and advocate of those moderate "High-Church" views, to which I myself incline, as more than any other representing what I should call my "party" in the Church ; but evidently on very slight knowledge of the publication which ostensibly you are reviewing, and under an *excess* of righteous zeal against German Rationalism and Idealism, for which your present Number abundantly proves that there is indeed a cause, but which, in the vigorous onslaught you are now directing against it (and from my heart I cry, "God speed you" in it), would sweep down a friend (I honestly *am* such) among those with whom, *in so far as they are insidious foes to Christianity and the Church*, I have and can have no sympathy whatever—I have made and can make no common cause.

You "regret to find that Dr. P. refers to *Neander* and others of the same class as authorities"—for what ? For any important conclusions that he has drawn and endeavoured to establish ? *e.g.* as to the Christian Ministry, or any other point on which Neander holds views, against which you would justly caution your readers ? No ! in my now completed first volume, of 459 pages, the name of Neander is found but *once*: and, do me the common justice to see how far I build upon him as "authority," in the foot-note to Appendix, p. 14. It was not, in fact, until I had completed my volume, that I had so much as read one line of Neander ; but I had begun to read the English Translation of his "History of the first Planting of the Church," as the sheets of my Appendix were passing through the press ; and so, in giving a wider interpretation to *τῇ κοινῳνίᾳ* in Acts ii. 42, than had been given by Professor Blunt (who, with Mr. Garratt and others of *that* class, is an authority with me), I had opportunity to notice, when I might well have done without, Neander's still

wider acceptance of that term ; a notice which has cost me dear, if it creates that prejudice against my book which your *insinuo* (more difficult to deal with than a direct assertion) obviously and inevitably tends, at least, to create. Who can believe that such mere passing mention of writers whom we love not, but whose works we cannot (if we would) *expunge* by our non-mention of them, would be sufficient in your sight to condemn a book ! More, therefore, than meets the eye must needs be understood from your recorded "regret to find that Dr. P. refers to Neander."

And what "other authorities of the same class" have I used ! None that I know of. Whitby, Wells, Macknight, Burton, Bloomfield ; Bishops Middleton and Shuttleworth, Grinfield's *Scholia Hellenistica*, Calvin's and Küttner's Latin Commentaries—these, and, above all, the Greek text of the Apostolical Epistles themselves, are the books at this moment lying open before me : and, far from "allowing German writers to have too much influence with me," I am almost as much a stranger to their names and books, as to the language in which they have written. On the Epistle to the Romans I made much use of *Hodge*, an American, and some of *Walford*, a Dissenter ; and thereby drew down upon myself some extreme High-Church censure ; but will any one read my Preface, and say that I have allowed either the ultra-Calvinism of the one, or the subdued Sectarianism of the other, to have any injurious influence on my own Annotations ! I hold that in Theological, as in other kinds of warfare, "*fas est et ab hoste doceri.*" At the same time I cannot bring myself to think that every writer, who is not, in the extreme sense, "with us," must therefore be essentially and of necessity "against us." On the Corinthians accordingly I made free use of *Billroth* ; and whilst there is much in him of which I do not approve, I trust I have extracted from his notes much also that is good, and put forth a Commentary on those Epistles which may haply supersede the use of two volumes in Clark's Biblical Cabinet.

I pass on to notice your further expression of "regret that I have been misled" by Chevalier Bunsen "into the adoption, (as you state it,) of views on the Christian Ministry, which, in their legitimate operation, tend, in our opinion, to the subversion of Episcopacy," to which you add, "If Episcopal Ordination be held to be needless, &c. &c. ;" manifestly leading your readers to conclude that *Dr. Peile* (a would-be useful and trust-worthy guide to pains-taking students of the Greek text of Scripture) holds Episcopal Ordination to be needless.

This, every one must see, is a grave, an overwhelming charge to have even indirectly preferred against me ; but where, I may be permitted to ask you, Sir, is your *proof* ? The utmost you could by possibility deduce from any thing I have published is, that Episcopal (as distinct from purely Presbyterian) Ordination is not so needful, is not such an absolute *sine quâ non*, as to make every other ordination, if we may venture to pronounce so much, *invalid*. I have nowhere said this in so many words ; but it is the conclusion which I appear to myself to have established by fair induction from Scripture, and I am prepared to abide by it. But is yours a fair representation of this opinion, when you make it appear in consequence that "Episcopal Ordination is held to be needless !" I solemnly protest against, and repudiate, such perversion and exaggeration of the conclusion which I have formed for myself from the prayerful study of the pure Word of God, under no misleading influence either of preconceived system or of party ; and certainly, "*Nullius addictus jurare in verba magistri ;*" and in which I do not find myself a whit more latitudinarian than the framers of our Articles, who have not defined what we are to understand by THE CONGREGATION ; nor who they are who give, or who they "who have given unto them public authority IN THE CONGREGATION to call and send ministers into the Lord's vineyard." These points,—wisely, I think, and in the Catholic spirit of genuine Christianity, left undetermined in a nation's Articles of Religion,—I have endeavoured with the *Scriptures only* before me, to determine for myself, and for those whom I may influence. And the conclusion to which I have been led is, that Episcopacy in the restricted sense, which in the Gentile Churches (beginning from Antioch) dates properly from the latter part of the first century, appertains rather to the perfect organization and finish, than to the first constitution and essence, of a Christian Church. But, because I represent it to myself as the keystone and centre, rather than, what

the entire CHURCH is, the pillar and groundwork of that outward building of the holy and inspired Apostles, the one Ecclesiastical arch which spans the entire interval between Christ's ascension and His second Advent, must I therefore hold Episcopacy to be needless? Surely not. And yet, to carry men safely over from time into eternity, *less* may be absolutely needful than a bridge of such stable, at once, and symmetrical structure, as it is *our* privilege to rejoice in. Again, because St. Paul represents the perfection of Church-membership, outwardly developed in us, under the figure of "a full-grown man;" and because of that allegorical Man, "which is CHRIST in us," I hold Bishops to be the eyes, not the entire head, without which we could not live; is it right or reasonable to infer that any function whatever of Episcopacy is "held to be needless," because as the OCULUS ECCLESIAE, Episcopacy is not so needful, as that without it there would be no ECCLESIA, no spiritual *Life* in us? Let me persuade you to *read* what I have written on this subject, and you will see that, though I do not hold that Divine promise, "Lo! I am with you always, unto the end of the world, to mean "with you and your successors in an unbroken (!) line of bishops;" but "with you (οἱ ζῶντες, οἱ περιλειπόμενοι εἰς τὴν παρουσίαν τοῦ Κυρίου: 1 Thess. iv. 15. 17; 2 Cor. v. 15) who, because I live, shall from this time live also," with you, in that Church of the living God, against which the gates of the grave shall have no more binding power than against Me, your Head and Representative (Acts ii. 24), no longer now Son of Man, but, in Man's Ransomed and regenerated nature, Son of God (Rom. i. 4); I yet am very far indeed from holding *that* to be "a mere form of Church government of human invention," which I have represented as the gradual development of the Gentile Churches, "on the suggestion, doubtless, of the Spirit" (I quote from my Appendix, p. 10), so largely poured out on that first age of THE CHURCH, "after Apostolical precedent," the delegation, I mean, of the joint supremacy of the Twelve, to James the Just at Jerusalem, and of the supremacy of Christ's one Apostle to the Gentile world, to Timothy at Ephesus, and to Titus in Crete; "and under the sanction and benediction of at least one surviving Apostle;" I allude, of course, to St. John. In all this, where am I misled by Bunsen? what mention have I made of (not to ask what conclusion have I built upon) "the universal Priesthood of Christians?"—a truth which, in the sense in which it is asserted by St. Peter, is intelligible enough, and interferes as little with the co-existence therewith of a Christian *Ministry*, as the similar language used by their prophets in reference to the Jews interfered with the simultaneous existence of a Levitical ministry, both the one and the other of these being of Divine appointment. On "the authority of a congregational and local ministry in the succession of the one Catholic and Apostolic Church," (see Appendix, p. 6), I have spoken most plainly and unequivocally, and as widely apart as possible from *Neander's* views; and if I have not yet said enough to vindicate my orthodoxy, I say now that the presence of a specially-consecrated order of Ἄγγελοι (so the Apostles term them, and such they are, as they stand ministering between God and the Churches of His Saints), enters as essentially into my definition of a *bonâ fide* congregation in Christ, as the presence of water, specially consecrated as the outward and visible sign of the cleansing grace of the Spirit, enters into my definition of the Sacrament of Baptism; and as the presence of bread and wine, specially consecrated as the outward and visible sign of the Body and Blood of Christ, enters into my definition of the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper—"specially consecrated," I mean, in all three cases, by the prayers of the assembled congregation, accompanying the outward laying-on of ministerial and representative hands.

God forbid, then, that, when in my wish to see THE CHURCH, the living Temple of our God (by some such improved organization as you, Sir, from time to time have advocated), so exalted in the length and breadth of our favoured land, as that it shall stand forth before all men in its full and fair proportions, I declare myself ready to "assist in clearing away what ruins of the old clergy-Church are yet obstructing our path,"—God forbid that I should so much as dream of clearing away the clergy from the Church! Nor can I believe that Bunsen (whose words, in part, I may seem here to have too unguardedly used) even so much as dreamed of this. I take his definition of what he means by *clergy-Churches*—i. e. "all ecclesiastical communities in which the body of the clergy, practically at least, steps into

the place of the Christian people, and makes *itself alone* the Church—(*Eng. Rev.* No. xx. p. 433.) In this sense *only* would I be understood to speak of “the old clergy-Church” in this country, and by “clearing away its ruins,” the getting rid of the ruinous and absurd, but still deep-seated notion, that “the Church” is in some sense *distinct* from the people; whereas these are in truth the very glory and joy (1 Thess. ii. 20) of that building of God among us, which is the Pillar of His Truth. “For of God are we called to be fellow-labourers with Him; God’s field, God’s building, (1 Cor. iii. 9) are” those among whom we labour; whether, as Paul, we plant, or, as Apollos, we water, for God. More particularly, I wished to see the ruins of our ancient Houses of Convocation, which can never again be tenanted in their *present* form, make way for that highest manifestation of THE CHURCH, viewed (Matt. xviii. 17) as the centre of religious unity in this country, which our Houses of Parliament have now ceased to be, and we can realize only in some such re-construction and enlargement of a *church* (not simply *clerical*) convocation or synod, as is recommended in an able article “on Church Union,” which appeared in your last Number, and in which I more especially admired the tone and temper of the writer’s concluding remarks.

To that spirit of Catholicity, and of charitable construction of the views of those from whom we differ—for which believe me, Sir, I give you the fullest credit,—I now appeal with confidence for such reparation as, after reading my Appendix (with or without the Preface, with which it has been separately published), you feel that you can make for that very erroneous impression of my Church views, which, on no sufficient evidence, you have allowed to go forth to my prejudice. I claim to be judged only by what I have actually written, and what I have actually quoted from “German writers,” which is in truth very little. Of Bunsen’s book I have read little more than I have cited as bearing upon our present anomalous position in respect of purely Church legislation; and of that I cannot yet see reason to feel ashamed. With many apologies for the unreasonable length at which I have written,

I remain, Mr. Editor,  
Very respectfully yours,  
THOMAS W. PEILE.

Repton Priory,  
Jan. 2, 1849.

We rejoice to see that Dr. Peile has so satisfactorily and clearly justified himself from all suspicion of sympathies with the pernicious system which we have been lately obliged to comment upon. We certainly regret that Dr. Peile should in any way have identified his views with so heretical and revolutionary a book as Bunsen’s “Church of the Future;” but the explanation which he gives of his intention in employing the language of that work, is very satisfactory, though we are satisfied that he is wholly mistaken in his interpretation of Bunsen’s meaning. As to our observation on views which in our opinion tend to the subversion of Episcopacy, in regarding Episcopal ordination as non-essential, we must be permitted to say, with all personal respect for Dr. Peile, that we are still of opinion, that to represent Episcopal ordination as non-essential in itself, without restriction even to any case of imagined necessity, is to regard it as an ordinance which may be subverted by man for any sufficient reason; and would go therefore to justify the abolition of Episcopacy, in case it should be found expensive or unpopular. We do not mean that Dr. Peile would in any way desire the abolition of Episcopacy, or that he does not esteem it a great benefit to the Church; but we think his views on the subject of Episcopacy are rather confused and inconsistent.



## Foreign and Colonial Intelligence.

**AUSTRALIA.**—*State of the Diocese of Melbourne.*—A letter has been addressed by the Bishop of Melbourne to the Archbishop of Canterbury in which he gives the following account of the prospects of the Church in his diocese :

“ Of the prospects of the Aboriginal inhabitants, I can say nothing favourable. I do not see at present any opening for a mission among them. Almost every attempt which has been made, both for their instruction and conversion, is now abandoned. One which was carried on by the Wesleyans for a time with some hopes of success, has just been given up in despair ; and the remnant of the various tribes which still survives, (for they are fast dwindling away,) is as ignorant of the one living and true God as any generation of their forefathers. It is a melancholy thought that such should be the result of our occupation of their country ; but if those who were born and brought up in Christian England, are suffered to fall into a state of ignorance and ungodliness scarcely better than heathenism, how can we wonder that the native heathen should continue still in their former darkness ? How can we expect that they should be converted to the faith in Christ, when those who were baptized into that faith in infancy, are suffered to live in utter neglect and forgetfulness of its truths and precepts ? The native tribes are so few in number, so dispersed up and down the country, and so degraded in intelligence and morals, that I do not think a direct mission to them at present would be attended with any prospect of success. My chief hope is, that God will stir up the hearts of His people at home and in this country, and will, in answer to their prayers, send forth a body of able and faithful men, who may go everywhere among our fellow-countrymen, preaching the Word.

“ The Church of Rome possesses many adherents in the towns of Melbourne and Geelong, and also throughout the country. They have a large cathedral, built in a great measure by the contributions of nominal Protestants in Melbourne, and a handsome Church at Geelong ; and as a bishop has just been consecrated for this province, we cannot doubt that the most earnest efforts will be made to extend their influence. These efforts we must endeavour, to the utmost of our power, in dependence upon the Divine assistance, to counteract ; and, humanly speaking, they can be effectually counteracted only by affording to the inhabitants, both of the towns and country, sound evangelical instruction, and a pure ritual of public worship. On the other hand, the members of the various Protestant denominations, fearful of the spread of Romanism, and also sensible of the extreme spiritual destitution

prevailing throughout the country, are, for the most part, kindly disposed towards one another; and all their several ministers seem to be agreed, that it is their duty, on the ground of Christian prudence as well as of Christian charity, to co-operate, as far as possible, in the evangelization of the people. In Melbourne and Geelong I have met with no appearance of hostility to our Church among them, while in the country I have found members of every denomination, not only ready to avail themselves of the ordinances of the Gospel when offered to them by us, but coming forward of their own accord to ask me to supply their necessity. They seem to think that their only hope is to obtain a clergyman of the Church of England; for the schism in the Presbyterian Church has greatly weakened its influence and paralysed its exertions, and no other communion, except that of the Wesleyans, is at all in a condition to extend its labours beyond Melbourne itself. Thus the time is, in this respect, most favourable to us; but the Free Presbyterian Church is making great efforts, and their zeal and activity, despite of their many disadvantages here, may, if we lose the present opportunity, shut many a door which is now opened to us of the Lord."

**ITALY.—*The Pope at Gaeta.***—The intelligence of the formal deposition of Pius IX., which had been received at the moment of our closing our last intelligence, proved in the sequel to have been premature. In the first instance, it appears, that while the Pope appointed a commission to carry on the temporal government of the Pontifical States in his absence, the insurgents at Rome, after an ineffectual attempt to negotiate with Pius, who refused to admit the deputation to his presence, proceeded, on the 12th of December, to vest the supreme authority in a provisional Junta, charged with governing in the name of the Sovereign until his return. Into the details of the events which have since taken place, and which are chiefly of a political nature, this is not the place, even if we could spare the room, to enter. We shall, therefore, confine ourselves to those points which bear more or less directly upon the ecclesiastical position of the Pope towards his own subjects.

Pius IX. having been followed to Gaeta by the College of Cardinals, resumed there the course of ecclesiastical business, holding consistories, and performing other acts of his pontifical authority. The first of these was a "Protest against the creation at Rome of a Government Junta," dated December 17th, in which, after recapitulating the efforts which he had made to give to his people liberal institutions, the ungrateful return made to him for these benefits, and the events which finally compelled him to seek safety in flight, and appealing to the solemn oaths by which he is pledged to preserve the patrimony of the Holy See, and to transmit it in its integrity to his successors, he says:—"We declare null and void, without any force or legal authority, all the documents set forth in pursuance of the violence done unto Us; specifically protesting, that the State Junta established at Rome is nothing more than a usurpation of Our sovereign power; and that the said Junta neither has, nor can have, any authority whatever.

Be it known, therefore, to all Our subjects, of whatever rank or condition, that at Rome, and in the whole extent of the Pontifical State, there neither is, nor can be, any legitimate power which does not emanate expressly from Us ; that We have, by Our sovereign *Motu Proprio* of the 27th of November, established a temporary Government Commission, to which alone belongs the government of the State during Our absence, and until such time as We Ourselves shall ordain otherwise."

This protest having failed of producing any effect, and the Provisional Government having issued their decree for the convocation of a Constituent Assembly, the Pope proceeded, on the 1st of January of the present year, to a formal sentence of excommunication against all the authors and abettors of the revolutionary government. This document, addressed to " Our dearly beloved subjects," runs as follows :—

" In this peaceful abode, to which it has pleased Divine Providence to direct Us, in order that We might in full freedom declare Our sentiments and Our will, We were waiting, in the hope that Our misguided sons would be overtaken by remorse for the sacrilegious and criminal acts committed against persons attached to Us, some of whom have been killed, and others subjected to barbarous outrages, as well as for the acts of sacrilege and crime perpetrated in Our residence, and against Our own person. We have, however, hitherto received nothing beyond a barren invitation to return into our capital, and that without one word of condemnation of the crimes aforesaid, and without the least guarantee to secure Us against the fraudulent and violent proceedings of that band of murderers whose barbarous despotism still tyrannizes over Rome and over the States of the Church. We were in expectation that the protests and decrees put forth by Us would recall to their duties of allegiance and fidelity those who, in Our very capital, set those duties at nought, and trample them under foot. But, instead of their thus returning, a new and still more monstrous act of hypocritical felony and actual rebellion, audaciously committed by them, has filled up the measure of Our grief, and at the same time excited Our just indignation, even as it will fill the Universal Church with sorrow. We allude to that proceeding, so detestable in every respect, whereby it is pretended to convoke a so-called general National Assembly of the Roman State, by a decree of the 29th of December last, with a view to decide upon the establishment of new political institutions in the Pontifical States. Thus heaping iniquity upon iniquity, the authors and fosterers of demagogical anarchy are labouring to destroy the temporal authority of the Roman Pontiff over the dominions of Holy Church, by assuming and propagating the notion, that his sovereign right is liable to be disputed, and dependent on the caprice of factions, notwithstanding that it is irrefragably established upon the most ancient and most solid titles, and venerated, recognised, and defended by all nations. We shall not so far abase Our dignity as to insist upon the monstrous character of this abominable proceeding, whether it be considered as to the absurdity in which it originates, or the illegality which attaches to it, or the impious purpose to which it tends ; but it certainly behoves Us, by virtue

of the Apostolic authority with which, however unworthy, We are invested, and of the responsibility which devolves upon Us, through the obligation of the most sacred oaths, in the presence of the Almighty, not only to protect, as We do hereby, in the most energetic and efficacious manner, against this proceeding, but moreover to condemn it in the face of the whole world, as an enormous and sacrilegious crime committed to the prejudice of Our independence and sovereignty,—a crime deserving of all the punishments decreed against it by the laws both of God and man.

“ We feel persuaded, that on receiving that impudent invitation, you were seized with holy indignation, and repelled far from you so unworthy and so criminal a proposal. Nevertheless, in order that none of you may be able to pretend that he was deceived by fallacious seductions, and by the preachers of subversive doctrines, or that he was ignorant of the devices of the enemies of all order, all law, all right, all true liberty, and even happiness, We have determined to-day again to lift up and send abroad Our voice, in such manner as to make you perfectly certain that We absolutely prohibit you, whatever may be your rank and condition, from taking any part in the meetings which may be held for the election of individuals to be sent to the assembly so condemned. At the same time We remind you, that the absolute prohibition, hereby notified to you, has the sanction of the decrees of Our predecessors, and of the Councils, and more especially of the most holy Council of Trent, (Sess. xxii. c. xi. De Reform.) wherein the Church has repeatedly fulminated her censures, and in particular the major excommunication, which, without any express declaration to that effect, every one incurs who dares to make any criminal attempt, of whatever kind, against the temporal sovereignty of the Sovereign Roman Pontiff; even as We declare such excommunication to have been already incurred by all those who have been accessory to the above-named proceeding, and to the antecedent acts accomplished to the detriment of the same sovereignty, or who have, in any other way whatever, and under false pretences, disturbed, violated, and usurped Our authority. But although We feel Ourselves compelled, by Our conscientious duty, to preserve and defend the sacred deposit of the patrimony of the Spouse of Jesus Christ, committed to Our care, and to employ for this purpose the sword of a just severity, which God Himself, Our Judge, has given Us for this end, still we can never forget that We occupy on earth the place of Him who, even in the execution of justice, does not fail to show mercy. Lifting up Our hands, therefore, to Heaven, and committing and commending to Him anew this so just cause, which is His cause far more than Ours, and declaring Ourselves again perfectly ready, with the aid of His mighty grace, to drain, even to the dregs, for the defence and glory of the Catholic Church, the cup of persecution which He Himself was the first to drink for the salvation of that Church, We shall not cease to supplicate and to entreat Him, that He may of His goodness hear the present prayer, which We address to Him day and night for the conversion and salva-

tion of those that have gone astray. No day certainly shall be hailed by Us with greater joy, than the day when it shall be granted Us to see those of Our sons, from whom We receive at this time so much trouble and bitterness, return to the fold of the Lord. The hope of Our soon seeing so happy a day, is strengthened in Us by the thought of the universality of the prayers which, united with Our own, rise to the throne of Divine Mercy from the lips and hearts of all the faithful in the Catholic world, and which continually urge it and do it violence, that it may change the hearts of sinners, and bring them back to the paths of truth and justice."

Modified and subdued as is the tone of this sentence of excommunication, when compared with the Bulls formerly fulminated from the Vatican for this purpose, it produced the utmost exasperation at Rome. It became known there early on Sunday the 7th of January, and on the evening of the same day a large crowd collected in the *Piazza del Popolo*, which, under the orders of the notorious Ciceruacchio, formed a procession, at the head of which were carried a crucifix and, on a number of long poles, a papal mitre and a number of cardinals' hats. The crowd followed, walking in mock solemnity, and chanting the *De Profundis* and the *Miserere*. Having arrived in the *Via Frutina*, where there is a public *latrina*, the procession halted, and the people, on their knees, intoned the *Libera me, Domine*, while some of them entered the building and threw down a copy of the Pope's excommunication into the common sewer. They then affixed by the side of the inscription, signifying the destination of the building, a sheet of paper with the words: "*Deposito della scomunica*!—Resting-place of the excommunication." After this they proceeded, still in procession, and with shouts calling for illumination of the streets through which they passed, to the *Ponte Sisto*, where they pitched the papal mitre and the cardinals' hats into the river. The whole of this proceeding, though the respectable inhabitants took no part in it, was suffered to take place, undisturbed by any interference from the authorities.

Meanwhile such of the priests as had ventured to read the sentence of excommunication at the morning service, were in danger of their lives. The mob searched for them, and it was only through having concealed themselves in time that they escaped. The document had also been affixed on the doors of the four great cathedrals, of St. John of Lateran, St. Peter of the Vatican, St. Paul *fuori le mura*, and Santa Maria Maggiore; from all of which it was torn down by the mob. The *curé* of Santa Maria Maggiore, however, had the courage to post up a second copy of it, and, having sufficient influence to procure a detachment of the civic guard of the district to defend the cathedral, he succeeded in keeping it in its place. During the night, the adherents of the Pope formed themselves into small armed bodies, who escorted bill-stickers all through the town, and posted up the excommunication on all the church-doors, and on all the street-corners, so that its contents became, in spite of the efforts of the revolutionary party, pretty generally known to the inhabitants. As to the effect which the

excommunication had upon the elections, the most contradictory accounts are given by the two parties. The different organs of the Government declare that the number of votes given amounted to 25,000; and on the evening of the 20th, an ordinance was published, declaring that, as it had been impossible to receive all the suffrages in one day, the ballot-box would be kept open for a second day. The papal party declare that the greater part of the 25,000 votes are forgeries, and that the extension of the time of voting was owing to the smallness of the numbers on the first day. To decide on which side the truth lies, is a manifest impossibility. That the revolutionary party is not to be relied on, is evident, among others, from the complete abolition of the liberty of the press; while, on the contrary, the lies vended by the papal party exceed all belief. Among these are accounts of alleged miraculous interpositions of Providence, to give effect to the papal sentence of excommunication. Several individuals, it is asserted, who took a part in the events of the 15th and 16th of November, and in the tearing down of the bull of excommunication on the 7th and 8th of January, have since died a sudden and unnatural death; while others have been driven to the confessional by remorse of conscience, and have even made pilgrimages to Gaeta, in search of pardon. Among the stories of this kind, which were put into circulation, was one concerning the Bishop of Rieti, who had gone to give his vote at the election, to the great scandal of all the faithful, and fell down, so it was reported, in an apoplectic fit on the day following. This was, of course, pronounced an evident judgment of Heaven upon him; but, unfortunately for the conclusiveness of the miracle, another Popish print asserts that the voting paper of the prelate bore the following inscription:—"I vote for the return of the immortal Pius IX.; I vote for the return of the Pope, our legitimate Sovereign; I vote for His Holiness, the Vicar of Jesus Christ, and the Head of the Catholic Church."

The most impudent of all the lies, however, which have been vended by the papal party in connexion with this business, is the alleged miracle of the handkerchief of Sta. Veronica. The story, as stated on "authority," is this:—The Pope having given orders for public prayers to be made in all the churches, to invoke the Divine mercy on the Pontifical State, the wood of the true cross, and the handkerchief of Sta. Veronica, were exposed on the occasion. On the latter, the alleged impression of the face of our blessed Lord has, it is said, become so faint by the lapse of time, as to be scarcely distinguishable; but, on the third day of the exhibition, the colours on the handkerchief became all at once vivid, and the face of our Lord appeared, as if alive, in the midst of a soft light; nay, some of the canons in attendance at the time depose that they saw the face come out in relief upon the handkerchief, with an expression of life and of sorrow, which left no doubt of the miracle upon their minds. The clergy of the cathedral were all summoned together to witness this miracle; the cathedral bells were tolled, and a great crowd was collected, which stood transfixed with the prodigy.



A notary apostolic was sent for, who drew up an official statement for the information of the Pope and of posterity: his report has been transmitted to the Congregation of Rites, which is expected to certify the miracle to the Catholic Church, as resting on the most incontrovertible evidence. But the miracle does not end here. On the evening of the occurrence, several white silk veils were brought into contact with the handkerchief of Sta. Veronica, and the image of the Saviour's countenance was miraculously transferred to them. These veils, it is added, will be transmitted to France.

In this conflict between the gross imposture of superstition, and the revolutionary violence of unbelief, the Romish clergy have, for the most part, ranged themselves on the side of the Pope; but not invariably so. There have been, besides that of the *Abbé Gioberti*, other notable desertions from the Papal camp. The most remarkable of these, is that of the celebrated Father Ventura, once the familiar of Pius IX., who has openly taken part against his former friend and patron, and the Head of his Church. After preaching a fiery sermon in the church of *St. Andrea della Valle*, in honour of "the martyrs of liberty at Vienna," the eloquent Theatine published it with a preface on the subject of the Pope's flight, in which he mentions that Pius IX. was induced, by the misrepresentations of the diplomatists, to quit Rome, and that he is now nothing more than a tool in the hands of the Austrian and reactionary party. "The Austrian Obscurantist party," he writes, "are labouring to obtain a declaration of anti-Liberal principles. We trust they will not obtain it, and that Pius IX. will not stultify himself. Oh! what confusion, when this terrible intrigue shall become known! Meanwhile the foreign journals incessantly declaim against the captivity to which Pius IX. was subjected at Rome, both as a Prince and as a Pontiff. They are shamelessly deceived by their legitimist, philippist, obscurantist correspondents, who are either rogues or fools. These journals are in complete ignorance of the true state of affairs at Rome. They say the question is between a handful of demagogues, who wish for licence and anarchy, and Pius IX., who is opposed to it; whereas, on the contrary, the question is, whether the constitution granted by Pius IX. is, or is not, to be destroyed: the question is between absolutism and liberty." When subsequently the Papal Bull was published, Father Ventura wrote, at the request, it is said, of Sterbini, a pamphlet, to prove its invalidity on canonical grounds,—an expedient which it seems is resorted to by those of the Roman Clergy who wish to reconcile their adhesion to the democracy with their allegiance to the Church.

While this line is pursued by the more moderate antagonists of Pius IX., a licentious press is assailing the Papacy with a degree of profane ribaldry which surpasses all bounds, and of which the procession formed on the 7th of January was but a coarse counterpart. As a specimen of the prevailing disbelief, not only in the pretensions of the Pope, but in all revealed religion, we have lying before us several numbers of a periodical publication started at Leghorn at the beginning of the present year,

under the horrible title *L'Inferno* (Hell). It is blasphemously, as well as copiously, illustrated,—the very letters of the title being as many devils in different attitudes,—and professes to be a *giornale politico-diabolico-bizzarro-letterario-umoristico-fantastico-ridicolo-critico-satirico-pittoresco-teatrolo*. The caricature in the first number, admirably executed, as far as composition and graphic power are concerned, represents an auctioneer inviting a number of scowling republicans to bid for the Pope's triple crown, which is mounted on the top of a pole, with a placard by the side of it, bearing the inscription *Vendita all' asta pubblica a beneficio d'Italia* (sale by public auction for the benefit of Italy). The people shout in reply, *Al Diavolo tutto! tutto al Diavolo!* The most expressive figure in the whole scene, however, is the Evil One, who is represented looking in at the window, and saying to Himself, *Lo sapeva che non mi rubavano l'Eredità* (I knew it, they would not rob me of my inheritance.)

This tone of public feeling,—which such a publication as the one just referred to proves to be by no means confined to the lowest rabble, the whole style of the journal being evidently calculated for educated readers,—accounts for the daring with which the Government Junta at Rome has proceeded, first deposing the Pope formally from his temporal sovereignty by its decree of the 9th of February, and afterwards confiscating the whole of the property of the Church. To recount all the scenes of violence and pillage, especially of libraries and archives, of which the Roman correspondents of the French journals in the Papal interest complain, is wholly impossible within our limits. The protest issued in the name of the Pope by Cardinal Antonelli, on the 19th of February, has had no effect in checking the sales of every species of property, moveable and immoveable, belonging to the churches and monasteries, by which the revolutionary Government are replenishing their empty treasury; and if the restoration of the Pope should ever be effected by the Powers to which he has appealed, he will return to a city stripped of its wealth and splendour. Meanwhile it is curious enough to see Pius IX. reduced to the necessity of falling back upon the support of those old and worn-out governments which the Papacy thought, but a year ago, it could do without, on the strength of its new alliance with the democracy.

*Encyclic on the Immaculate Conception of the Virgin.*—Not less indicative of the rapid approach of the final fall of the Papacy, than the events above recorded, is the step—a step for which we have, on a former occasion, prepared our readers<sup>1</sup>—taken by Pius IX. on the late Feast of the Purification, when he issued the following Encyclic, addressed to the Patriarchs, Primates, Archbishops, and Bishops of the whole Catholic world:—

“Pius IX. Pope. Venerable Brethren, greeting, and apostolic benediction:

“When, having been raised, certainly for no merit of Ours, but by

<sup>1</sup> *English Review*, vol. viii. pp. 501—507.

the inscrutable counsel of Divine Providence, to the exalted chair of the Prince of the Apostles, We first took in hand the government of the Universal Church, it afforded Us the greatest comfort, Venerable Brethren, to know, how, in the Pontificate of Gregory XVI., Our predecessor, of blessed memory, a most ardent desire had been marvelously kindled in the Catholic world, that the Apostolic See should at length, by a solemn judgment, decree that the Most Holy Mother of God, and the most blessed Mother of us all, the Immaculate Virgin Mary, has been conceived without original sin. Which pious desire is openly and plainly attested and demonstrated by the petitions incessantly addressed both to Our predecessor aforesaid, and to Ourselves, in which the most distinguished prelates, illustrious canonical chapters, and religious orders, among them the celebrated Order of Preaching Friars, have vied with each other in asking permission to add, and publicly and openly to use, the word 'Immaculate' in the sacred liturgy, and especially in the preface of the Mass on the Conception of the Most Blessed Virgin ; petitions with which the said Our predecessor and Ourselves have most readily complied.

“Furthermore, Venerable Brethren, very many of your Order have not ceased to address, to Our predecessor and Ourselves, letters, in which, with repeated entreaties and redoubled earnestness, they have asked Us to define it as a doctrine of the Catholic Church, that the conception of the most Blessed Virgin has been altogether immaculate, and wholly free from all stain of original guilt. Neither have there been wanting, in this our age, men, eminent for genius, virtue, piety, and learning, who, in their erudite and laborious writings, have cast so clear a light upon this topic, and this most pious opinion, that many persons are astonished that the Church and the Apostolic See should not have already decreed to the most Holy Virgin this honour, which the common piety of the faithful so ardently desires to see attributed to her by the solemn judgment and authority of this same Church and See. Certainly, these wishes have been singularly acceptable and agreeable to Us, who, from Our earliest years, reckoned nothing more dear to Us, or more excellent, than to honour the most Blessed Virgin Mary with singular piety and devotion, and with the inmost affection of Our heart, and to do whatever seemed to Us calculated to contribute to her greater glory and praise, and to the extension of her worship. Wherefore, from the very beginning of Our Pontificate, We earnestly directed, with much alacrity, Our cares and thoughts to an object of such high importance, and We have not failed to address to the most good and most great God, humble and fervent prayers that He may deign to enlighten Our mind with the light of His heavenly grace, that We might know what We ought to do in this matter. For Our chief reliance is the hope that the most Blessed Virgin,—who has been elevated *by the greatness of her merit above all the choirs of angels, to the throne of God*<sup>2</sup>; who has bruised, under the foot of her virtue, the head of the ancient

<sup>2</sup> St. Greg. Pap. De Expositione, in lib. Regum.

serpent; and who, *placed between Christ and the Church*<sup>3</sup>, full of meekness, and rich in every grace, has ever delivered the Christian people from the greatest calamities, and from the snares and attacks of their enemies, and saved them from ruin,—will deign, in like manner, to take pity in motherly love, as is her wont, upon Our most sad and lamentable misfortunes, Our cruel anguish, Our troubles and necessities, and by her ever-present and all-powerful intercession with God, both to turn away the discipline of the Divine wrath, with which, for Our sins, We are afflicted, to calm and disperse the raging tempest of evil by which, to the incredible grief of Our soul, the Church is tossed on all sides, and to change Our mourning into joy. For you know perfectly, Venerable Brethren, that all Our ground of confidence rests on the most holy Virgin; forasmuch as God *has placed the fulness of all good in Mary, so that if there is in Us any hope, any grace, any salvation, we know that it flows from her, because such is the will of Him who has willed that we should have all things through Mary*<sup>4</sup>.

“In consequence, we have chosen some ecclesiastics of distinguished piety, and well versed in theological studies, and certain of our Venerable Brethren the Cardinals of the Holy Roman Church, illustrious by their virtue, their religion, their wisdom and prudence, and by their knowledge of divine things; and charge them, according to their prudence and learning, to examine this most important subject accurately in all its bearings, and thereupon to report to Us their opinion with all diligence. Under these circumstances we have thought it right to follow the illustrious steps of Our predecessors, and to emulate their example; wherefore, Venerable Brethren, We address to you this letter, by which We earnestly exhort your distinguished piety and episcopal solicitude, and charge you once and again, each one according to his judgment and discretion, to cause public prayers to be appointed and recited in your several dioceses, that the merciful Father of lights may deign to illuminate Us from above with the light of His Divine Spirit, and to inspire Us with His breath, to the end that, in a matter of so great importance, we may be able to come to that decision which shall most redound to the glory of His holy name, to the praise of the most Blessed Virgin, and to the profit of the Church militant. And We are most anxious that you should signify to Us, as openly as possible, with what devotion your clergy and the faithful laity are animated towards the Conception of the Immaculate Virgin, and how far they are desirous that the Apostolic See should pronounce on this point. Above all, We wish particularly to know, Venerable Brethren, what in your eminent wisdom you think and feel on this subject. And as We have already granted to the clergy of Rome permission to recite the special canonical hours of the Conception of the most Holy Virgin, recently composed and printed, in the place of those which are contained in the common breviary, We now accord to you, Venerable Brethren, by the present letter, power to permit, if you see fit, all the clergy of your dioceses to

<sup>3</sup> St. Bernard, Serm. in cap. xii. Apocalyps.

<sup>4</sup> St. Bernard, in Nativit. S. Mariæ de Aqueductu.

recite, freely and lawfully, the same canonical hours of the Conception of the most Holy Virgin which the clergy of Rome are at this time using, without your having occasion to solicit such permission from Us, or from Our Congregation of holy Rites.

“ We have no doubt at all, Venerable Brethren, that from your singular piety towards the most Holy Virgin Mary, you will gladly obey with all care and zeal this Our request, and hasten to transmit to Us such suitable answers as We require of you. In the mean time receive, as an earnest of all heavenly gifts, and as a proof of Our singular goodwill towards you, the apostolical benediction, which We most lovingly, from Our very heart, give to you, Venerable Brethren, as likewise to all the clergy, and all the faithful laity committed to your vigilance.

“ Given at Gaeta, the second day of February, in the year 1849, the third of our Pontificate.”

*Consistorial Appointments.*—The following is a list of the Consistories held, and of the ecclesiastical appointments made by the Pope during the year 1848 :—

Consistories held, at the Quirinal at Rome, January 17th and 20th, April 14th, July 3rd, and September 11th ; at Gaeta, December 11th and 22nd.

Appointments made :—

- 1 Cardinal.
- 1 Patriarch.
- 12 Archbishops.
- 49 Bishops.

The Cardinal is Mgr. Carlo Vizzardelli, Secretary of the Sacred Congregation of Extraordinary Ecclesiastical Affairs.

The Patriarch is for the See of Babylon, in Chaldæa.

Of the twelve Archbishops, two are for France—Paris and Avignon ; two for Spain ; five for the kingdom of the Two Sicilies ; one for Russia ; one for St. Domingo ; and one *in partibus infidelium*.

The forty-nine Bishops are for—

Italy . . . . .	Pontifical States . . . . .	5
	Tuscany . . . . .	1
	Modena . . . . .	1
	Sardinia . . . . .	3
	The Two Sicilies . . . . .	5
Spain . . . . .		12
Portugal . . . . .		1
France . . . . .		4
Belgium . . . . .		1
Germany . . . . .		1
Russia . . . . .		2
South America . . . . .		3
The West Indian Islands . . . . .		1
The Philippines . . . . .		2
<i>In partibus infidelium</i> . . . . .		7

Among the three South American appointments, one is for a see newly erected, Cochabamba, in Peru.

**NEW ZEALAND.—Visitation Tour and Charge of the Bishop.**—Two most interesting documents respecting the diocese of New Zealand have just been published ; one, the *Journal of the Bishop's Visitation Tour* in 1848, being No. 20 of the "*Church in the Colonies*," published by the *Society for the Propagation of the Gospel*; the other, the Bishop's Charge, delivered to his Clergy at the Diocesan Synod, in the Chapel of St. John's College, on Thursday, September 23rd, 1847.

The former not only gives a detailed account of the Bishop's proceedings in the exercise of his functions, but enters largely into the social condition and prospects of the country, and of its native population. On this subject the following passage throws an interesting light :—

"It is melancholy to pass from one native village to another in this rapid course of mere observation, which is all that I can attempt, and to find how many hundred competent teachers are needed to supply the means of instruction to the fragments of villages into which the population is now dispersed. Even war had its advantage in this respect, for then the whole population was to be found night after night within the walls of the stockade of the tribe ; and the missionary could bring his whole influence to bear upon the concentrated body. But now the work of a missionary in New Zealand is like hunting a partridge in the mountains. Under these circumstances we ought to be most thankful that the whole population, almost to a man, has at least some regard to the laws of God ; and that any traveller may enter at any hour of the night into the most lonely hut in every part of New Zealand, without the slightest reason for distrust. In general, the warmest place, the cleanest mat, and the best food will be freely supplied to him, without so much as a thought of payment being due. This seems to be one cause of the charge of ingratitude against the natives, that they are less accustomed to formal expressions of thanks than ourselves, because so many more civilities and supplies are given and received as a matter of course. Among their more smooth-tongued brethren in the Samoan (*Navigator*) group, every gift or civility is acknowledged with an expression of thanks. How easy would be the transition, but how frightful the change, from this state of free and generous hospitality, to that of the wild man whose hand is against his fellow ; when injustice supported by power should have driven them to seek by subtlety the vengeance which they cannot hope to obtain by open force ! It is a strong expression, but I use it advisedly, that 'the Land Theory,' if it had been acted upon, would have made the New Zealanders a nation of murderers."

Among the far-seeing plans which his Lordship is constantly forming for the future benefit of his diocese, is the selection of a site for a new college, to be called "*Trinity College*," near Wellington. On this subject the Bishop says :—"In the midst of all the disputes and wars of this district, it was generally agreed that 500 or 600 acres should be freely given up to the Bishop and his successors for this purpose, in order that the native and English youth might be trained up together in the knowledge of the true God and in the habits of civilized life. . . . Coming down to Taupo on Porirua Harbour, we crossed the neck of the harbour to Witireia, a peninsula immediately opposite to the Island of



Mana, where a space of 600 acres is separated from the main land by the bay of Titahi and the harbour of Porirua, with an isthmus of three-quarters of a mile between the two waters. Though isolated in its position, it is within a mile or two of the main road to Wellington, seventeen miles distant; and it has also a ready communication with that port by Porirua Harbour and Cook's Straits. About 200 acres of the land are covered with wood, but the remainder is open, rising into grassy hills, with steep declivities to the sea-beach."

The Charge of the Bishop, delivered in 1847, embraces many topics of the greatest importance to the Church in general, and to the diocese of New Zealand in particular; but it is remarkable chiefly on account of the synodical character which his Lordship has seen fit to give to his visitation. On this point he observes:—

"The whole history of synodical meetings of the clergy is full both of encouragement and of warning. The cases of failure are so numerous, that many not only question whether a Divine blessing be granted to their deliberations, but also reject them on the mere human ground of inexpediency. Others again, who look to the glorious stand in defence of Catholic truth which was made by the first general Councils, can scarcely recognise any other form of Church government as likely to be effectual. Even in our own Church, the treasure which we enjoy in her Articles and Liturgy may well make many thoughtful men lament the fallen authority of her Convocation.

"In the midst of this balanced state of opinion, it became my duty to decide, whether I should follow the course pursued by my brethren in England, of addressing to the clergy of the Diocese a Charge resting upon the Episcopal authority alone, and appealing to them upon the principle of canonical obedience; or whether I should avail myself of the freedom in which the Colonial Church is left by the equal recognition by the State of all religious communities, to cast my Primary Charge into a synodical form, as containing suggestions for the consideration of the clergy, rather than authoritative declarations, *ex cathedra*, of my own opinion and will. . . . .

"Most of all I would deprecate that personal idea of my office, which supposes the Bishop to stand alone, and to express his own thoughts, and issue his own instructions to his clergy. We have no thoughts that we can call our own, but all come from one common fountain; and whosoever they be who draw, it must be the same water of life. The one great question to be placed continually before us is, how we may attain to the truth of God, and be conformed to the mind of Christ. Whatever may be the peculiar power and blessing of my office, which I would neither appear to boast of nor to disparage, I can claim no other credit to my suggestions than is due to the opinion of an ordinary man, desiring indeed Divine guidance, yet liable to human error. Our chief reliance must be on the power of united prayer, and on the combined wisdom of many counsellors of one heart and one soul.

"I need not disguise from you my belief that the cause which has led to the almost entire suspension of the synodical action of the Church

has been the forgetfulness of the spiritual character of such an assembly of the clergy. Convocations and synods have been made the battle-field on which questions relating to the prerogative of kings, the authority of bishops, and the rights of the clergy, have been fiercely disputed. They seem to have followed the State in the form and manner of their deliberations; to have sheltered themselves under its power; to have availed themselves of the secular arm to enforce their spiritual censures; and so, by close alliance with worldly systems, to have lost their own inherent strength, and to have become unable to wield the sword of the Spirit. It is not surprising that in bodies so constituted, the earnest endeavour to attain to a closer likeness to Christ, should have been postponed to the old question, 'which should be the greatest.' The heavenly nature of our Lord's kingdom, and His spiritual dominion over all the Churches of the earth, could not fail to be neglected amidst questions of dignity and prerogative between the rulers of the Church and the State.

"If I did not believe that our position in this country, both as regards the simplicity and primitive character of our Church establishment, and its entire freedom from all political connexion, gives us good reason to hope that we may be enabled to avoid the evils into which other Synods have fallen, I should have shrunk from the course which I now propose to you, and fallen back upon the practice, sanctioned by custom, if not approved by reason, of a formal Charge *ex cathedra*, upon the authority of the Bishop alone."

On the important subject of discipline the Charge contains the following startling statement:—

"I find that the native mind has run wild upon the love of power, and the eagerness to wield the censures of the Church. A native teacher will often do in his own village what I should have recourse to with fear and trembling, and only in extreme cases, in the English towns. It is a matter of history, that nothing is more fatal to the exercise of real discipline, than the assumption of unwarranted authority. The excessive rigour of native judgments, the public and unscriptural mode of trial of the offender, the absence of all desire to bring back and reconcile those who have been excommunicated, are evils which lie at the root of the whole Native Teacher System, and threaten to overthrow it, before a supply of clergymen can be trained up to undertake their work. No better course can be adopted, than to follow strictly the rule of our Lord in Matt. xviii. 15—17, beginning first with *private* admonition; then with the addition of two or three witnesses; and lastly by an appeal to the authority of the Church. It ought to be impressed upon the native teachers, that they have only authority to admonish and report to their minister, but no authority whatever to excommunicate the offender. By holding a public trial, and exposing a weak brother to the shame of having his offence discussed before all men, women, and even the children of the place, we shall harden his heart against every thought of penitence, and defeat the main object of Church discipline, which is not punishment, but repentance and reconciliation."

“ You will see the difficulty in which I am placed by the excessive and arbitrary rigour of discipline in the native Church, and by the total absence of it in the English settlements. We cannot allow this state of things to continue without exposing alike our laws and our lawlessness to the contempt of all thinking men. A moderate exercise of penitential correction, uniformly acted upon in all cases without distinction of persons, would be a blessing to the country, and fulfil the wish which we express on Ash Wednesday, that the godly discipline of the primitive Church may be restored.”

In connexion with the subject of discipline the Bishop recalled the attention of the clergy to the proceedings of the diocesan synod of 1844, and to the revision of the canons which were then agreed upon provisionally, and which, his lordship added, he did not wish to be considered as finally determined, till the fullest opportunity should have been afforded to the whole clergy of the diocese to express their opinion, either in person or by writing. The canons in question, being specifically adapted to the peculiar circumstances of the diocese, possess great interest, and we therefore subjoin them :—

“ I.—BAPTISM.

**CANON I.—***On the Baptism of Infants in places where proper Sponsors cannot be obtained.*

That, in places where duly qualified sponsors cannot be obtained, infants be received to baptism on the application of their parents, and on their giving a written pledge to submit their children to the education of the Church. In these cases, that the Bishop, the officiating clergyman, and his wife, be considered as the sponsors of the children so baptized; and that a separate registry be kept of all children so brought under the sponsorship of the Church.

**CANON II.—***On the Baptism of the Infant Children of unbaptized Parents, &c.*

Children of unbaptized parents, or of one baptized and one unbaptized parent, or the issue of persons living in concubinage, or of persons married according to other rites than those of the Church of England, may be admitted to baptism upon the earnest desire of their parents, according to the regulation specified in the foregoing canon; or upon other good and sufficient sponsors being found willing to answer for the children.

**CANON III.—***On the Baptism of Adults.*

That the Archdeacon, at his annual visitation, receive and enrol the names of all persons considered worthy to be admitted into the class of catechumens, who shall then enter upon a stated course of probation, and continue at the least one year under the immediate instruction of the missionary of the district.

That the times of the admission of catechumens to holy baptism, the standard of qualification, and the length of probation, be deter-

mined by the Archdeacon, who 'is appointed by the Bishop for that purpose,' according to the Rubric prefixed to the ministration of baptism to such as are of riper years; but that the Archdeacon be at liberty to delegate this authority to any clergyman whom he shall consider sufficiently acquainted with the native language and character; 'that so due care may be taken for their examination, whether they be sufficiently instructed in the principles of the Christian religion.'—*Rubric, Baptism, riper years.*

Catechumens in extreme sickness may be baptized by clergymen not authorized by the Archdeacon, upon their own urgent entreaty, and after such examination as 'the time and present exigence will suffer.' Catechumens, who die without baptism, may receive Christian burial, if their baptism has not been delayed through their own fault or neglect.

#### CANON IV.—*On the Qualification for Baptism.*

That a knowledge of reading be required as a qualification for baptism, except in the case of aged persons, or others in whose favour the Archdeacon may see reason to make a special exception. That, in all cases, a knowledge of the Church Catechism, illustrated and enforced by Scripture references, be required.

That a book be kept at all the mission stations, in which the attendance, progress, and other particulars relating to catechumens may be regularly entered; and that it be laid before the Archdeacon at his visitation.

#### CANON V.—*On Bigamy.*

That no man, married to or cohabiting with two or more women, be admitted to the class of catechumens; but that a woman, being one of two or more wives of a heathen man, not having power over her own body, but subject to her husband, may be received as a catechumen, and admitted to baptism, without separation from her husband.

### II.—CONFIRMATION.

#### CANON VI.—*On the Probation of newly Baptized Persons.*

That persons admitted to baptism as adults remain in a state of probation, and under the instruction of the missionary till the Bishop's visitation; that they be then examined by the Bishop or his deputy, and, on being approved, receive imposition of hands, and be forthwith admitted to the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper.

That a book, similar to that used for catechumens, be kept at every mission station, as a register of the attendance, progress, and conduct of candidates for confirmation.

#### CANON VII.—*On the Admission into the Church of England of Persons baptized in other Communions.*

That persons baptized, either in infancy or as adults, by ministers of other churches or religious communities, may, on their declaration of

their desire to be received into communion with the Church of England, be presented to the Bishop for confirmation,—if it can be shown that they were baptized with water in the name of the Holy Trinity,—and that, after confirmation, they be admitted to the Lord's Supper.

III.—THE SACRAMENT OF THE LORD'S SUPPER.

CANON VIII.—*On the Examination of Candidates for Admission to the Lord's Supper.*

That the candidates for the Lord's Supper be required to attend the missionary at least one day before for examination and instruction, and that a written certificate of attendance be then given them, to be presented to the clergyman at the time of administration.

CANON IX.—*On the Offertory, &c.*

That one or more of the sentences of the Offertory be regularly read in the Communion Service, and opportunity given to all who desire to make their offerings, but that no person be required or solicited to give.

That all persons be exhorted to come to the Holy Communion in seemly clothing; but that no one be excluded on account of his inability to procure a dress of foreign manufacture.

IV.—DISCIPLINE AND SYSTEM.

CANON X.—*On the Census.*

That a census be made throughout the country, containing the name and condition of every man, woman, and child among the native people: that one copy be kept at the mission stations, and another in the Bishop's registry; and that additions and corrections be made in an annual report of births, baptisms, deaths, &c., to be transmitted regularly to the Bishop.

CANON XI.—*On the Marriage and Burial of unbaptized persons.*

That no heathen be admissible to marriage according to the rites of the Church; and yet that the baptism of heathens be not hastened with a view to their marriage; but rather, inasmuch as it is reasonable to believe that a lower degree of faith may be accepted as a qualification for marriage than that which is necessary for the due reception of baptism, that they be marriageable upon their admission into the class of catechumens.

That marriage according to heathen usage be no bar to admission to the class of catechumens, provided that the man shall have lived faithfully with one wife, or be willing to put away all his wives except one.

That every man and woman married, as aforesaid, according to heathen usage, be married by the rites of the Church after their admission to the class of catechumens.

That persons wishing to marry after illicit cohabitation, remain in a state of separation one year before they can be received.

That catechumens dying unbaptized be buried with the rites of the Church, if their baptism was delayed by the absence of the clergyman, and not by any fault or neglect of their own.

**CANON XII.—*On Cycles of Visitation.***

That a cycle of visitation be formed in every archdeaconry, to secure the more effective administration of the Sacraments, and greater regularity and frequency of pastoral instruction in every village in the district; and that copies of the cycles, specifying the names of the places, and the number of visits of the clergy, be forwarded annually to the Bishop.

**CANON XIII.—*On Native Teachers and their duties.***

That a body of teachers be organized in each archdeaconry, and divided into the two classes of Kai Whakaako and Monita: the Kai Whakaako being the head teacher of an extensive district, and the inspector of the small settlements assigned to his charge, and of the Monita who are appointed to conduct the daily service in them.

That the Kai Whakaako be furnished with a certificate, to be signed annually by the clergyman of his district, and presented to the Bishop at his visitation, to be countersigned by him.

***Duties of the Kai Whakaako.***

1. That the Kai Whakaako be regular communicants.
2. That they visit the clergyman at stated times, to receive instruction.
3. That they visit all the hamlets of their district, and report to the clergyman the state of the people.
4. That they conduct the daily service with regularity and devotion, and do not give it up to any strangers, or other persons, except to the accredited teachers.
5. That they instruct their people regularly in reading, writing, and in the Catechism; that they assemble the Christian Natives weekly, or oftener, for the reading of the Scriptures, and also the candidates for Baptism, for catechetical instruction; that they visit the sick, and report to the clergyman of their state and wants.
6. That they keep the Native chapel in a sound, cleanly, and orderly state.
7. That, in their own houses, they set an example of order and cleanliness; that they have a bed-room divided from the rest of the house; and discourage the promiscuous sleeping of men and women in the same room.
8. That they be respectful at all times to the head chief of their tribe.
9. That they do not leave their station without informing the clergyman, and obtaining his permission.



10. That they do not assemble public meetings to try and condemn persons accused of moral offences; but that they report the cases privately to the clergyman.

11. That they shall not delegate their duties to the Monita, except in the case of their own sickness or absence.

*Duties of the Monita.*

1. That they be regular communicants.

2. That they be respectful and subordinate to the Kai Whakaako of their district.

3. That they assemble their people for daily service on week-days, and bring them to the central chapels on Sunday.

4. That they be orderly in their habits, and cleanly in their persons and houses.

**CANON XIV.—On Discipline and Excommunication.**

That the rule contained in Matthew (xviii. 18) be strictly followed in the administration of Church discipline.

1. That the Native teacher, or other witness of the offence, report it privately to the minister.

2. That the minister expostulate with the offender; and, in the event of his remonstrance being ineffectual, suspend him from the Holy Communion, and, in extreme cases, from public worship, reporting the case at the same time to the Bishop.

3. That the Bishop shall admonish the offender; that, if he persist after repeated admonitions, he will be liable to the greater excommunication, and debarred from public worship and communion,—from the society of his fellow-Christians, and, after death, that his body will not receive Christian burial.

4. That offenders under censure of the Church, upon their repentance, be presented to the Bishop at his visitation, to be reconciled to the Church, and restored to their privileges.

**CANON XV.—On Central Schools.**

That efforts be made to establish and maintain central boarding-schools at the chief station in each archdeaconry, to be placed under the charge of a resident deacon; and that the most promising children of both sexes be selected from all parts of the country for admission into the central schools.

The following subjects were also discussed, but no definite conclusion was embodied by the synod in the form of a canon:—

1. The best mode of establishing a parochial system throughout the country.

2. The management of Church estates.

3. The formation of a series of useful catechetical and homiletical works for the use of Native teachers.

4. The supply of necessaries to the distant mission stations; the best system of trade with the Natives; the improvement of their temporal condition by means of clothing and provident funds, &c."

**TURKEY.**—*The American Episcopal Mission and the Congregational Schism.*—Dr. Horatio Southgate, the Bishop of the American Episcopal Mission at Constantinople has published in the American papers a statement relative to the schismatic proceedings of a body of Armenians who have renounced the obedience of their Patriarch, and formed themselves into a separate communion under the name of Congregationalists. The following extracts from this document, originally addressed to the "Congregationalist" Armenians themselves, place the question between the schismatics and their Patriarch in a clear light, and show at the same time that the American Episcopal Mission gives no countenance whatever to their disorderly proceedings:—

"It is alleged in your favour, (1) that you were separated from your Church on account of new terms of Communion which were proposed to you; and (2) that, after your separation, you were persecuted by the Armenian Patriarch. My position is, (first) that no new terms of Communion have been or are proposed to you; and, (secondly) that the Armenian Patriarch has not persecuted you. The question is not, whether there are corruptions in the Armenian Church, nor whether any of you have received indignities from any other source than the Armenian Patriarch.

"I. The Armenian Patriarch has not proposed new terms of Communion to you: for he has often and strongly declared to me that he has not. He has offered to receive any who return, without requiring new terms. I have been the agent in restoring some and keeping others in the Church on these conditions. Many others have returned on the same conditions.

"The document containing the alleged new terms was never heard of till after your secession. The idea of attributing the secession to it was evidently an after-thought. It was first published by the missionaries some months subsequently. Whether it even exists in Armenian, excepting in your own copy, is doubtful. It does not profess to bear the Patriarch's seal or signature, and is therefore without authority, destitute of the indispensable proof of authenticity, which it would certainly have if his. The Patriarch was formerly reported by the missionaries, your patrons, as a friend of 'evangelical views.' He continued to be so reported until they commenced a refractory course, which he disapproved. They then began to abuse him. But there is no evidence of any change in his own views since he was announced as their friend. The Patriarch has declared to me explicitly and repeatedly his own views on the subject embraced in that document, and they are such as must have effectually prevented him from enforcing or sanctioning it.

"This pretence of the new Creed taken away, your justification falls by your own admission; since the sole ground upon which you place it,

is, that you were required to sign a new Creed, and that without this you could conscientiously have remained in your Church. The missionaries take the same ground. I have given your words and theirs at large in this Letter. But as no new Creed is *now* enjoined (as all admit), your justification loses its sole support. You are in unnecessary schism. Your schism was formed, as I shall presently show, before the Patriarch called you to account at all, and of course before he could have attempted to impose a new Creed upon you. It is idle, therefore, to say that any new Creed was the cause of your schism.

“ II. On the subject of persecution my own opinion is as follows :—

“ I have thoroughly examined the alleged cases of persecution. Some, a good part, I have found to be gross fabrications. Some contain a portion of truth mixed with such essential errors in the reports of them as materially to change their character. Some, a very few, are manifest cases of wrong, which called for the interference of the British Ambassador so justly and judiciously accorded to you. None of them are acts of persecution by the Armenian Church, or emanated in any degree from the Patriarch.

“ The Patriarch openly took stand against all violence in matters of religion immediately on his entering upon office in 1844. The missionaries themselves at the time testified to this. In 1845 he suspended and sent to a monastery a Bishop who advocated compulsory measures for the disaffected in his Diocese, the disaffected being of your party. He has often told me that he was opposed to force in religious matters, and that he did not believe that such a system at the present day could be carried out. At an early period in the late troubles, he engaged to take up any cases that I would point out to him. He himself declared explicitly against all acts of persecution. He took up several that I brought to his notice, and acted promptly and efficiently in correcting them. He issued the most stringent injunctions against acts of violence, three of which I have published. He denounced in one of them such acts as deserving of excommunication. If I had the slightest suspicion that the Patriarch had persecuted, I would not hesitate to declare it. I utter the sincere conviction of my mind when I say, I believe him to be wholly innocent.

“ III. I come now to the real cause of your schism—and that which is the real cause of your schism is the real cause of the disturbances which rose from it, so that all inquiry terminates in this, ‘ What caused the schism ? ’ For this we go back a little :—

“ 1. The missionaries, during a period of fifteen years, invariably declared to the Armenians their intention of not creating a schism. They gave the most positive, clear, and oft-repeated pledges on this point. In 1842 they gave those pledges to me. I had shown to an Armenian, formerly their follower, a piece written by one of them, which seemed to show a different tendency, and which, having gone abroad among their followers, raised an excitement against them which would, I believe, have overturned their work if they had not taken the course which they did. They desired a conference with me. In that conference they

protested most warmly against all such tendency, and desired me, as I had been the means of indicating it to their alienated friends, to go to them and declare to them that the missionaries had no such views, that the piece had been misunderstood, that they desired and aimed at no schism, that their work was conservative, &c. I did this as a simple act of justice, and their mission was saved. This was but one of numberless pledges to the same effect. It was their habitual profession for fifteen years.—They could not at that time have maintained their mission a month without it.

“ 2. As soon as the concession was made to England and France, in 1844, that secessions from one religion to another should be free, the missionaries began to change their system, gradually at first, then more openly, as their followers were prepared for it. When I returned to Turkey in August, 1845, after an absence of fifteen months, the aspect of things was entirely changed. It was then commonly reported that a secession was at hand. Some of the indications of it and the series of subsequent events were as follows:—The followers of the missionaries were some of them openly demanding a separation. They were, as the missionaries have since testified (I have quoted the testimony in this letter), already separated from all communion with the Armenian Church, excepting such intercourse as their civil relations required, and were freely speaking against and opposing it. This previous separation overthrows entirely the pretence of a new Creed as the cause.

“ 3. In October, 1845, I was informed from many sources, that one of the missionaries had recently preached against remaining in the Armenian Church, and in consequence ten of their followers, who were not prepared for that doctrine, left them. This was the first open preaching of schism of which I know. Immediately after this the Patriarch requested one of the returned individuals to communicate to the missionaries from him, that their present proceedings were in violation of all their former professions. The missionaries became more abusive and radical, sending their publications in parcels to the houses of respectable Armenians, leaving pamphlets at the doors, and taking other measures to force the Patriarch to an excommunication. The priest Vertanes, the leader of the party, openly renounced the priesthood about this time, and went about where he could find hearers in the city, reviling the Church and his own ministerial office. On Dec. 7, 1845, one of your party, in passing an Armenian Church, crying aloud, called it an ‘idol-temple.’ He was struck down by a rough Armenian who happened to meet him at the moment. Occasional acts of this kind showed the tendency of things on both sides. Some of you seemed determined to provoke deeds of violence for the purpose of bringing matters to an issue. The Patriarch was forced to attend to these things. He called the disaffected one by one. He reasoned with them, expostulated with them, and offered them terms such as the missionaries had always professed to be satisfied with. One of the missionaries admitted to a presbyter connected with my mission the fact of these concessions. Many, the great

majority, returned to their allegiance. Others were refractory, obstinate, and some of them personally abusive. The Patriarch still delayed, until the evil became monstrous, and the Church generally cried out against the factious proceedings of the seceders. The clergy complained of the violence and confusion in their parishes. He then, in the latter part of January, 1846, having, as he believed, exhausted all pacific measures, excommunicated, first, priest Vertanes; afterwards, the others who remained obdurate. Immediately the missionaries seeing the disturbances that must arise, professed that the schism was against their desire, they were content that their followers should remain in the Armenian Church, that they were driven out by the Patriarch. You made the same professions. I have quoted both yours and theirs. At last the "new Creed" was laid hold of as justifying your resistance, and your defence made to rest upon that. This is a simple history of the events as they occurred. I disapproved your course in this matter, because it was a violation of pledges, some of them given to myself; because it was inconsistent with a desire to do good to the Armenian nation generally, which the missionaries professed; because it was a mere attempt to establish a congregational sect, too visible from the first.

"4. The peculiar doctrines of the Congregationalists were openly declared by you before the schism. This was the main cause of offence to the Armenians.

"5. As soon as you were formally excluded from the Armenian Church, you proceeded to do publicly what you had long been doing privately; viz., to form yourselves into a Congregational sect, in exact imitation of the Puritan seceders from the Church of England and of their descendants in America, whose missionaries have taught you; thus showing what was the precise nature of the views and proceedings which had caused the interposition of the Armenian Patriarch.

"6. In this new sect you discarded everything belonging to your ancient Church. The Creed of Nice you ceased to use. The ministry of your Church was so completely subdued that the single priest among you was put into the congregation, while a young man, lately a school-master, was elected by you and placed over you as 'Pastor.' The feasts of the Church were reduced to the 'Sabbath.' The fasts of the Church were utterly abolished. The Liturgy of the Church was utterly discarded, and extemporaneous prayers substituted in its stead. The organization, rules, 'confession of faith,' and 'covenant' of the Congregationalists were adopted, thus making to yourselves a 'new Creed.' You made it a standing rule that if a Bishop should join you he should be treated as a layman. Your new 'Pastor' was examined by the missionaries, who testified that 'his views on Church Government, the Sacraments, and the duties of the Pastoral Office,' were satisfactory to them. He was ordained by them after the fashion of the Congregationalists.

"7. To all this I make no objections; you were bound to appear as you were. But there are two or three things that follow from it. First,

calling yourselves merely 'Protestant' and 'Evangelical' is a concealment of your real character. You are bound to proclaim yourselves under your specific denominational character of 'Congregationalists.' But this you have carefully avoided in every thing intended to produce an interest in your behalf in England, and among Churchmen in America. Secondly, being Congregationalists immediately after your excommunication, and forming at once a Congregational Sect, you were evidently such before your excommunication, and all the troubles which have arisen have flowed from this single cause. You were Congregationalists in the Armenian Church, separated from it by your own act, before the act of the Church. Your excommunication merely brought you out in the character which you have long maintained.

"8. This is the whole schism, and the whole cause of it from beginning to end. Not one man who has not embraced Congregational views has been excommunicated, or put himself into a position to be so. Those who have remained are as 'Evangelical' as yourselves can claim to be, but they are Churchmen; and not one who was a Churchman, whatever was his opinion of the present state of the Church, whatever was his religious theory, could be brought to secede. It is purely, simply Congregationalism, and nothing else, which has separated you from the Armenian Church. It is purely, simply, Congregationalism which has produced all the disturbances of which we have heard, so far as reports of them have any foundation in truth. Without this, the missionaries would have had no occasion to desire a separation, no temptation to effect it. It is a slander upon the Gospel to call it 'Evangelical;' it is mere delusion to call it 'Protestant.' It is simply sectarian."

In conclusion, the Bishop says:—"I wish I could convince you that the path which you have chosen does not lead to religious security in doctrine, nor to primitive purity in practice. But failing in this, I leave you in the hands of Him who will judge aright, and who can make the most untoward events to minister to His glory and the salvation of souls. I do not intend to make war upon you as Congregationalists. My relation to you will be the same here as is that of our Bishops at home to Congregationalists there. The Church's mission will pursue its own way in Turkey, as does the Church in America the path of her allotted duty. There may be conflicts here, as there; but my general policy will be to promote, by direct action on the Eastern Churches, the work to which I am sent, instead of turning aside to contend with others, whose labours I do not approve so far as they aim at schism."



# THE ENGLISH REVIEW.

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JUNE, 1849.

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ART. I.—*Sermons, Doctrinal and Practical. By the Rev. W. ARCHER BUTLER, M.A., late Professor of Moral Philosophy in the University of Dublin. Edited, with a Memoir of the Author's Life, by the Rev. THOMAS WOODWARD, M.A., Curate Assistant of Fethard, in the Diocese of Cashel, &c. Dublin: Hodges and Smith.*

THE name of Professor Archer Butler is well known to the theological world in connexion with a very able series of Letters on the Doctrine of Development, in reply to Mr. Newman's work, which made their appearance in the Irish Ecclesiastical Journal some three or four years since, and which have been commended by excellent judges as amongst the best of the various replies to Mr. Newman's essay. That series of Letters gave evidence of the possession of powers and attainments from which the most brilliant results might have been anticipated; but scarcely had we learnt to contemplate in Archer Butler one of the rising stars of the Church, when the intelligence of his early and much lamented death extinguished the hopes which we had formed of his future services to the cause of Christian truth.

The University of Dublin, and the Church of Ireland, may feel that they have lost one of their most distinguished ornaments in the untimely death of this eminent person; and in the present day, when false philosophy is labouring to subvert the groundwork of the faith, we can ill afford to lose the aid of one who has proved himself so thoroughly versed in its subtleties, and so qualified in all ways to combat and refute them.

It were useless, however, to repine at the dispensations of Providence; and indeed when we contemplate the state of Ireland and its Church, it is almost with a sense of bewilderment at all that is passing before us. Our fears had been excited as regards the intentions and principles of statesmen. We had feared that they were willing to sacrifice the cause of religious truth to the demands of an imagined expediency. We had been grieved at the continual disposition to concede to intimidation—at the ascendancy gradually being attained by parties hostile to the integrity of the empire and the dominion of law. But all these old causes of alarm and dissatisfaction have now been replaced by a state of things arising partly from the visionary theories of

Free Traders and Political Economists, and partly from the Divine Visitation. A peasantry reduced to the brink of starvation—a yeomanry in the course of expatriation—a gentry and nobility ruined—property without value—industry paralyzed—symptoms of approaching desolation such as no where else in the world can be recognised—there is in the whole scene a something which is calculated to bring home to the mind the conviction that the hand of God is stretched forth upon that unhappy nation in penalty for its sins. And, in truth, Ireland stands apart from all countries on the face of the earth in one respect. Assassinations and murders are as frequent in some other countries as they have been in Ireland. In England itself, when murders are committed, they are perhaps quite as revolting in many of their circumstances, as the murders in Ireland. Monsters like Thurtell or Rush tell us from time to time what human nature is capable of, even in this country. But the awful feature in the murders which have been committed for the last thirty or forty years in Ireland is, that they were the results of a conspiracy of the whole population of the lower orders. Murders were always executed in obedience to the directions of secret tribunals of the peasantry; and they were supported by the whole moral force of the population. The murderers were sheltered and protected. No one ever betrayed them or gave evidence against them. The people in the fields who were witnesses of acts of assassination continued their work without heeding what was transacting, or without any attempt to seize the assassins. Juries refused to convict criminals. If, by any chance, a murderer *was* convicted (a most rare occurrence) he invariably protested his innocence, and, whether innocent or guilty, was invariably regarded by the people as a martyr. Such was the state of things in Ireland for thirty or forty years. The whole population of the lower orders was directly or indirectly engaged in the system of assassination which prevailed. The crime became a national crime; the land was polluted with blood.

Can we then wonder when we see that population perishing under the visitation of God? It is our belief that murder is now being expiated. It is a tremendous chastisement which is following on a tremendous and unprecedented crime. Death has overtaken a population which had imbrued its hands in blood. Divine vengeance has come upon crimes which had set at nought the power of human laws administered by a feeble and unprincipled executive. A nation is seen descending into the vortex of ruin. That ruin is the result of misgovernment. Ireland *could* have been prevented from becoming the scene of bloodshed which it was for forty years. Severity to criminals would have been mercy in the end to the whole population. Military law would

have been the appropriate remedy where the powers of the ordinary laws had been set at defiance by the nation; but the contests of parties, the want of moral courage in public men, and the state of public opinion forbade the application of sufficient remedies for Ireland. And we now see the awful results.

The insurrectionary state of Ireland, and the insecurity of life and property, have told with the utmost severity on the clergy. The heartrending deprivations under which they are now suffering, are, alas! no novelty to them. Some few years since, they were for a time wholly deprived of their means of support by a general combination of the people, urged on by the demagogues and the Romish priesthood. Despoiled of a large portion of their property; marked out for threats, insults, and assassination; subsequently compelled to pay out of their diminished means a contribution to the poor-rate twice as great in proportion as that of the landlords; their episcopate reduced to almost half its members; their schools deprived of Government aid which is extended to every other denomination of Christians in the empire;—what can we say when we contemplate this state of things? We can only say, that when we are looking upon a Church thus persecuted—thus delivered over into the hands of its enemies—thus discouraged by all the powers of this world—frowned on by statesmen—coldly regarded by too many of its brethren—and yet amidst all this, holding on its way with firm and unfaltering step, receding from none of its undertakings, maintaining its religious consistency, deepening in its energy and its practical piety, extending its spheres of usefulness, making inroads on the regions of darkness which lie around it;—when we see it undaunted, and in the face of opposition from without, and of the action of state influence on some of its own functionaries, still upholding the great principle of reverence for the Word of God;—we do say, that, in our humble opinion, a nobler example never was set to the Church. We feel that more than sympathy is due in such a case. The Church of Ireland never occupied in the days of its temporal prosperity the position to which afflictions have elevated it. Its Christianity has been purified by its persecutions. It merits the admiration of all who feel the worth and value of steadfastness in the faith. May the afflictions under which this apostolic Church is so intensely suffering have some remission!

The Rev. William Archer Butler, of whose brief but most distinguished career his biographer, Mr. Woodward, has presented us with a touching memorial in the volume before us, was one of those gifted individuals who seem to be sent from time to time into

the world, to excite our wonder at the elevation to which human nature is capable of ascending—men on whom all powers of the intellect, of the imagination, of the feelings, are lavished in rich profusion, to make them wondrous in the eyes of their fellow-men, to impress all hearts, and guide all understandings. Immortality is impressed on such men, and on all their words. It is remarkable, that some of the greatest orators of modern times have been natives of Ireland. Burke and Kirwan occur to the memory at once. Archer Butler, in his short career, emulated the profound philosophy of the one, and the fervent eloquence of the other. We have the following account of his earlier years in Mr. Woodward's Memoir:—

“William Archer Butler was born at Annerville, near Clonmel, of an ancient and highly respectable family. His father was a member of the Established Church; his mother, for whose memory he entertained the liveliest affection, was a zealous Roman Catholic. By her solicitude, her son was baptized and educated in the Romish faith. The exact date of his birth is uncertain; strange to say, he was himself ignorant of it; and such is the imperfect registration in the Roman Catholic polity, that there is extant no record either of his birth or baptism. By those who should be best acquainted with the fact, he is stated to have been born in the year 1814; and, according to this computation, at the time of his decease he had only reached his thirty-fourth year. He could not certainly have much exceeded that early age; for he obtained his scholarship in 1832, and reckoning his age at twenty years, about the usual average, he could not have completed his thirty-sixth year.

“In early childhood his residence was removed to Garnavilla, a lovely spot upon the banks of the River Suir, about two miles from the town of Cahir. The enchanting scenery of the neighbourhood made an ineffaceable impression upon his susceptible temperament, and developed, almost in infancy, his poetic talents. He almost ‘lisped in rhyme,’ and some of his boyish compositions would do honour to the maturest efforts of the British muse. To these happy days of his dawning imagination he ever delighted to travel back in meditation. Often, amidst the hurry of business, or the hard abstractions of mental science, he would pause for a moment; in that moment he was back amidst the memories of infancy; the scene from which his early inspirations, his primary ideas of beauty, were derived, was before him in all its first absorbing vividness. I remember, more than once, to have observed him penetrated with profound emotion, and on inquiring the cause, to have been informed, that he was, in thought, visiting the favourite haunts of his childhood upon the banks of the River Suir. Constant allusions to his early home are scattered through his poetry. I copy the following sonnet, the first that is suggested to my recollection:—

‘ Groves of my childhood ! sunny fields that gleam  
With pensive lustre round me even now !  
Rivers, whose unforgotten waters stream  
Bright, pure as ever from the rifted brow  
Of hills whose fadeless beauty, like a dream,  
Bursts back upon my weeping memory,—how  
Hath time increased your loveliness, and given  
To earth and earth’s a radiance caught from heaven !  
My soul is glad in floating up the tide  
Of years ; in counting o’er the withered leaves  
That Time hath strew’d upon the path of Pride :  
Yes glad, most glad ;—and yet the feeling grieves,  
With peace and pain mysteriously allied,  
That sway and swell my breast like ocean’s stilly heaves.’ ”

From these haunts of his childhood, he passed under the care of the Rev. Dr. Bell, master of the endowed school of Clonmel, from whence in due time he was admitted a student of the University of Dublin. Previous to this, he had become a member of the Church of Ireland, under circumstances which Mr. Woodward thus details :—

“ It was during his pupilage at Clonmel, about two years before his entrance into College, that the important change took place in Butler’s religious views, by which he passed from the straitest sect of Roman Catholicism into a faithful son and champion of the Church of Ireland. He had been from the cradle deeply impressed with a sense of religion, and conscientious in the observance of the rites and ceremonies of his creed. His moral feelings were extraordinarily sensitive. For long hours of night he would lie prostrate on the ground, filled with remorse for offences, which would not for one moment have disturbed the self-complacency of even well-conducted youths. Upon one occasion, when his heart was oppressed with a sense of sinfulness, he attended confession, and hoped to find relief for his burdened spirit. The unsympathizing confessor received these secrets of his soul, as if they were but morbid and distempered imaginations, and threw all his poignant emotions back upon himself. A shock was given to the moral nature of the ardent, earnest youth ; he that day began to doubt ; he examined the controversy for himself, and his powerful mind was not long before it found and rested in the truth.”

During his residence at the University of Dublin he devoted himself to the same discursive course of reading which he had pursued while at school ; and while exhibiting little interest in the study of mathematics, or in the niceties of verbal criticism, his abilities speedily became known, as a wit and an accomplished scholar ; and his prize compositions exhibited a range of thought which placed him at once far above his contemporaries. During

it is so generally diffused, we lose the great charm of novelty. In the soliloquies of the pulpit, eloquence must miss the vivacity it gains in discussion; a disadvantage, probably, not counterbalanced by the opportunity of deliberate preparation, and the certainty of uninterrupted attention. When these circumstances are considered, we ought not, perhaps, to be surprised that, with innumerable living preachers of great religious excellence and usefulness, our pulpits can boast of comparatively few who are great orators; few who, by the mingled power of argument and imagination, can win us from the present into the glorious or the gloomy future; few who have succeeded in obtaining—if the thought be not too fanciful—the gift which the Grecian sighed for,—a point in the distant heavens, on which to prop that moral machinery, which shall move the earth and its powers with a force supplied from the skies!

“It were surely superfluous to exhort you, my hearers destined for the sacred office, to cultivate the faculties of expression. There is, indeed, a preposterous prejudice, which I should not descend to mention were it not held by some, whose sincerity of heart entitles even their prejudices to respect, against the employment of the resources of oratory in the exhortations of the pulpit, as artificial, illusory, and ‘the enticing words of man’s wisdom.’ Such objectors ought to remember, that the noble addresses of the great apostle of the Gentiles were such as to call forth the approbation of the most ardent critic of Greece; that he who ‘became all things to all men’ would scarcely have declined to avail himself of every aid of intellect, in order to ‘win some;’ and that to devote oratory to the service of religion is really not to intrude it upon subjects too holy, but to consecrate it by the holiness of its object. To confirm such considerations, they ought to remember how many are the instances, in which careless listeners, who had hastened to enjoy, as one of the many occupations of their idleness, the intellectual pastime afforded by the exhortations of a popular preacher, have yielded gradually to the resistless persuasiveness of his appeal, have forgotten their criticism in their terrors, and have been surprised into Christianity when they came but for amusement.”

At the final examination for the degree of bachelor of arts Butler was placed at the head of the list of moderators in ethical science, being the first person who attained that distinction after the institution of such a class of honours. A professorship of moral philosophy was subsequently founded with the express object of retaining his services in connexion with the university, and he commenced his duties as professor within three years after his graduating as bachelor of arts, and at the early age of twenty-three. His course of lectures on the Grecian philosophy were remarkable for their thorough and profound knowledge of the subject, and for the eloquence which invested the most abstruse speculations with the colouring of genius and fancy. It



may be of course imagined, that a style so abounding in beautiful imagery and gorgeous diction, may not have always tended to the elucidation of the Platonic or the Aristotelic philosophy ; and we find in the preface of the volume before us some remarks of a friendly critic, who is disposed to regret that some restraint was not laid on the exuberance and richness of phraseology in which the subjects of Butler's lectures were involved. The entire absence of prejudice and narrow-mindedness in these lectures was a feature which forcibly impressed itself on his auditors, one of whom describes them as "characterized by a large-minded appreciation of every variety of excellence, a catholic spirit, that sought to detect good in every thing, and never forget in its defence of truth the indulgence due to any errors that could find an apology in the intellectual and moral elevation of those who held them. In every instance we observed that which is, after all, the true characteristic of the genuine philosophic spirit,—a disposition to separate the form of truth from any errors that had gathered round it, and following in the advice we once heard him ably enforce, refute incomplete or partial views, not by rejecting but by completing them."

We are now to contemplate this eminent person in the discharge of his duties as a minister of religion.

"Simultaneously with his appointment to the professorship of moral philosophy, Mr. Butler was presented by the Board of Trinity College to the prebend of Clondehorka, in the diocese of Raphoe, and county of Donegal. He resided constantly upon his benefice, except while his professorial duties rendered absence necessary. Amongst a large and humble flock of nearly two thousand members of the Church, he was the most indefatigable of pastors. In the pulpit he accommodated himself with admirable success to their simple comprehension. He imagined that the interest of his rural auditors was more engaged by an unwritten address, and unfortunately he soon ceased to write any sermons. His exquisite skill in music was brought down to the instruction of a village choir. Never was there more fully realized in any one that union of contemplation and action of which Lord Bacon speaks as the perfection of human nature. His loftiest speculations in mental science, his erudite researches into Grecian and German philosophy, were in a moment cheerfully laid aside at every call of suffering and of sorrow. His parishioners were widely scattered over an extensive district, along the shore of the Atlantic, interspersed with bogs and mountains. Many of their residences were difficult of access even upon foot ; but they were all visited with constant assiduity. Amongst the papers left behind him were found catalogues containing, not merely the names of each individual, but comments, often copious, upon their characters and circumstances, that he might reflect at leisure upon their

peculiar wants, and supply consolation, instruction, or reproof, according to their several necessities.

The obscure and laborious prebend of Clondehorka was held by Mr. Butler, along with his professorship, until the year 1842, when he was re-elected to the chair of moral philosophy, and promoted, by the board of Trinity College, to the rectory of Raymoghly, in the diocese of Raphoe. His flock was here considerably smaller than in his former benefice, but his labours were scarcely less abundant. In a life thus made up of parochial ministrations and closet study, it is hard to find incidents for narration. These tasks, indeed, furnished to him all he asked,

‘ Room to deny himself, a path  
To bring him daily nearer God.’

“ Shortly after his promotion to Raymoghly, Professor Butler was called upon to preach at the Visitation of the united dioceses of Derry and Raphoe. The sermon was printed at the request of the bishop and clergy, and is republished in the present volume. It is entitled ‘ Primitive Church Principles not inconsistent with universal Christian Sympathy.’ Its object is to show how the highest views of our holy, Catholic, and Apostolic Church may be held consistently with the most charitable opinions respecting the state of *individuals* in connexion with schismatical congregations. The design of the discourse was eminently characteristic of his habitual desire to harmonize apparent discrepancies, and in opposing *systems* to discover the deep foundations of truth, and, therefore, of agreement. Of such a peacemaker amidst our ‘ unhappy divisions,’ who, alas! can estimate the loss? His was no latitudinarian confusion of good and evil. His love of truth was as earnest, as his glance was penetrative to discern it; and his heart was warm to love it, under every overlay of error. This sermon is indeed an epitome of his theological system, whose most striking point was, doubtless, to use his own words, its ‘ effort to conciliate the contending parties of our Church, by offering some glimpses of such views as, without sacrificing the REAL TRUTH that each is especially given to see, might tend to harmonize the theories of both.’ In a subsequent page will be found a very high eulogium upon this sermon from the pen of the Bishop of Lichfield, nor will the reader be surprised that it has been pronounced by so eminent authority, a ‘ very masterly’ discourse, replete with ‘ power and wisdom.’ ”

The series of Letters on Development to which reference has already been made, established at once Mr. Butler’s reputation on this side of the channel as an eminent divine and a profound thinker. The importance of this contribution to our theological literature, at that particular moment, can scarcely be over-rated. It is gratifying, however, to be enabled to add, that the exertions employed for the repression of that most dangerous

doctrine appear to have been successful in opening the eyes of the public to its pernicious tendencies ; and that it has lost the position which it had for a time gained under the influence of certain persons, who have since forsaken the communion of the Church of England. We next find our author engaged in the office of ministering to the necessities of his parishioners during 1847, the first year of famine in Ireland ; subsequently engaged during that and the following year in preparing a work on Faith, which he did not live to complete or even to arrange in any way. He died in July, 1848, of fever, caught from overheating himself in returning home after preaching an ordination sermon.

The volume before us contains one specimen of his Lectures on Moral Philosophy, which makes us regret the absence of the remainder. It comprises a masterly and beautiful exposition of the Platonic doctrine of ideas, and generally of the Platonic philosophy ; and if it afford a fair example of the professor's general mode of teaching, we can scarcely concur in the observation, that there was any redundancy of language or of imagery. It appears to us particularly sober and simple in its general tone and composition.

We now proceed to the Sermons, which occupy the greater part of the volume. All that we have read of these compositions impresses us with a sense of their singular depth and power. We feel, in perusing them, that we are in contact with a mind of superior range, which can embrace in its comprehensive view the most extended relations of the subjects on which it touches ; and which possesses the power of eliciting from the most complicated questions, the general laws or principles which enable us to solve the various difficulties presented to us. His fund of scriptural allusion and of varied illustration is most ample ; his language is ornate, and almost labouring beneath its own pomp and stateliness ; but throughout, it is the *Christian orator* who addresses us—not the essayist or the ingenious reasoner, or the thoughtful and learned divine merely—but the Preacher. We have rarely met sermons which bear so distinctly this character upon them, and which, accordingly, are more out of the common run of essays on texts which pass for sermons. Butler understood the office and the manner of a preacher ; and judging from the discourses before us, and from the account of his delivery given by his biographer, we should think that he could have been equalled by very few men of his time. The Sermons in this volume are chiefly addressed to thoughtful and educated congregations, having been, indeed, for the most part, preached before the University of Dublin, or on public occasions. We shall conclude by offering an extract from one of his discourses in illustration of his style of pulpit

eloquence. In a sermon on "Self-Delusion as to our state before God," he touches successively on the various sources of the lamentable ignorance in which we too frequently live, in regard to our personal state with God; resolving them primarily into the permitted agency of the Enemy of our souls, and then proceeding to show the effects of the corruption of our nature, the practice of habitual sin, the frame and condition of the world around us, the influence of fashion and rank, and thus sums up his argument:—

"But to example and authority, thus enlisted in the ranks of evil, and thus fortifying the false security of our imaginary innocence, must be added such considerations as the tendency of pleasure itself, or of indolence, to prolong this deception, and our natural impatience of the pain of self-disapproval. That which is pleasing to soul or sense detaches from all but itself; it fixes and fascinates, and enfeebles as it fascinates. Still more effective is the other influence. Our Creator has given us the pain of self-condemnation to counterbalance the temptation to evil. A man will love the sin, yet shudder at the remorse that follows it. But there are no provisions in our nature which may not be wilfully impaired; and it would even seem that they are delicate in proportion to their excellence. The structure of the moral feelings is as tender as the structure of an eye or ear, and both are in a great measure put into our own keeping. Now you know there are two ways of easing an aching joint,—by healing its disease or by paralysing the limb. And there are two ways of escaping an angry conscience,—by ceasing from the evil that provokes, or by resolutely refusing to hear its voice, which soon amounts to silencing it for ever. I am not to tell you which is the usual resource of guilty and neglectful hearts; I need not insist how powerful a persuasive to the belief that 'we have no sin' must be this perpetual impulse to avoid the pain of thinking that we *have*; how natural the tendency is to turn away our weak and trembling eyes from that, which we secretly feel we cannot steadily contemplate without sorrow, and perplexity, and dismay. Let this go on for a while, and gradually, but surely, the gloomy work is done; the troublesome censurer is mute: the light is put out, and the Evil One finds his proper home in the darkness!

"And all this proceeds in mysterious silence! There are no immediate visible attestations of God's displeasure to startle or affright. Among His judgments, as among His mercies, men are to walk, for the most part, 'by faith, and not by sight;' we must believe, not see our doom. And thus we wrest His very patience into a motive for contemning His majesty; '*for my name's sake* will I defer mine anger, and for my *praise* will I refrain' (Isa. xlviii. 8); but we cannot understand a glory thus founded in compassionate endurance. 'Because sentence against an evil work is *not executed speedily*, therefore the heart of the sons of men is fully set in them to do evil.'—Eccles. viii. 11. All our customary conceptions of the justice of heaven are taken from the tribunals of earth, and on earth punishment ordinarily dogs the

heels of crime. Hence, where the punishment is *not* direct, we forget that the guilt can have existed. 'These things hast thou done, and I kept silence;' and that silence is the ground of the corrupt and insulting inference that forms the sinner's security: 'thou thoughtest *that I was altogether such an one as thyself*.'—Ps. l. 21. 'Have I not held my peace even of old, and thou fearest me not?' (Isa. lvii. 11;) the merciful reluctance of our God to avenge, becoming itself the perpetual encouragement to despise or to forget the vengeance He delays. 'Let favour,' cries the Prophet, 'be shown to the wicked, yet will he not learn righteousness;' the 'favour' being itself too certainly the reason, or the confirmation, of his thankless obstinacy!—Isa. xxvi. 10. The very immutability of the laws of visible nature, the ceaseless recurrence of those vast revolutions that make the annals of the physical universe, and the confidence that we instinctively entertain of the stability of the whole material system around us, while they are the ground of all our earthly blessings, and while they are, to the reason, a strong proof of divine superintendence, are as certainly, to the imagination, a constant means of deadening our impressions of the possibility or probability of divine interposition. Stricken, and, it may be, perplexed or abashed for a moment, by the threats or the heart-searchings of the pulpit, men go forth beneath the open canopy of heaven, but all is peaceful there! They breathe freely! The nightmare of religious terror releases them. Oh! no, it *cannot* be that these hideous imaginings are real, while every object looks tranquillity, and every countenance is smiling. There is no 'hand-writing upon the wall' of Nature's Temple to countersign this tale of terrors. No voice from heaven authenticates the preacher's message; no consuming fire descends upon the guilty head; the voluptuary, the idolater of gain, the prosperous God-despiser is not stricken in our streets; and the scoffing sceptic cries, of Jehovah (as the Prophet, of the idol god), 'He is talking, or He is pursuing, or He is on a journey, or peradventure He sleepeth and must be awaked.'—1 Kings xix. 27. Awaked! He *will* awake! Surely the God will break forth at length from His hidden sanctuary, and break forth, as of old upon the Mount, 'in fire and the smoke of a furnace.'—Exod. xix. 18. The invisible shall once more be the visible, nor shall Moses alone have 'seen the Lord face to face;' the words and sentences of the immortal Book shall no longer be the breath of a man's voice, to which men listen from decency and drop to slumber as they listen, but, themselves, shall breathe and live, realized in a divine world with a divine economy: 'The Lord hath prepared His throne for judgment, and He *shall* judge the world in righteousness.'—Ps. ix. 7, 8. And when that cycle that ends in judgment—long, it may be, for the first act of an eternity may well be no dream of the morning—shall have indeed come round, what, amid all the terrors of the day of wrath, shall move a deeper awe than *that* fatal frailty of our nature to which your thoughts have been this day directed? What more appalling to conceive than that unravelling of the subtlest intricacies of the heart's inward hypocrisy, man's shame uncovered to himself, his imaginary innocence exposed to the scoff of

the tempter that suggested it, his darling deceptions dragged forth and disgraced before his eyes? A search close, and deep, and penetrating as this, is the perpetual intimation of Scripture. 'God shall judge the secrets of men.'—Rom. ii. 'Every man's work shall be made manifest' (1 Cor. iii. 13), 'tried by fire.' 'God will bring to light the hidden things of darkness.'—1 Cor. iv. 5. The dead are 'judged out of those things which are written in the books, according to their works.'—Rev. xx. 21. Does not this speak of inquiry too keen to be baffled, too authentic to be deceived, too minute to be evaded? 'All the ways of a man are clean in his own eyes, but God weigheth the spirits.'—Prov. xvi. 2. The wretch who was cast into outer darkness, for lack of the wedding-garment, evidently came in not dreaming of rejection. Again and again our Lord represents this perpetuation of self-ignorance to the very period of judgment, as one of the most terrible characteristics of that hour of terrors. Brethren! if I have this day, under God's blessing, prompted one of you to suspect the wiles of his own guilty nature,—if I have to any purpose impressed on you the certainty that 'if you say,' or imagine, 'you have no sin, you deceive yourselves,' will you not, when you leave this house of prayer, leave it only to pray yet more earnestly in private to that God who can see what you cannot see, and urge the humble avowal and petition of the Psalmist: 'Who can understand his errors? cleanse thou me from secret faults! for thou hast set our iniquities before thee; our secret sins in the light of thy countenance?'—Ps. xix. 12; xc. 8.

There is a very interesting and important sermon entitled "Church Principles not inconsistent with Christian Sympathy," which merits an attentive perusal. Its object is to show that it is possible to maintain the Divine institution and perpetual obligation of the apostolical framework of the Church, without pronouncing any hard judgment on those who have been led by circumstances to adopt a different system. While we may not feel enabled to concur wholly with every position advanced in this most able discourse, and may be even of opinion that the charity of the writer has sometimes led him on somewhat questionable ground, we must offer our tribute of respect to the high philosophy, the expansive charity, and the able theological reasoning which characterize throughout this remarkable production. We trust that the publication of the work before us will not only exercise a wholesome influence on the youth of Ireland, but that such of our English readers as may peruse it, will feel increased respect for a system, which could produce such fruits as those which are presented to us in the Sermons of ARCHER BUTLER.



ART. II.—*The Works of Quintus Horatius Flaccus, illustrated chiefly from the Remains of Ancient Art. With a Life. By the Rev. HENRY HART MILMAN.* London: Murray. 1849.

MANY causes combine to invest the volume before us with great and peculiar interest. Few uninspired writers have obtained so wide a circulation, or exercised so great an influence over the conduct as well as the taste of mankind, as Horace. Even in this age of universal illustration, no author appears more admirably suited to display the skill of the artist, and the taste of the publisher, than the poetic delineator of the days of Augustus. And were we at liberty to pick and choose from the writers of the present time, or perhaps of any other, we should certainly have selected Mr. Milman as his biographer. Not only does he possess extensive learning,—and an intimate acquaintance with Roman Life, as well as Latin literature,—but his grace and taste point him out as especially fitted to be the commentator of the *Matine Bee*.

The circulation and influence of the works of Horace must be ascribed to the co-operation of many causes, none of them sufficient in itself to produce so striking a result. The character and position of the age in which he wrote, as well as the course of subsequent events, have probably given every advantage to those high merits which he intrinsically possesses; nor can it well be doubted that many of his most serious faults have assisted the growth, the spread, and the permanence of his popularity. Had he possessed Ovid's warmth of heart, or Lucretius's depth of thought, or Virgil's purity of mind, or Juvenal's indignant hatred of vice, his excellences, great as they are, would never have raised him to the rank which he now occupies. We shall, however, have occasion to treat of his character, literary and personal, hereafter.

We really think, that we never met with a volume so beautifully got up as that now before us; it does the highest credit to all those in any way concerned with its decorations. In themselves they are worthy of the greatest praise, and they are all of them precisely adapted to their subject.

The Work consists of two parts: the *Prolegomena* in English, comprehending, *Life of Horace*, by Milman; *Fasti Horatiani*; a Letter from G. W. Dennis, "*De Villa Horatii*;" and

two Indexes of all the characters mentioned in succeeding poems, the latter being confined to the poets. The second part contains the Works of Horace in the original. This consists of the simple text without note or comment, and also without any previous statement as to the authority on which the text is based, and without any recognition of the various readings; these two are certainly great omissions. Even supposing the text to be universally and infallibly correct, we should have been told by what process this happy certainty had been arrived at, and though a multitude of various readings might have increased the bulk of the volume inconveniently, the most important might have been given in three, or at the utmost four pages. This objection has peculiar weight in those cases where the reading, however good, and in many cases *now* popular, is only of a few years' standing, as far as the reading public are concerned. In some few instances, we feel convinced that the wrong reading has been adopted. We will mention the most striking cases, which we have observed, ere attempting to give some notion of the ornamental part of the work.

In the first Ode of the first Book, at the end of the tenth line, we find a comma instead of a semicolon; this, though the old reading, is evidently not the right one, since the same individual is seldom both a yeoman farming his own estate, and an importer of foreign corn. The late political contest on the Corn Laws clearly proves the necessity for a semicolon.

In the seventh line of the seventh Ode, though the reading

Undique *decerptam fronti* præponere o ivam,

happens at present to be in fashion, we think that the reader has certainly a right to be informed of the existence of another, and, in our opinion, a better reading, namely,

Undique *decerptæ frondi* præponere olivam.

The third stanza of the third Ode of the second Book is pointed thus:—

Quo pinus ingens albaque populus  
Umbram hospitem consociare amant  
Ramis? Quid obliquo laborat  
Lympha fugax trepidare rivo?

This appears to us to be downright nonsense. We trust that in another edition the text will be carefully revised; that an advertisement will be prefixed stating what authorities have been consulted, and that a short appendix will be added, giving the most celebrated various readings; this would give the work a com-

pleteness, which, with all its beauties and merits, it does not now possess.

We proceed to the decorations.

The first part of the volume is ornamented with handsome coloured borders; such is their variety, that it is not till the *seventy-sixth* page that we have noticed any one of them repeated, and then, when the patterns recur, the colours are different; and, even after that, the whole of the *Fasti* are surrounded with perfectly new borders. The Poems, on the contrary, are merely enclosed by an outer red line, and an inner black line, in the corners of which are four elegantly engraved corner-pieces, of continually varying design. The title-pages, however, of the different books of *Odes*, &c. are very gorgeous. The paper is fine, thick and stiff, though rather brittle; and the type good, though it would be better if the ink were blacker.

The engravings abound from one end of the volume to the other. Thus, in the *Life*, at the head of the first chapter, we have *Venusia*; a little way on, *Mount Voltore* at the top of one page, and the *Aufidus* facing it on the other. Chapter II. is headed with *Fons Bandusiæ*, and so on.

In the poems, almost every ode has an engraving at the beginning, and, at least, an ornament at the close; whilst, wherever there is an allusion capable of admitting one, an illustration is inserted immediately under the line in which it occurs. We will explain our meaning by a few examples.

Thus, the first Ode is headed by a bust of that truly great man *Mecænas*, and concludes with the chariot race: thus, in the fifth, we have an exquisitely graceful figure of a "Nymph arranging her hair." At the commencement of the sixth is a head of *Agrippa*, at the close, "Homer enthroned." In the third, we begin with a bust of *Virgil*; at "*Diva potens Cypri*" we have a Cyprian coin; two lines further on is "Ship with stars," and at the close *Dædalus* and *Icarus*. Take again the nineteenth of the Second Book, and we find below the first stanza, *Bacchus* and the *Satyrs*; after the fourth, the drunken phrenzy of *Lycurgus*; after the sixth stanza a *Mænade*, in full costume, with snake-bound hair; and the Ode closes with a representation of the *Triumph of Bacchus*. We have, of course, all the gods of Greece and Rome in every conceivable shape; all the great men of the day; all the different ceremonies, utensils, &c. to which allusion is made; nor are the least interesting illustrations those which represent the scenery of Horace. Amusing as the *Iter ad Brundisium* must always be, it assumes a higher character, when graced with its pictorial commentary. The head-piece, representing *Via*, is from the reverse of a coin of *Trajan*; after the first line, we have

sketch of Aricia, by Mr. Dennis, writer of the letter already mentioned; then at the twenty-sixth line comes Anxur, a noble sketch by the same author. Though it is now some years since we passed through Terracina, on our way from Rome to Naples, the engraving instantly recalled that striking scene deeply, vividly stamped on our memory. At 33 comes the bust of Mark Antony; at 37, a view of Mola di Gaëta,—the ancient Formiæ,—as correct, though, from the subject, not as striking, as that of Terracina; at 50, comes the villa of Cocceius, supposed to be the great grandfather of the celebrated Nerva; at 71, is seen a pleasing view of Beneventum, so famous in after ages. Little did the Roman wits of that luxurious court think of the stern barbarians who should one day rule over that beautiful land. At 79, we have a view of that place which was so unhappy as to possess a name inadmissible into hexameters: Equotutium therefore may rejoice, at having at last found its way into the text of Horace, instead of being condemned to an ignominious lodging in the cellars of the page; at 91, 97, and 104, respectively, we have sketches of Canusium, Bari, and Brundisium,—all of them doing great credit both to the limner, Mr. Dessoulary, and to the engraver. In fact, our astonishment is raised even more strongly than our admiration, and we ask, how can such a book be sold for only two guineas?

And now we proceed to a consideration of the letter-press thus sold—English and Latin. The *Prolegomena* are ably compiled; the *Life* is in its way almost a master-piece; the biographer, indeed, deals, in our opinion, too leniently with his hero; but the narrative is interesting; the views are comprehensive; and the style, for the most part, extremely pleasing: when, indeed, have Mr. Milman's ease and grace ever deserted him in any of the various and multitudinous works which he has submitted to the eye of the public—to use the words of his Poet,

“ Quando vati fefellit Apollo—”

his own Apollo?

There are, however, in the present biographical sketch, two or three carelessly written passages, the awkwardness of which rather surprises us; for instance, the following, though sensible, is by no means graceful:—

“ Even the parentage of the poet is connected with the difficult but important questions of the extent to which slavery in the Roman world was affected by manumission, and the formation of that middle class (the *libertini*), with their privileges, and the estimation in which they were held by society.”—p. 2.

Mr. Milman too, strangely enough, is singularly infelicitous, at least, to our taste, when he renders isolated phrases into English; he has attempted this very seldom; but he has almost in every instance failed. The only passage of which he has given a metrical translation, is that wherein Horace describes an incident of his early childhood: thus—

Me fabulosæ Vulture in Apulo,  
Altricis extra limen Apuliæ,  
Ludo fatigatumque somno  
Fronde nova puerum palumbes  
Texere; mirum quod foret omnibus  
Quicunque celsæ nidum Acherontiae,  
Saltusque Bantinos, et arvum  
Pingue tenent humilis Ferenti,  
Ut tuto ab atris corpore viperis  
Dormirem et ursis; ut premerer sacra  
Lauroque collataque myrto,  
Non sine Dis animosus infans.

*Carm. III. iv. 9—20.*

Mr. Milman renders it thus:—

Me, vagrant infant, on Mount Vultur's side,  
Beyond my childhood's nurse, Apulia's, bounds  
By play fatigued and sleep,  
Did the poetic doves  
With young leaves cover. Spread the wondrous tale  
Where Acherontia's sons hang their tall nests,  
Through Bante's groves, the low  
And rich Ferentine plain.  
From the black viper safe, and prowling bear  
Sweet slept I, strewn with sacred laurel leaves,  
And myrtle twigs—bold child,  
Not of the gods unwatch'd.

We should certainly have expected something at once more graceful and more accurate from the author of "Fazio"—one of the most exquisitely graceful poems in our language. The whole passage is a failure; what can be more inelegant, for example, than the phrase "vagrant infant?" It summons up a host of unpleasant ideas, which, at last, centre on the urchin described in "The Haunted Man;" then we cannot speak in English of being *fatigued by sleep*; the idea, too, of *Acherontia's sons hanging their tall nests*, is absolutely ludicrous; and in the next two lines, three adjectives are needlessly coupled to one substantive—a variation from the original quite uncalled for.

The style is, however, with very few exceptions, easy and perspicuous; and it is really marvellous to see how Mr. Milman has collected, compared, and condensed, the driest details from every possible quarter, and from them produced an essay which is not only interesting to the scholar, but also in the highest degree attractive to the general reader. The Indexes, too, and the letter, *De Villâ Horatii*, are excellent in their way.

“The poetry of Horace,” as this author justly observes at the commencement of his undertaking, “is the history of Rome during the great change from a republic into a monarchy, during the sudden, and almost complete revolution, from centuries of war and civil faction, to that peaceful period which is called the Augustan Age of Letters. His life is the image of his eventful times. In his youth he plunges into the fierce and sanguinary civil war; and afterwards subsiding quietly into literary ease, the partisan of Brutus softens into the friend of Mæcenas, and the happy subject, if not the flatterer of Augustus.” His parentage, and its effect upon his position in society, opens one field of inquiry regarding the conventionalism of his day; his life leads us through the history of his time, the outward chances and the inward changes of society; his poetry not only exhibits a reflection of his own character, showing us the causes which operated on his thoughts, feelings, and opinions, and made him what he was; but it also mirrors the public interests and private manners, the outward forms and inward motives of his age. For none can read his works without a conviction that Horace exhibits in himself a perfect specimen of “a man of the eighth century,” and gives us in his poems a true picture of things as they were.

With reference to the birth of Horace, although aware of the weight of authority which supports Mr. Milman's hypothesis, we are compelled to disagree with him. We do not ourselves believe that his father was a *freedman*, but the *son of a freedman*. The poet himself describes him not as *libertus*, but *libertinus*; and the earlier meaning of that word is not a *freedman*, but *the son of a freedman*. This supposition explains the total absence of all reference to his former master, or that master's family, or his early slavery, or even the act of manumission, and it seems to agree, too, better with all that we do know of his life and character.

Mr. Milman has graphically described the life and fortunes of Horace, his early home and its abiding associations, his school-days at Rome, his college life at Athens, his patriotism and consequent ruin, the short period of danger and distress which intervened between the loss of his public cause and private property, and his admission to the friendship of Mæcenas; and, lastly, the time of



his high prosperity when the ardent partisan of Brutus had become the honoured favourite of Augustus. And he has prefaced his consideration of the poems of Horace by an interesting account of the progress of poetic composition at Rome, and the external causes which prepared the age for its poets whilst they moulded the character of their poems.

He has accounted in a great degree for that which at first sight appears utterly unaccountable, the entire destruction of the indigenous poetry of Rome and the introduction, in its stead, of Greek measures, Greek subjects, and Greek colouring. He attributes this to the fact that the old Roman ballads were almost exclusively plebeian; that in process of time the whole of the plebeian order either rose to a higher rank in Rome itself, or died in foreign wars, or received allotments of land elsewhere; so that the people of after times were a mixed rabble of needy strangers or liberated slaves, and had no feelings in common with their predecessors, no sympathy with the old ballads. He remarks, too, that scarcely any Latin poets were Romans, most of them, up to the Christian æra, came from those parts of Italy, where the Greek language and literature were predominant.

It is easy to see that those who had been early imbued with a taste for the master-pieces of Greek poetry, would not, unless swayed by some strong national feeling, be likely to take any interest in, much less to imitate what would to them appear mere barbarous cacophonies. Other reasons, however, we conceive must have prevented the Romans themselves from reviving their old poetry, the same reasons which prevented them from emulating, though servilely imitating, their more favoured masters. The Romans even to the last were barbarians; they wanted heart, they wanted fancy, they wanted those faculties which can either discover or appreciate moral beauty and abstract truth.

The single exception of one great orator, at the same time a subtle reasoner and gifted with a rich imagination, cannot be set against the national character. The Roman possessed all those powers which enabled him first to conquer, and then to rule the world; but in the height of his glory he was still unenlightened and unrefined; his civilization was only material; his enjoyments had nothing in them of a high or exalted nature; his tastes, when not sensual, were utterly artificial; and his very luxury was brutal. Whatever skin-deep refinement was possessed by any one individual arose from Greek influences; as he ceased to be a barbarian, he ceased in equal measure to be a Roman; and however his heart might still sympathize with the bloody sports which were the fit representatives of his national character, his mind, such as it was,

was filled with forms which owed their birth to a less ferocious and a more intellectual race.

We shall not follow Mr. Milman through his masterly account of the introduction of Grecian forms and ideas, the progress of the Latin Drama, and the origin of Satiric Poetry.

The poets of the Augustan age had a great advantage over those of most other periods in the care and munificence extended to them by Mæcenas and Augustus, and the vacuum created in public interest by the silence of the senate and the forum.

Of the many divisions which may be applied to poetry, none is more obvious than that which is based upon the kind or degree of originality possessed by the works under consideration. Kind or degree of originality we say, for all poetry, like all painting, is probably, in some sense or other, imitative; the most original conceptions of the noblest poets are the representations of something which exists externally to the poem, or the combination of elements already existing elsewhere. Creation, strictly speaking, is confined to God. The highest originality is in its very nature imitative. Still, however, the degree or manner of imitation forms a distinctive characteristic by which to arrange poetry into several classes. Firstly, there is the poetry of conception, which we shall call original; that, namely, which represents forms, or combinations of thought, or things, which have no precise counterpart in that portion of the moral or material universe which lies open to the perceptions of others. Secondly, there is the poetry which represents those objects of nature, or events of history, which lie open to all mankind. Thirdly, there is that species of composition which though neither inventive nor delineative, though neither drawing from the stores of its own inner being, nor sketching directly from the life, attempts to imitate not the objects themselves of which it treats, but the best pictures of them within its reach, throwing in, here and there, a new stroke, or turn, or shade, but always preserving the identity of its model; or otherwise constructing new schemes, and forms, and tints, out of the materials of other artists. Below these writers, is a crowd which unable to invent any thing new, to represent any thing real, or to imitate any thing good, satisfies itself with the exhibition of forms that have lost their spirit, and the reiteration of phrases that no longer convey any distinct meaning, whose best passages are devoid of all reality,—and whose highest praise is a skilful combination of well-known expressions, an artful cadence, and a pleasing rhythm.

The Satires and some of the Epistles of Horace belong for the most part to the second of these divisions; the Odes and Ars-

*poetica* almost universally belong to the third ; there are, however, exceptions in both cases. There are passages in the *Odes* which rise beyond this level ; where Nature as she is, or manners as they were, are described ; and there are others which almost, if not quite, fall into the fourth rank.

The charms of external nature were vividly felt by our poet ; it was, in fact, his keen appreciation, his lively and real enjoyment of nature, which prevented his losing all sense of the noble and the beautiful. If we examine his exquisite descriptions of rural objects, and then consider the debasing and brutalizing influences to which he was subjected, and the deadening effect of those influences, as visible in all his poems of a moral nature,—we shall be perhaps able to conceive more fairly the extent and depth and intensity of that love of nature, which, in his early years, led him to wander amongst the romantic scenery of his native land ; and in his later days induced him to mingle with eulogies on living worthies, or bygone heroes, with odes to his courtly or literary friends, and songs in honour of his favourite mistresses, descriptions of the workmanship of God.

His childhood amongst the *Abruzzi* left traces of beauty on his mind, which were never obliterated ; and the acquisition of his *Sabine* farm, refreshed his fancy with new images of rural scenery. His early acquaintance with the simple manners of the *Apulian* mountaineers, the care bestowed on him by his father, and the stern strictness of his preceptor, combined with the accounts surviving in the history which he was compelled to learn, and the tradition which he would naturally imbibe,—of a state when Roman virtue (little as it ever deserved the title) was something more than a mere name,—gave him the enduring idea of a morality, superior to that of the age in which he lived ; and to which, though himself scorning its rules, he was not unwilling to have recourse, when it was required to heighten the effect of his poems ; nay, which he must sometimes in his heart have believed to be a reality and to possess a sanction.

Shrewd natural sense, and converse with society in all its existing forms, and life in all its various circumstances, gave him an extensive knowledge of the world ; whilst his natural wit and taste were heightened and perfected by his studies at *Athens*, his travels in *Greece*, and his intercourse with the most refined men of his time.

And from all these circumstances and talents arise, in a great degree, the high and undoubted merits of his works. His *Satires* are at once the graphic delineations of the manners of his time ; and the clear mirror into which all periods may look and see themselves : for whilst distinctly portraying the peculiarities of

his own age, he has represented them—as in truth all such peculiarities universally are—as the outward developments of internal causes which are always at work. He acted on the principle of the Italian proverb,

*Il mondo e un bel libro a chi sa leggere.*

He not only read it himself, but transcribed it for the use of all others; he did so in a style at once elegant and amusing,—with a wit neither too caustic, nor too lenient,—in a manner to delight his reader in the highest degree, whether he studied the Satires as a fund of entertainment, or a work of art.

Of the Epistles Mr. Milman justly observes,—“They possess every merit of the Satires in a higher degree, with a more exquisite urbanity, and a more calm and commanding good sense. In their somewhat more elevated tone, they stand as it were in the midway between the Odes and the Satires.”—*LIFE OF HORACE*, p. 66.

The Epistle to the Pisos, or Art of Poetry, though a work of high merit in its way, is somewhat too obscure in style, and too servilely imitative in matter, to challenge at our hands all the admiration which the worshippers of Horace have claimed for it.

His Odes, from their very nature, are probably more generally read and quoted than any other of his writings; they are, too, the only Odes in the Latin language. Nor have they many rivals in any other, though, in our own tongue, Milton, Dryden, Gray, and others, have far excelled them.

These compositions possess merits which it is impossible to render into other languages; and that very impossibility has probably secured for the originals a more careful and frequent perusal than they would otherwise have obtained. We will endeavour to explain our meaning to the unlearned reader. The beauties which we speak of are of four kinds,—versification, the happy selection of phrases, the adaptation of sound to sense, and construction.

With regard to versification, it must be clear that, where the metres of two languages are constructed on perfectly different systems, it will be impossible to transfer the exact effects of one into the other; so that, in proportion to the artistic skill displayed by an author in the construction of his verses, will be the difficulty of their being appreciated in a translation; and this difficulty will again increase in proportion to the peculiarity and intricacy of the rhythm. Now, as Horace uses many different measures, and is absolute master of all of them, so as to make them almost universally subserve the sense and delight the ear,—it is clear

that such a charm—great in itself—can only be enjoyed by one acquainted with the original.

The same rule applies, though with a less degree, to the happy selection of phrases,—the *curiosa felicitas*, as it is called, of Horace. Each language has its own capabilities of furnishing phrases of peculiar felicity; they generally fall to the share of the early writers of a country. Shakspeare has almost entirely monopolized them in English; and this arises not only from his perfect acquaintance with, and entire mastery of, his own language, but also from the precise period in which he lived. Horace had somewhat the same external advantages; and his mind was one formed so as to profit by them. Such beauties are evidently untranslatable; that is to say, though the bare idea may be transferred, the charm of expression is lost. Like the plucked peach or the captured butterfly, its bloom is sullied, its plumage is injured.

Such also is generally the case with the adaptation of the sound to the sense, especially when the one is a direct imitation of the other. How very difficult it would be to render into a foreign language Milton's description of the opening of the gates either of Heaven or of Hell!—or Tasso's

Rauco suon del Tartareo trombo,

or a hundred other passages which will present themselves at once to the reader's mind. One instance from Horace will suffice; it is that in which he imitates the effect of a stream, now gently bounding from rock to rock, now swiftly and smoothly gliding between its banks: it runs thus:—

et obliquè labôrât  
Lýmpha fugáx trepidáre rívò.

We have accented it for the use of the unlearned; the lines are exquisite—we hear, we see the brook as we read them; but the effect is one which it would be in the highest degree difficult to transfer.

It is, however, even a more difficult task to render the construction or the collocation of Horace into any other language. The way in which one word refers at once rightly and elegantly to two others—the juxtaposition of words by which kindred or repugnant ideas are placed in union or contrast with each other; and the surprise, or suspense, or climax, which is produced by the postponement of some epithet, or phrase, or clause to the conclusion:—these are effects which it is frequently beyond the power of the most consummate skill to transfer from the original Latin of Horace to any other language. We will attempt to illustrate

our meaning by a few examples—the very nature of such illustration precludes even an attempt at any thing like grace or elegance.

As an instance of a word referring *directly* to two others, take HUMUM in III. Carm. II., where speaking of virtue, Horace says:—

et udum  
Spernit humum fugiente penna.

And scorns the muddy ground with shunning wing.

In the original *fugiente* (literally *fleeing-from*) refers directly to *humum* (the ground), which is also governed by *spernit*. To give the sense fully we must use a periphrasis, and introduce the pronoun *It*—thus:—

And scorns the muddy ground with wing *that shuns it*.

As an instance of a word referred to *directly* by one word, and indirectly by another word, take GREGES in III. Carm. I.:—

Regum timendorum in proprios greges  
Reges in ipsos imperium est Jovis.

To Kings whose-due-is-awe o'er their own flocks—  
O'er Kings themselves—the Sway belongs to Jove.

Here "*their own flocks*" refers directly to, or rather is referred to by "*the sway*;" since the said *flocks* are the objects of regal sway; but by the grammatical form and artificial position of *timendorum*, which signifies *who-ought-to-be-feared-by*, a mental though not strictly grammatical connexion is established between this word and "*their own flocks*;" for *timendorum* is not an *absolute*, but a purely *relative* epithet, to give the full force of which, in English, we must again have recourse to a pronoun, and supply the word *them*.

As an example of the mode in which, by the juxtaposition of words, ideas are placed in union or contrast with each other, take

Pastor cum traheret per freta navibus  
Idæis Helenam perfidus hospitam.

As across the deep the *faithless* shepherd  
Bore in Trojan barks his *hostess* Helen,

where the whole effect arising from the juxtaposition of *perfidus* and *hospitam*, by which Horace had placed prominently forward the breach of the laws of hospitality committed by Paris, is necessarily lost in the translation.

As an example of the effect produced by the postponement of



a word, take MORITURO in I. Carm. XXVIII., where speaking to the dead philosopher, the sailor says:—

nec quidquam tibi prodest  
Aeris tentâsse domos, animoque rotundum  
Percurrisse polum morituro.

Nor aught, to thee, avails it with thy mind,  
To have explored the realms of air and traversed  
The vast round world—thee destined still to die.

In the original the *thee* occurs only once, and the form of morituro precludes all mistake, whilst its position adds greatly to the effect of the passage.

In bringing to a close this attempt to show the difficulty of giving the charms of Horatian Poetry in a translation, we must again disclaim every title to artistic excellence of any sort, in the very inelegant renderings which our subject has compelled us to lay before the reader. We gladly turn from this dry and difficult subject to allude—for we can do no more at present—to other merits appreciable by readers not sufficiently versed in Latin, to enter into those last-mentioned merits, which we have not as yet referred to. We gladly acknowledge that there are passages—which burn with the fire of real genius, such, for instance, as the magnificent Ode, beginning,

Qualem ministrum fulminis alitem

or those lines where Horace describes the essentials of a poet. There are verses, and even whole Odes, which appeal to our better feelings; there are passages which exalt virtue and denounce vice—which acknowledge the authority of a superior power, and warn us of the shortness of life.

We would willingly stop here, but the Christian Reviewer has other duties to perform beyond mere artistic criticism; and we are compelled, therefore, to bestow censures far outweighing any praise hitherto recorded by us to this writer. We believe the moral tendency of the works of Horace to be essentially evil; we believe, too, that the moral faults of his writings have greatly increased their popularity; and we believe him to be fully responsible for all the evil that he has written, and all the harm that he has done.

It has been well said, that “Vice is never so dangerous as when she assumes the garb of Virtue.” He who can combine an outward respect for what is pure, and true, and holy, with an inward disregard of every law human or divine—who can frame his tongue to the speech of Heaven whilst advocating the cause of Hell—and persuade his victim that he is acting according to

the dictates of reason and conscience, when yielding to his own passions and accomplishing his own wishes—that man well deserves the rebuke of the poet:—

Hic niger est, hunc tu Romane caveto.

If hypocrisy be the homage which vice renders to virtue, it is the homage of a traitor, who seeks the opportunity to stab his sovereign to the heart. The heathen moralist and the Christian teacher have less to fear from the glaring crimes of the openly abandoned, than from the conventional decencies of the discreetly vicious.

We shall not enter into any long defence of our opinion. Those who have been brought up in the belief that Horace is a great *moralist*, and who have not yet undeceived themselves on this point, are beyond the reach of any argument. To the unprejudiced reader we would observe, that not only do numberless passages prove the depravity of their author, but that throughout almost every *virtuous* passage, there runs an under-current of vice:—we do not allude to the lines addressed to disreputable women—lines whose exquisite grace would seem in many cases to have blinded good men's eyes as to their meaning, from the absence of any *moral salvo* whatever in their commentaries; but we speak of passages in which the poet wishes to appear a model man.—Even the celebrated *Integer vitæ scelerisque purus*, &c., is a case in point. What worse than audacity for a man of Horace's profligate character to call himself “*upright and pure from crime* ;” and what was it that gave him in his own opinion a right to such a title? What was it that rendered him a fit object for the intervention of a special Providence?—That he was writing a copy of amorous verses to a female of bad character.

There is, too, to us, frequently in those passages of a graver order, which do not admit of vicious allusions, a cold unreality which has at times suggested the question—Must not Horace have derived these maxims from some purer source, the mountain ballad of Italy, or fragments of the Sibylline verses? or are they not proverbs handed down from a nobler age by the mouth of the people, and moulded by him into the form which they now bear?

Take for example, and it is only one amongst many, the famous Ode, beginning *Justum et tenacem propositi virum*; what absolute blasphemy, worthy of Shelley himself,—who evidently in his preface to the “Prometheus Unbound,” imagined he was starting something perfectly new,—is the putting the righteous man in direct antagonism with the Omnipotent, and asserting that he would not quail before Him. Shelley was in this case anticipated by an elder son of Belial. His drama is only a development of

Horace's idea. The remainder of the Ode, too, is not what a man, who realized the two first stanzas, would have written in continuation.

To proceed, however.—We are convinced that a great portion of Horace's universal popularity arises from his moral turpitude. There is nothing in his poems that can offend any class of culprits, the most vicious can sympathize with most of his writings; and the skin-deep morality which they teach, tends rather to raise their opinion of themselves by raising their opinion of him; they get up from the perusal of Horace with the persuasion that though, as they would say, he was no saint, he was a good sort of fellow—one of their own—and they feel a participation in his moral exaltation. “Let us eat and drink, for to-morrow we die,” is the constant law of the world; and its children love to see that represented as a duty which they might otherwise look on as merely a pleasure. In short, “*The World loveth its own*,” and therefore it loveth Horace.

It will be, however, urged, that Horace is not to be held responsible either for the tendency or the influence of his writings. The ground taken must be either that he taught the highest morality which he knew, or that he acquired the highest standard which lay within his reach. We shall attack both defences at once. There is external evidence to prove that a far higher standard of morality did exist at the time of Horace, than that adopted by his writings; that, in fact, he was far below the level of many others. And there is internal evidence that he did not act up to the light which he possessed, and that he did not endeavour to attain to that height which he was capable of reaching.

To compare Horace with Virgil would be an insult to the latter somewhat too great; but placed side by side with Ovid, the moral teacher, the eloquent advocate of unutterable crimes, must bow before the comparative innocence of the author of the “*Ars Amoris*.” Take the Philosophers of the day,—was it, as Mr. Milman overcharitably supposes, the force of political circumstances which made Horace choose from the Greek schools that of Epicurus? Go back to his boyhood, were all his early teachers as depraved in theory as well as practice, as he became? Proceed further down the stream of time growing every year more foul, and fetid, from the accumulated corruptions of all the vices social, political, civil, and religious—pause at that fearful moment, when unbridled licentiousness and utter degradation characterized the Roman world, as yet uninfluenced by the rising power of Christianity—is there none to stand forward and boldly battle with the overwhelming flood? Yes, there is one—one

who, because he did so,—because he called things by their right names, and sternly denounced the vice which he fearfully described—has become unpopular. Yes!—Juvenal has met with much the same treatment, which is at times accorded to the plain-spoken preacher. The world in general, like fashionable congregations in particular, does not wish to hear any thing which makes it feel uncomfortable.

Now it is very plain that if Juvenal could, in a more depraved age, hold forth a higher standard, and exhibit a depth and truth and intensity of zeal in the cause of truth and virtue,—the awful truth of a ruling Providence,—an avenging conscience,—and a judgment according to works, Horace, with, in many respects, superior advantages, might have found and taught a higher moral law than that which he adopted.

But if any doubt remained on the question, it might be solved by a perusal of Horace's own works. There we find a higher law frequently laid down than that generally enforced; there we find disjointed statements,—few, very few, but sufficient for our purpose,—of sublime truths, which show that the writer did know what he neither taught nor acted up to; and had sufficient knowledge to have acquired more.

Unless his praises of virtue are merely nursery rhymes, heard in his childhood, despised ere he reached man's estate, and inserted solely for effect, he had the knowledge of a stricter, holier rule than that which was his standard of thought and life and feeling, his practical measure of right and wrong. His recognitions of Providence show that, unless a mere wanton blasphemer, he knew—when he chose to think—the existence of a ruling, governing, and retributive power; and he mentions at least two cases in which, even in his own opinion, Heaven had vouchsafed to give him special warnings. And, without referring to his recognition—direct or indirect—of other divine truths, we shall conclude by citing a passage which undoubtedly proves, that, however he might disregard it, he was in possession of the important doctrine of the unity of the Godhead.

Quid prius dicam solitis Parentis  
Laudibus? qui res hominum ac deorum,  
Qui mare ac terras, variisque mundum  
Temperat horis.

Unde nil majus generatur ipso,  
Nec viget quidquam simile aut secundum.

I. CARM. XII. 13—18.

On the extent of Horace's criminality we shall say no more at present. The effects of his writings have been both good and

evil: good, inasmuch as the contemplation of the highest artistic excellence has a tendency to refine the mind, whilst the shrewd sense, the manly thought, and the deep knowledge of the world displayed in these writings, tend to strengthen the character; good, in as far as the descriptions of nature and the recognition of higher principles, and higher agencies, and a Higher Power, naturally exalt the soul; good, inasmuch as friendship is developed, brutality discouraged, patriotism applauded, and literature recommended. But the evils which, on the other hand, have accrued from the study of this author, and from the way in which he has been studied, have been of the most serious nature and extensive influence. The mind has been tainted, the boundary between right and wrong destroyed, the horror against vice softened down, the standard of virtue lowered, self-love substituted for duty, discretion for excellence, pleasure enthroned as a sovereign, and the world worshipped as a God,—through the influence of this poet's writings on the youth of each succeeding generation, aided by the blind and criminal adulation of his infatuated devotees. They who, having been taught the truth, have held up the writings of this impure teacher, as the model which the old should reverence and the young emulate, have incurred a debt of guilt which it is painful to contemplate.

Would we then discourage the study of Horace? Far from it; but whilst teaching the young to seek in this rich mine the precious ore really to be found there, we would not assert the presence of that which is absent; whilst pointing out the gems, we would indicate the counterfeits; whilst culling the bright flowers and salutary herbs, we would warn the inexperienced of the poisonous plants and deadly fruits, which abound in the fair garden through which he is wandering. In short, we would carefully distinguish

Quid sit pulchrum, *quid turpe*, quid utile, *quid non*.

We must however bring this article to a close, lest the impatient shade of his patron<sup>1</sup> should be tempted to revisit earth, and address us in behalf of his client with the well-known adjuration,

Surge tandem carnufex.

<sup>1</sup> "One day, when Octavius was sitting in judgment as Triumvir, and condemning a multitude of persons to death, Mæcenas handed up to him a tablet, inscribed with those significant words."

ART. III.—*Essay on the Union of Church and State.* By  
BAPTIST WRIOTHESLEY NOEL. ἀληθεύοντες ἐν ἀγάπῃ.  
Eph. iv. 15. James Nisbet & Co., 21, Berners-street. 1849.

IN dealing with an adversary or repelling an attack, a gentleman must consider the character of his opponents and the weapons wherewith he has been assailed. We feel some of the difficulties which must be encountered under these circumstances, when we read the attacks now made upon the Church of England. When a dissenter calls the marriage service indecent, the baptismal service blasphemous, and the Church Catechism a lie, we pass him by as quietly as possible, leaving him, as a gentleman would a sweep, to the undisturbed enjoyment of his own soot, congratulating him on the impunity which he enjoys, and merely reminding him that the police are within call, and that if he were worth prosecuting he might possibly be convicted of a libel. When, on the other hand, a distinguished member of the Church of England denounces her authority, opposes her formularies, and gives his reasons in a large volume for withdrawing from her ministry, we feel it a duty not to be silent, or to allow unfounded charges to be considered unanswerable. Mr. Noel is a gentleman, he therefore avoids personal abuse; he is a man of a Christian spirit, he therefore begs pardon for offending; he has some talents as a popular preacher, and we could have hoped that he would have lived and died an efficient minister of the Gospel; but he has taken a dislike to the union of Church and State; into this all his arguments run and all his thoughts seem to tend. We pity the perversion rather than blame the man, and feel inclined to exclaim, as we read his many fallacies,

—Ah miser  
Quantâ laboras in Charybdi  
Digne puer meliore flammâ!

This crotchet, however, is only a symptom, there is a moral disease more deeply seated. Like most incurables, Mr. Noel probably does not know his own complaint; but it is not the less dangerous or infectious on that account. He does not see that he is hurried on by the force of a vortex which is rapidly overwhelming many of our best institutions. The vortex is Radicalism.



Mr. Noel is a thorough-going Radical in the strongest sense of the word.

When Dr. Johnson said that "The first Whig was the Devil," he intended that opposition to constituted authority, or the feeling which leads man to endeavour to subvert what others value, is a sinful propensity of our fallen nature. Now the organ of destructiveness must be prominent in Mr. Noel, the first Whig must have blinded his better feelings, for, from the title-page to the parting address, we read, "Down with every thing: Church and State must fall, and the sooner they fall the better." The Book is by Baptist Wriothsesley Noel, A.M. The son of a peeress is "the Honourable;" an ordained minister even among dissenters is addressed as "the Reverend:" but Mr. Noel cannot bear to have his name connected either with Church or State, he drops the titles which identify him with both. This may appear to many to be mere weakness, but it is consistent with the rest of his book. It is a symptom of the disease we have mentioned, and is countenanced by the example of Philip Egalité at the beginning of the French Revolution. As great fault is found with the Universities, we only wonder that the academic title is retained. Mr. Noel all through his work has assumed that the piety of every body of men is in the inverse ratio of their dignity; and because religion is badly administered, Mr. Noel would make it worse. He would take the power from the bishops and lodge it in the people; he would supersede the House of Commons in order to place the supreme spiritual authority in the electors. His remedies are all destructive. If he were an architect, he would pull off the roof of the house to allow a vent for a draft from a broken window; if he were a surgeon, he would cut off his patient's head as a cure for the toothache: and lately, when he opposed the grant to Maynooth, he simply suggested, as a preferable alternative, or rather a sort of gentle remedy, that all the Irish clergy should abandon their property and sacrifice the support of themselves and their families, because the government, which upholds them, was convicted of a mistake. (See his Letter to the Bishop of Cashel on the subject of Maynooth.)

As Mr. Noel deals in indiscriminate attack he stands on a ground of great advantage. From the manifest imperfection of all human systems, and still more so from the weakness of the instruments by which they are administered, every thing is open to objection; he, therefore, who sets up for a censor of the world will always pass for a man of talent. It is our intention in this instance to follow Mr. Noel's example, and merely show the fallacy of some of his arguments: our limits do not admit of an

elaborate defence of the Church of England; and most of Mr. Noel's objections have been answered already, as few of them are original. As, however, an enemy has raised a battery against our bulwarks, we feel that we may do the State good service by returning some of his shot; and if we have not space to answer his cannonade in regular order, we may at least weaken its force.

One chapter is devoted to the subject of the "Union considered from History." This dwells upon the faults of kings and rulers from Constantine and Queen Elizabeth to Charles the Second and Louis the Fourteenth; and as history generally records the evil deeds of ambitious men, and leaves the useful and pious to the reward of their Father who is in heaven, we fear there is too much truth in the statement,

"The evils that men do live after them,  
The good is oft interred with their bones."

Mr. Noel, however, while he gives many examples to deter us from the union of Church and State, gives us one pattern for our imitation which we think worth quoting, as, while he deprecates the manner, he evidently glories in the result. It will throw some light upon the value of his testimony from history regarding the union of Church and State.

"This part of the alternative (the severance of Church and State by violence) is not so impossible as some may think. A separation of the Church from the State is the distinct tendency of the foremost nations of Europe, which must, sooner or later, govern the course of the rest. In the year 1795 the convention of the French Republic introduced into its constitution the following article: 'No one shall be hindered from exercising the religion (culte) which he has chosen. No one shall be forced to contribute to the maintenance of any religion. The Republic salaries none.' If a similar article is not inserted in the French constitution of 1848, this is attributable more to a temporary fear of increasing the difficulties of the Republic than to any value for the union itself."—p. 565.

Now we ask Mr. Noel (in the name of Tom Paine, Robespierre, and Dr. Guillotine), does he seriously propose France in 1795, or even in 1848, as an example to England in 1849? Did the blessing of God rest on revolutionary France? "Had Zimri peace who slew his master?"

But says Mr. Noel, Dissolve the union quietly and religiously, lest it be done hereafter with violence. We answer, that where the same mischievous result is produced, we care little as to the means of effecting it.

But France, Germany, and Prussia are taking the lead in a movement, therefore England must follow. When men like Mr. Noel think so, we are the more afraid. We hope, however, our progress may be slow. There must in a free country be an opposition: we hope it may long continue with such opponents as Mr. Noel, rather than with worse. History teaches us that when Whigs have gained their object, as by the Reform Bill, Radicals like Mr. Cobden will call for further concession. Let Radicals or Chartists call themselves a provisional government, and a Socialist opposition arises at once. Mr. Noel tells us, "Thoughtful, just, and religious progress is the only condition of our safety:" this means, in England we are to throw off national religion because certain parties who call themselves the people choose to demand it; in France, of course, on the same principle of progress, we are to admit women professing Socialism to the legislative assembly, and to treat the obligations of marriage as an antiquated delusion.

" Thus in the lowest deep a lower deep  
Still threatens to devour."

We confess we much prefer disputing with a gentleman who endeavours to "speak the truth in love"<sup>1</sup> on the union between Church and State, to seeing Temple-bar thrown down to form a barricade. It is more agreeable to argue against Radicalism which possesses the happy inconsistency of being combined with the fear of God, than when associated with fierce and open infidelity; and widely as we differ from Mr. Noel, we much prefer him to M. Prudhon, who tells us plainly that "property is robbery, and Christianity has had its day."

Let us now consider the political and religious objections which Mr. Noel advances against the union of Church and State. In the first place, he boldly asserts that the union is condemned by the Mosaic law. This is certainly a strong assumption, as among the ecclesiastical arrangements of the Israelites are found all the great principles for which we contend. He tells us again, that even if Moses could furnish arguments for the union, his law has been abrogated; but that the Mosaic system of endowment is totally at variance with ours. Now we have always held that while the details of the ceremonial law are not binding on Christians, because they are burdensome or impossible, yet whenever we can discover the principle on which the law was enacted, we have a right to argue from it as coming from God.

<sup>1</sup> His motto.

For instance, St. Paul quotes, "Thou shalt not muzzle the ox which treadeth out thy corn." Now Christians are here taught to give the labourer his hire, though they are not bound to thresh their corn in a way which modern improvement has superseded. In the same way, the whole principle of an ecclesiastical establishment is laid down by the law of Moses. There was the share of the offerings, to which we have no parallel now, the tithes, the glebe lands, and the capitation tax or Church-rate, which last Mr. Noel has overlooked, though our Lord worked a miracle in order to pay it (See Matt. xvii. 24). The Jewish state under the Roman yoke had evidently lost the power of enforcing this tax; and our Lord might have claimed an exemption as being continually employed in the service of God, at the same time He intended to set us an example and give His sanction to the collection of the rate.

But says Mr. Noel, "There was no sanction under the law of Moses, the payment of tithes was of mere moral obligation, a blessing was to attend those who chose to pay; but the Levites had no legal means of enforcing their claim: therefore the Pharisee in the Temple boasted of paying tithes." Here we must recollect that the nation of Israel was often in a semibarbarous state, subject to revolutions and invasions: that the Pharisee boasted also that he was neither an adulterer nor an extortioner. The executive government was often too weak to enforce the law; and Mr. Noel might as well argue that the sixth commandment is not binding upon Christians because David was unable to avenge the murders of Abner and Amasa, and because the sons of Zeruiah were too strong for him. The keeping of the Passover is sanctioned with the severest penalties; yet for centuries from Solomon to Hezekiah and Josiah it seems to have been forgotten. Mr. Noel, like all dissenters, objects to coercion, he wishes all laws to be repealed which give the minister a right to collect his revenue; we would just suggest, that as, whether rightly or not, the Church is in possession of certain emoluments which dissenters are desirous of taking, the first step should be the repeal of the tenth commandment. Mr. Noel argues that Church property should be done away, "because coercing dissenters must lead to contention between Christians;" now where a right is contended for, the party who is in the wrong must bear the blame if mischief ensue; we may bring an ejectment against Mr. Noel's house, and call upon him to give it up as a Christian duty, that he may avoid strife; but it is very plain that the law will support him in his right, and that the costs of an unjust suit will fall upon the aggressor.

On this principle we have always felt obliged to stand aloof from one of Mr. Noel's favourite schemes, we mean the Evangelical Alliance: one of his accusations against the clergy of the establishment is their refusal to unite with it. Beautiful as it is in theory that all true Christians should agree, it becomes difficult in practice to bring about the union, as we see the Committee are obliged to require a subscription to certain points of evangelical doctrine. This affords a decisive argument against the dissenters, and in favour of subscribing some form. If a certain body of all denominations should agree to dine together in London every day for one week in the year, and converse on religious subjects for the elucidation of truth and for mutual edification, there would be something tangible in the scheme; but when those who meet must agree on certain points, and be on the best possible terms with those who differ from them on open questions, and where one party are endeavouring with all their power to sever the connexion between Church and State, we think the apparent union worse than a hollow truce. The dissenters who invite our ministers into their alliance and yet write and speak as the Independents generally do, seem to us to say, "My dear brother, I am delighted to see you; let us read the Bible together, let us cultivate fraternity, let us love each other as we ought—but in the mean time I am sure you will not object to my—picking your pocket."

Again we read, "It is as unreasonable in the State to provide religious instruction for the nation and force them to pay for it, as it would be for a father to provide a physician and a lawyer and force his sons to employ them after they were of age to judge for themselves. The State does not find our advisers in law and medicine, why then find our clergy?" We have heard of a book called "Every Man his own Lawyer." Now Mr. Noel ought to write one to show that every man has a right to be his own chancellor; that the judges and officers of the courts should be paid as they are wanted, that the people (the true source of power) should be able by their votes to elect them, and also to displace them at pleasure by withholding their salaries; that Westminster Hall should henceforth be conducted not in the name of the Queen, or endowed at her expense, but that there should be "no king in Israel, and that every man should do that which is right in his own eyes." Mr. Noel proves that the minister of the Gospel is in a certain sense the Episcopus (the overseer or ruler of the congregation), as well as the Diaconus (the servant or adviser of his brethren). To execute his office aright, and support the godly discipline for which our

author contends, he must be to a certain extent independent of those over whom he rules. It would be a novel description of forensic arrangement to have the attorney-general or the judges supported by a voluntary tax upon prisoners, insolvents, and others, whose practice has been contrary to sound doctrine; and it is nearly as great an anomaly to suppose that a minister is to a certain extent to be a judge in his own court, to let no man despise him, but with all authority to reprove, to rebuke, and to exhort those on whom he is dependent for his daily subsistence.

As to the medical profession the analogy is much stronger. A laborious education and a severe test are required before any man can receive the sanction of the legislature in prescribing for his neighbour. In a free country quackery must be tolerated as well as dissent; but the self-taught physician, whatever skill he may possess, or the self-constituted minister, whatever be his piety, must appeal to the individuals who trust or approve of him: the king does not recognize his office. But the medical profession is not only authorized by the State, it is also endowed by it where endowment is required. If we could only agree that mankind are as sensible of their spiritual wants as they are anxious for bodily health, we should go even farther than Mr. Noel, we might shut our churches and dismiss our pastors, except a few hundreds who might administer the sacraments at stated periods; these would be so cordially received, nay, men would so teach and stimulate each other by their mutual exhortations, that in a short time the earth would be "filled with the knowledge of the Lord as the waters cover the sea." But as unfortunately this is not the case, and the mission of the Christian Church is aggressive, it becomes its first object to show the want of itself. Many parts of the kingdom, however, have been found so poor and so ignorant, that the State has been obliged to interfere to provide medical assistance. This has been done all over Ireland to the manifest improvement of the medical charities.

It is really extraordinary that those who cry out most against tithes, are the manufacturers, who pay least. The reason seems to be that in great towns the endowment is not sufficient for its purpose, the benefit is less felt, and therefore the union is looked upon as a grievance rather than a blessing. The landed interest do not object to tithes, though they pay them in a much larger proportion: the reason is, that the country clergy have proper time to attend to their duties, and the advantage of the pious pastor and educated gentleman is really felt by his neighbours. Why then should the manufacturers complain who pay less? The Radicals are, therefore, unfair; they say, We hate the Church



because we derive no benefit from it ; and though we scarcely pay for it ourselves, we object to its payment by the landed interest who really value the institution. Let us suppose Mr. Noel's theory carried out. A large proportion of the country churches in England, and probably three-fourths of the country churches in Ireland would be closed, the whole Protestant population of three provinces<sup>2</sup> (who settled under a guarantee from the State for religious instruction) would be left unprovided for, the whole country would be given up to the priests, and the island would in a few years resemble Spain or Italy in the fourteenth century. But let us view the matter in a political light. If England had given up the temporalities of the Irish Church some years ago, and allowed the late race of clergy to die off without supplying their place, what would have been the condition of the country in 1846? It is now admitted on all hands that but for the supplies sent by England, two million of the Irish must have died of famine. As the connecting link is the Church establishment, the clergy became the almoners of England. As Ireland has had a famine about once in thirty years, if Mr. Noel and his party succeed, when another year of scarcity comes the peasantry of Ireland will only feel their loss when it is too late.

The Free Church of Scotland seems to be Mr. Noel's model of perfection. He would therefore allow glebe lands and private endowments. We hope he will not be offended when we show that in what he says here he admits the whole principle for which we contend. (The Free Church, by the way, are not voluntaries ; they claim a support from the State, but will not accept it on the terms offered.) Now we really do not see the difference between the principle of a private benefaction vested in trustees and secured by the State, and an endowment directly from the State. Let us suppose a case. It is a hardship for a dissenter to be obliged to pay tithe for which he bargained when he took his farm. Now let us change the words : suppose a glebe of fifty acres be left by private endowment, and the minister of a dissenting chapel or free church, having many engagements, were to let the whole or a part to a tenant on a lease. If the successor of this tenant be a High Churchman, and so disagree as we do from the principles laid down by Mr. Noel,

<sup>2</sup> By the returns of 1832, there were in the three southern archdioceses of Ireland (nearly coincident with the provinces of Leinster, Connaught, and Munster), 334,342 Protestants, all steady supporters of the British Crown. Of these, very few are dissenters, and the congregations are very much scattered. There are 2422 parishes in Ireland, and not more than a fourth could maintain a minister under Mr. Noel's system.

and taught in the chapel, would the said High Churchman be bound to pay the rent? and would the dissenting minister be guilty of schism (as Mr. Noel says our clergy are) in provoking a quarrel by distraining for his right?

The statistics of the Free Church give the voluntaries, as they suppose, the greatest cause for triumph. A whole nation, say they, has thrown off Erastianism and the power of the State, and the Free Church of Scotland is now self-governed. Mr. Noel gives us a summary of the congregations in Scotland in 1847, which we extract in order to show the evil which a modified degree of Mr. H. Noel's principles has produced:—

Ministers of the Establishment . . . . .	1105
Free Church . . . . .	625
Associate Synod . . . . .	393
Original Seceders . . . . .	34
Relief Synod . . . . .	115
Cameronians . . . . .	30
Congregationalists . . . . .	75
Scotch Episcopalians . . . . .	101
English Episcopalians . . . . .	9
Baptists . . . . .	40
<hr/>	
Total Free Churches . . . . .	1422

The first six of these bodies are all Presbyterians; they agree as nearly as possible in all the principles of doctrine, discipline, and practice, and they all claim the right of being the true and legitimate descendants of Calvin and John Knox; yet, for a mere trifle, each has seceded from the parent stock, and they have virtually excommunicated each other. The Free Church brand the Establishment as Erastian, and accuse them of following Cæsar rather than Christ. Like all partizans who take a strong step, they are bound to justify their own conduct by severely attacking the body they have left. In one point, however, the Free Church is superior to Mr. Noel; their object is to vest the appointment of all ministers in “the male heads of families being communicants.” Mr. Noel would place it “in the people,” “in the congregation,” or in some undefined or imaginary body of spiritual Christians, to be found in every separate Church. Here we take the liberty of saying, that the Free Church assumes more than the Church of England. Mr. Noel objects to the King, for Henry VIII. was a wicked man in domestic and public life; to the Lords, because they are a mixed assembly of men of all characters; to the Commons, because the majority are unconverted: but he does not see, that by vesting it in the male heads of families (we take this as a defined body, and Mr. Noel

fixes none), he is assuming, in a greater degree, the very point on which he must separate from the Church of England—we mean, the purity of man. We have always supposed the king to be a good patron in theory (not because he cannot morally do wrong), but because legally he is placed above the vulgar influences by which mankind are usually swayed. We admit, since Reform, a prime minister is in this sense even a worse patron than he was before, but that is merely because the people have more power. An absolute monarch is, perhaps, the only person who can choose his officers merely from their fitness for their places; but the fact of being absolute will probably lead him to make a bad choice, as his own pleasure will be his guide rather than the interests of his subjects: even so, we consider him a much better patron than a multitude. It is really hard to deny infallibility to the pope, and then gravely argue for the infallibility of the male heads of families. It seems to us, that the lower we descend in the scale of life, the less likely we are to find purity in patronage. The House of Commons is not the most dignified tribunal in the world, nor is it at all competent to decide on spiritual matters; but would Mr. Noel prefer the booths of a contested election? The people combine all the evils of the Commons (who are only their nominees), and bring with them the additional difficulties of numbers, ignorance, and the excitement of the moment.

We thus dispose of Mr. Noel's arguments upon patronage; they all proceed from the false premise, that the people *must be pure*. He admits the whole principle of endowment by recognizing the glebes of the Free Church and the cities of the Levites. He allows that property should follow the will of the donor, and only differs from us by asking that the people should be the trustees. The best trustee is certainly the one who will see that the duties are performed, and the property given to the performer. Now we fancy that the bishop, or a chapter, or even the lay patron, or the Crown, combining the powers of all three, is not perhaps the best trustee for the endowment, but he is much better than the multitude of the congregation.

After the question of patronage comes the question of responsibility. Here the constitution of England, having given the minister certain spiritual rights, a good degree, and the charge of a parish, takes the power altogether from the lay patron and places it in the spiritual authority, the bishops or the judges appointed by them. To both these Mr. Noel objects; still upholding the voluntary system as the best check on clerical misconduct, and the best stimulus to pastoral exertion. He writes against the system of excommunication, which seems to haunt him, like the ghost of some departed archbishop; but it is

wonderful how Mr. Noel always assumes, that because a bishop has the power of suspending an incumbent where cause is shown, or withdrawing the licence from a curate, he will exercise that power against the evangelical preacher, and that if the same authority were transferred to the people, they will only use it for the maintenance of true religion and virtue. A bishop or a judge is guided by law, by precedent, and public opinion; the two first are understood by the clergy, and the latter has the greatest weight; but a congregation have none of these; they know no law but their own will, or rather the will of the cleverest demagogue among them; their idea of public opinion is derived from a newspaper; and no one individual feels himself responsible. When they dislike a minister they have only to withdraw his salary, and they deprive him of the means whereby he lives. For our part we are most averse to all collisions; we hope never to enter a court of justice except as a spectator; but, if ever we are unfortunately forced into legal strife, we should much prefer the Court of Arches itself to the male heads of families or a committee of ladies.

Again, "The Anglican Church is defective, because it holds out promotion as a stimulus to exertion in the professional duties of the ministry." Now this is again assuming too high a degree of purity on Mr. Noel's part. Can he suppose that out of many thousands of clergy there must not be many who will make an increase of income an object? We believe Mr. Noel is well off in worldly matters, but he must recollect that the majority of mankind are struggling for a subsistence,

"Contentus famâ jaceat Lucanus in hortis  
Marmoreis; at Serrano tenuique Saleio  
Gloria quantilibet quid erit si gloria tantum est?"

It is a fine thing to see a person (as we have seen) build and endow a church at his own expense, and so devote his time and his fortune to the promotion of the kingdom of God; but few are able to do this, and therefore few are called to do it. We admit the desire of promotion is not the best stimulant to exertion, but it is much better than the alternative which Mr. Noel proposes, the fear of starvation. These Anglican labourers, he would say, are mere eye-servants, they are fonder of their wages than of their work, their overseers are negligent and countenance carelessness; therefore let us make them slaves. "Slavery," said Sir Fowell Buxton, "is labour extorted by force; wages, the natural motive, is not given, but their place is supplied with the whip—a motive there must be; and it comes at last to this, inducement or compulsion, wages or the whip."—(Life of Sir T. F. Buxton, p. 245.)

Now if a clergyman happen to have somewhat of a mercenary spirit (as many must have in our fallen state), it is better that he should have the desire of some small advancement before him than the fear of a distrustful meddling Radical congregation. Revolutionists are always the greatest tyrants; the freest people in the world uphold negro slavery, and Mr. Noel would put on the screw of coercion instead of a slight prospect of reward. But "the Anglican Church is defective in discipline—for instance, a clergyman refused to sit on a committee of the Bible Society with his neighbour, a professed Arian. The next Sunday the Arian publicly attended the communion in the parish church, and the congregation and minister, being subjects of the State, had no power to exclude him." Perhaps the power exists notwithstanding; and perhaps if it had been exercised by a bishop, Mr. Noel would have been the first to complain. But the clergyman was, in one view, justifiable, for the Arian either told a solemn lie or renounced his errors. The Nicene Creed, composed as a barrier against this very heresy, forms a part of the Communion Service, in this the communicant joins, he therefore makes a solemn profession of the orthodox faith. However we can also quote an example on the other side: we know it to be a fact that a Presbyterian minister, well known in the literary world, was highly commended for his prudence in never touching on the doctrine of our Lord's divine nature. "He is extremely wise," said a member of his flock; "for, as half his congregation are Arians, he manages to continue among us without giving offence."

We now come to the second part of our review, in which we shall endeavour to answer some of Mr. Noel's objections to the formularies of the Church of England. He says the "Anglican Church is defective, because it cannot free itself from sundry passages in the Liturgy, which are incorrect, and therefore unfitted for the use of Christians." The three portions which are most severely attacked are the Ordination Service, the Baptismal and Burial Services. The objection is, that the Church assumes the spirituality of her members; that priests receive the Holy Ghost; that private Christians are made children of God and inheritors of the kingdom of heaven; and that we commit the body of a deceased friend to the ground in sure and certain hope of the resurrection to everlasting life. Now as (like Pharaoh's dreams) the objection is one, we shall endeavour to deal with it as such at first, and afterwards consider each passage. In the first place, Mr. Noel attacks us for doing the very thing which he does in a much greater degree: we acknowledge our congregations as Christians because they say they are; he would exalt them into judges, bishops, and doctors of divinity. A man may be a very good

Christian, God may have given him all things needful for life and godliness, and yet he may be a very bad divine and a still worse judge of the qualifications of a minister. The essential doctrines of the Gospel are within the reach of all who seek to understand them; but abstruse questions of Church-rule and polemical argument are understood by few. He who can easily examine himself whether he be in the faith, may find great difficulty in examining witnesses or deciding upon the orthodoxy of a minister; and if an accusation were brought for heresy, he may probably never have heard the difference between an Arian and a Socinian. Yet to such Mr. Noel would commit the supreme rule in the Church, while he objects to the indiscriminate admission of Church members. There is certainly some flagrant inconsistency here.

With great respect be it spoken, the same objections to the wording of the Prayer Book will apply to the word of God itself; and we believe that nothing but the overwhelming weight of external evidence, producing from infancy the deepest veneration for the Bible, could prevent our present race of captious dissenters from cavilling at it as they do against the Liturgy. We assume as an axiom that "the law of the Lord is perfect." Now this perfection consists in its being, like God's other works, perfectly adapted to its own end, the conversion of the soul. It is not a perfect treatise on natural science, for it represents the sun as standing still; but this is accounted for because it was given to Joshua as he could understand it. Had the Copernican theory been revealed to him in a moment, the people could not have been made aware of the truth, and the kings of the Canaanites would have escaped while the Israelites were listening to a lecture upon physical astronomy. They saw the sun stand still at Joshua's word, and Sir Isaac Newton himself could not have convinced them against the evidence of their senses. The same principle pervades the whole. The Bible is a popular treatise, not a logical one. It does not define and explain terms, but takes words as they were known and understood at the time. This is a plan very different from what we should have devised either for a code of laws or a system of ethics. Again, the sun is the emblem which David uses (Ps. xix.) for the law of the Lord. Now the sun, like the word of God, is perfectly adapted to his own end, the diffusion of light and heat; yet in one sense he is imperfect: as he comes to us through an imperfect medium the atmosphere, his rays are subject to refraction, and our organs which receive them are liable to error. Now it is just so with the word of God, it comes to us through the imperfect medium of language, and our understandings being finite are often incapable of fully comprehending it. We should consider him a fool who



would shut his eyes till he could ascertain the exact position of the sun irrespective of refraction ; and in the same way he who will not use the Scriptures which are perfectly adapted to teach him the way of salvation, till he can understand every word, and reconcile every difficulty, will wilfully perish in his own blindness. The defects of our sight must be corrected by our touch, and where one part of Scripture seems inconsistent with others, we must endeavour to expound each part, so that it may be consistent with the general intent. A single insulated text, when not combined with others, may lead to fearful errors. We have heard of a soldier who struck his comrade and afterwards cut off his right hand, because, he said, " it had offended him ;" and if Radicalism were not at the foundation of Mr. Noel's errors, we might probably trace them to undue weight given to an insulated text ; but we have not found even one which can be strained to support the sovereignty of the people. Our answer, then, to Mr. Noel's objections to portions of our services is this : if he supposes that in the Burial Service the Church of England asserts the salvation of all that are buried in consecrated ground, let him look to other parts of the Prayer Book, as the Athanasian Creed, and he will find his mistake. If he fancies his congregation are misled by hearing him read it (we feel sure, like many expressions in Scripture, it is perfectly correct in the sense it was intended), let him preach a sermon to show the fallacy of their opinion. We are obliged to do this in explaining Scripture itself ; why then hesitate to do it in considering our forms which are closely drawn from the Scriptures. If the Prayer Book be only imperfectly adapted to its own end, the supply of forms for congregational worship, it comes, perhaps, as near what is required as any human composition can ; it is, therefore, much better to explain one part by another, than to cavil at the whole ; or to suppose, that by changing the present order of things, we should arrive at a higher or a purer system of devotional worship.

3. All social religion must assume the spirituality of those who unite in it. If, therefore, we are to have any prayer in a public congregation, the question is only one of degree ; and after all that has been said, we think that we assume a less high degree of religious attainment than our opponents, who raise all private Christians to the rank of ruling elders. It is said of the late Rev. Legh Richmond that, in one of his tours, he met the late Robert Hall at the house of a mutual acquaintance. Mr. Hall, as a dissenter, stated some of the usual objections, which we have named, urging the danger of using the strong language of the Liturgy in a mixed congregation, and pressing, like Mr. Noel, for a more select communion. Mr. Richmond was asked to lecture

in the family circle, and consented, saying to Mr. Hall, that he hoped he would conclude with prayer. There were some strangers and a number of servants present. Shortly afterwards, Mr. Richmond remarked, that of course Mr. Hall had had opportunities of conversing with the servants, and was well acquainted with their religious state; and when Mr. Hall replied that he had never been in the house before, Mr. Richmond retorted his own arguments against himself, showing, that in his approach to God with the congregation, he had evidently assumed their conversion.

Mr. Noel objecting to the Baptismal Service will of course not teach his children the Catechism, or allow them to say, "Wherein I was made a member of Christ." "It is a fearful thing," say the dissenters, "thus to lead children to assume their own conversion." Now we ask, Will such persons teach their children to repeat the Lord's Prayer? If they do, we think they are inconsistent, for it assumes a much higher degree of spiritual life than the Baptismal Service. The few simple words which our Lord has taught us, while they are plain enough for the comprehension of a child, yet contain depths of spiritual knowledge which even the most advanced Christian must long after in vain. Let Mr. Noel be called to the death-bed of the most experienced member of his flock, and he cannot suggest for self-examination in the solemn hour of death any portion of Scripture which will open more of the experimental teaching of the Holy Spirit than the Lord's Prayer. The Spirit of adoption, the power of approaching God as a reconciled Father in Christ, the desire for his kingdom, the complete submission to his will, the sense of sin combined with full Christian charity, are some of the points of Christian experience which that wonderful prayer opens to our view. Now no man in this imperfect state can fully attain to the profession which we make when we use the Lord's Prayer, though every Christian will do so to a certain degree.

The Church of England assumes the regeneration of her members and their consequent adoption into the family of God; the Lord's Prayer assumes more, not only that they are adopted, but that they can act upon the knowledge of their adoption. It desires them to profess that they have the Spirit of adoption; not only that God is our Father, but that we can address Him as such. Man may, we believe, be a child of God without knowing it, at least without enjoying his privileges as he ought; but the Lord's Prayer assumes that he does know his own state, and that he has a considerable portion of the assurance of hope, as nothing else can give him a desire for the coming of Christ's kingdom. The form, however, rests on the highest authority, and by it our Lord calls upon us to approximate to a high degree

of spiritual life ; as the ungodly are ever learning, and never able to come to the knowledge of the truth, so the Christian should be ever improving, though never arriving at final improvement until the body of his humiliation is changed. It is impossible to compose a form to suit every individual ; it is therefore the business of the Church to assume a high standard, and of private members to endeavour to reach it. Thus, by the Liturgy, as well as by our Lord and his Apostles, we are taught that, “ forgetting those things which are behind and reaching forth to those that are before, we should press toward the mark for the prize of the high calling of God.”

Again, we believe that Mr. Noel holds the direct influence of the Holy Spirit as essential to the right exercise of the Christian ministry ; yet he severely condemns the part of the service where the bishop says, “ Receive the Holy Ghost for the exercise of the office of a priest—whosoever sins thou dost remit they are remitted unto them.” As the expression is our Lord’s, the objection is not to the words but to their application. The compilers of the service evidently adhered to the scriptural words in order to avoid objections. If the Holy Spirit be necessary for the fulfilment of the office, the gift is to be sought and received from Him who is with us always even unto the end of the world. The question at issue then is simply this, Did our Lord intend common ordination, or did He intend to convey the miraculous gifts, including the discerning of spirits ? We see no reason to doubt that He intended the former ; and if ordination were to be administered by the people, Mr. Noel would think so too. He evidently strains at the passage from his fear of a bishop. The extraordinary gifts were twice given from heaven (see Acts ii. and Acts x.), once by the visible appearance of fiery tongues, and on the other occasion by some sign equally perceptible. For these, the Apostles, after being ordained and sent, were desired to wait at Jerusalem : and though the Apostles could confer some of these gifts on those whom they ordained, it is plain that the ordinary gifts and graces of the Spirit were usually conveyed along with them. Timothy was to stir up the gift, and to commit what he had heard to faithful men by laying on of hands after due consideration ; and Titus was to ordain elders. The distinction here seems to be, that while miraculous gifts died with the immediate successors of the Apostles, the ordinary gifts were to continue to the end. The Church of England therefore cannot be far wrong in using the words of our Lord Himself, when intending to do what He manifestly appointed as the duty of the Church in all ages of the world. We really think, according to God’s arrangement, the examination and solemn laying on of the

hands of the bishop is quite as good a guarantee to the Church of the fitness of a candidate, as the call from the male heads of families for which our republicans contend.

Whole chapters are devoted to the subject of discipline and the Court of Arches, assuming, as before, that the court will always throw a screen over the drunkard and the immoral presbyter, and will suspend, fine, excommunicate, and imprison the over-zealous and irregular. All these faults would be rectified by placing the judicial and executive power in the hands of the congregation. Now, as in modern mathematics we often see the analytic method applied to prove the truth or absurdity of a given proposition, let us just "suppose it done;" suppose Mr. Noel's theory were carried out into practice, and that the system has had a trial for thirty years. Let our readers imagine the following to be an extract from the "Nonconformist" newspaper, published on the 1st of April, 1880:—

"Trial of the Rev. Noel Noncontent before the members of the united congregations of Free Church and Laputa, on sundry charges brought against him by Thomas Muggs, Esq., of Eatington, and Mr. Puddingbag, of Reform Grange.

"We cannot help congratulating our readers on their emancipation from the unscriptural incubus of the Establishment from which they have providentially escaped. The events of last week demonstrate the evils of the union of Church and State, and will prove an era in the annals of religious freedom. They will show that England is now taking the lead in the progress of social reform, and will no longer allow herself to be a mark for the finger of scorn, or the scoff of our enlightened neighbours on the continent. A meeting of the male heads of families was convened at the parish church of Laputa, to consider certain charges against the Rev. Noel Noncontent, for drunkenness, neglect of duty, and brawling in public, which had been preferred against him by two gentlemen of his congregation. John Easyman, Esq., M.A., of the ci-devant University of Oxford, was called to the chair. A slight murmur on the part of some of the people followed, as it was feared that some of the antiquated prejudices of a university education might bias his judgment or mislead his decision, but from his many good qualities and great popularity, the objection was at once overruled, and he addressed the meeting as follows:—

"It is now more than thirty years since the publication of a celebrated book by the late Rev. Baptist Noel, which led, as you are aware, to the separation of Church and State in England and Ireland. Many of our ministers of that day feeling the power of his arguments, consented to forego their legal rights, and to take as he advised a salary of 130*l.* per annum, as pastors of their

several congregations. As he objected to some of the Thirty-nine Articles, and several of the formularies of the Anglican Church, we thought it better to protest against the Prayer Book; and as some form of subscription was necessary, and Mr. Noel's admirable treatise was our guide, we agreed to subscribe to his book instead<sup>3</sup>. This my friend the Rev. Noel Noncontent was the first to propose; and though it is exceeding painful to me to be called upon even indirectly to reflect upon his conduct, I feel it my duty, in presiding over this meeting, to carry out the letter and the spirit of the rules to which we have all agreed; I shall, therefore, as chairman, confine myself to examining witnesses, summing up evidence, and taking the sense of the assembly, irrespective of any private feelings.'

"Mr. Muggs then stated that he felt it his painful duty to accuse Mr. Noncontent of drunkenness, as he had seen him drinking in a public-house at the fair of Alesop, on the 20th of February last; that after the fair Mr. Noncontent had used very violent language to him; and that for more than two years he had neglected his spiritual duties, as he had been engaged in cattle jobbing and other secular pursuits; and that he had lately taken twenty acres to add to his farm, which was already too large. Though Mr. Noel's book allowed secular pursuits, it was only where a sufficient maintenance was not given. Mr. Puddingbag corroborated the above statement, adding that Mr. Noncontent had beaten his (Mr. Puddingbag's) children with a cane; and that when called upon for an apology he had refused to make it. The chairman then asked Mr. Noncontent how far he would admit these facts, or if he should wish to explain them; and the Reverend Gentleman then rose and spoke to this effect:—

" 'It is now nearly forty years since I first held a curacy in the diocese of .....; being afraid of the Bishop of that day, Dr. ...., and sympathizing with some of his clergy whom I supposed to be oppressed, I went to London to consult the Rev. Baptist Noel, who was my godfather (signs of disapprobation from the meeting). I know that all spiritual relationships are now done away as "a grossly erroneous assumption, and habituating children to falsehood". I beg leave to say that I merely speak of things as they were. Mr. Noel convinced me of the unscriptural nature of the union of Church and State, and I took

<sup>3</sup> Lest this should be thought exaggeration, we remind our readers that Methodist preachers subscribe the three first volumes of Wesley's Sermons, a much worse test than articles or forms carefully considered by a number of divines.

<sup>4</sup> One of the objections to the Church Catechism which we have seen is, that it teaches every child to lie, as it obliges them to put godfathers and godmothers in the plural; whereas, a boy has only one godmother, and a girl only one godfather. We are happy to say this arrow comes not from Mr. Noel's quiver, he is quite above such quibbling on words.

an active part in producing the explosion<sup>1</sup> which soon followed. The parish of Freechurch was then united to my former parish of Laputa, and instead of 100*l.* a year which I received as curate, my stipend was fixed according to Mr. Noel's plan at 130*l.*, while my duties were more than doubled. That salary, Mr. Chairman, you know, I have never fully received; but feeling that my first duty was to gain the good will of my congregation, I never was strict in enforcing my claims, knowing that my legal right was taken away, and that I should be obliged to entreat as a pauper. As I have nine children, I was obliged to add to my income by cultivating twenty acres of land, which has been my principal support; and latterly as my eldest son is nearly grown up, and I have been unable to educate him for the ministry, as I had intended, I applied to Mr. Muggs for his farm adjoining, as he had advertised for a tenant. We could not agree upon the rent; so when Lord Lofty's tenant, Mr. Busybody, passed lately from patriotism to the Gazette, I wrote to his Lordship, stating my long services, and requesting his consideration. I received a very kind letter in reply, allowing me to choose twenty acres at a reduced rent. To stock this new ground, I called on several of the gentlemen present for the arrears of stipend which they had promised, but which, like the Levites, I have no legal means of recovering. Some of them I found very unwilling to pay; others told me "preaching was become dear stuff in the days of free trade;" others said I was too much of a Calvinist, and they must join the Methodists, where the preachers charged less. In all, however, I received about 10*l.* of arrears, and went to the fair of Alesop, where, I must admit, I spent the day in the unclerical employment of bargaining for a cow and two goats. Towards evening, not being able to afford the accommodation of the principal inn, I called for bread and cheese and a glass of porter at the sign of the "Jolly Farmers;" Mr. Muggs and Mr. Puddingbag were then in the house, and did not leave it for some time after me. As I was walking home these gentlemen overtook me, and began to find fault with my preaching, saying at the same time that I beat their children and neglected my spiritual duties. I merely replied by requesting them to ride on, and when they were in a more reasonable condition, I should tell them my mind. As to the second charge: Mr. Puddingbag's children have been constantly in the habit of taking the fruit out of my garden, and throwing stones at my daughters; when reproved, they have said that I dared not say any thing against them, as their father

<sup>1</sup> Following the example of the Free Church, we like a good long word and a strong one; they always talk of "the disruption," owing an excellent translation of the honest Greek word schism, of which they seem afraid; disruption, however, is more expressive.



is the leading member of the congregation, and the parson is afraid of him. After many threats, I admit, I used my cane upon the boy; he says I left a mark upon him, but I contend that he scratched his face and hands in escaping through the hedge.'

"The chairman then said, that there appeared 'to be no doubt as to the grounds of the charge; but if it be as Mr. Noncontent states, the gravamen is explained away. It is therefore better to call two or three witnesses, and see whether the statements of the accusers are at all coloured.' The landlord of the 'Jolly Farmers,' Mr. Tipple, was then examined. Mr. Noncontent had been at his house on the fair-day and had drunk a pint of porter. This was not an uncommon occurrence, but he believed Mr. Noncontent had never sat down for ten minutes at a time. Cross-examined by the chairman. On the fair-day, Mr. Muggs and Mr. Puddingbag had been in his house for three hours, and had dined together in a private room; does not know how much they drank, but they paid for five quarts of ale; does not think they were at all drunk, but Mr. Puddingbag, who is a stout gentleman, had some difficulty in mounting his horse, and Mr. Muggs might be said to be just comfortable.

"The next witness was young Jack Puddingbag, a boy about ten years old. The chairman examined him as to his knowledge of truth and falsehood, and as to whether he had been taught that God would punish liars. The boy looked rather puzzled, and did not seem quite to understand him. The chairman then, after again charging the boy to tell the truth, elicited from him that Mr. Noncontent had struck him with his cane, but that he himself was in the habit of taking his apples, and had been caught in the fact; that Mr. Noncontent had not hurt him much, but that he cried very loud because he wanted to make his father angry. The chairman then put some questions which we consider unfair, but to which he insisted upon answers, though several times called to order by Baillie Mucklewhame, late of the Free Church, Glasgow. He asked the boy what his father had said of Mr. Noncontent at any time he could recollect. To this the boy answered, 'Father says, minister means a servant; that the deacons were servants in Acts; and that our parson should be the servant of the parishioners. He told me again not to mind what Mr. Noncontent would say, for he was once an Anglican, and that is all one as a Puseyite. That when father was young, Mr. Noncontent taught him to say he was a child of God and an inheritor of the kingdom of heaven, and he is sure it is not true.' Here the chairman exchanged glances with the accused, and was again called to order by the meeting. Mr. Easyman then told the boy that he was sorry he was not better instructed in the more important

parts of religion ; that the Scriptures were intended to teach him his own duty rather than the duties of the clergy ; and that he believed he would yet be a good boy, as he seemed desirous of telling the truth.

“ The defendant was then requested to retire, and allow the meeting to consider the evidence before them. Mr. Easyman rather unceremoniously excluded our reporters also, so that we are not able to tell what passed or what arguments were used on each side. He proposed that Mr. Muggs and Mr. Puddingbag should retire also ; but, after a short argument and a reference to Mr. Noel’s book, they proved their right to remain as members of the congregation, and, therefore, having a voice in all matters connected with the discipline of the Church. After about an hour’s angry discussion we were again admitted, and the chairman addressed Mr. Noncontent as follows :—

“ ‘ Our dear Christian brother, the charges of immorality against you are, I am happy to say, unfounded ; but I regret, at the same time, to find that your services are no longer required for the united parishes in which you have so long laboured. This decision of the Court is grounded on Mr. Noel’s book, which we have all subscribed, and which has, therefore, become our statute-law.’ The chairman then opened a large volume which lay before him, and read the following passage from the 449th page of the ninety-ninth edition :—

“ ‘ There is a remarkable contrast between the simplicity of the scriptural system and the complexity of the Anglican. According to Scripture, the Church itself expels its offending members ; and this is better than the Anglican system. The members of the Church best know the transactions which take place among themselves. It is better that a matter should be settled on the spot, among those who were witnesses of it, than that it should be transferred to a distance for adjudication. A Church, composed of spiritual men, can understand spiritual questions far better than the lawyers who practise in the Court of Arches, or those who compose the Committee of Council. And since the Church is composed of brethren, among whom the pastor ought to be as a brother, it is a great evil that they should receive back to them, by sentence of a court of law, a pastor who has lost their confidence. To execute the pastoral office usefully, a minister ought to be esteemed and loved by the Church to which he ministers. As his office exists solely for their welfare, and as, without their esteem, he cannot do them good, upon losing that esteem he ought to retire. The Court of Arches has, therefore, inflicted a mischief and a wrong upon any Church when it fastens upon them a minister who has lost their esteem, because he has not been legally guilty of an offence which may occasion his degradation.’

“ ‘ I grieve,’ continued the chairman, ‘ that our Spiritual Court has so interpreted this clause, by a large majority, as to require your

immediate resignation. I feel that it is a hardship thus to deprive a minister, after more than thirty years' services, merely on a vote of non-confidence; at the same time, I am happy to say, that the law of the land does not leave you entirely without provision, as by an Act passed in the reign of his late Majesty King Albert I., the succeeding incumbent is obliged to pay the late minister 10*l.* a-year, for his life, where no case of immorality has been made out; and also by an act of his present Majesty King Alfred II. (for the better provision for destitute ministers) you are entitled to receive the sum of 10*l.* 8*s.* a-year, to be paid you in weekly sums of 4*s.* each by the relieving officer of the Union.'

"Mr. Noncontent, who is about sixty-five years of age, then bowed to the chairman and retired. He seemed much affected, but merely made some remark upon the loss of the Court of Arches, and that he wished the Bishop of Exeter were back again in his palace.

"We congratulate our Liberal friends on the triumph of Anti-State-Church principles; but, we fear, there is still a leaning to them in the government, which, by passing the acts to which the chairman alluded, has rendered the minister still, in a certain degree, independent of his congregation.

"We understand, as the parish of Laputa and Free Church are now declared vacant by the resignation of the Rev. Noel Noncontent, the Rev. Boanerges Thunderstorm and Mr. Probationer Plianttongue are candidates for the vacant office. The election will take place as soon as possible after the trial sermons; in the mean time an active canvass is carried on by the friends of the parties, and the parish school is closed to prepare the polling booths. As there are in the parish about a thousand male heads of families, the election may not be over for a fortnight from the day of nomination.

"It is not our purpose at present to discuss the comparative merits of the excellent and able young men whose addresses appear among our advertisements. Our columns, however, are open to letters from their friends; and we hope, by carefully summing up the evidence brought before us in a future leading article, to put the congregation in a fair way of finding the most efficient and suitable pastor, and exercising their undoubted right of free choice and self-government."

We hope we have not overdrawn the picture in considering to what point the system of Mr. Noel tends; and we would refer our readers to the works of the Rev. J. Angell James of Birmingham, the most distinguished among the independents of England, in confirmation of what we have here brought forward.

But to return: Mr. Noel must pardon us, as he has been the first to lead us away from the paths of plain sense into the re-

gions of speculation. Like M. Lamartine, he has formed an idea ; and to this idea every thing social and religious must bend. Mr. Noel's idea is of a perfect church formed of as large as possible a body of imperfect members. M. Lamartine sums up all his theoretic visions in the simple word Fraternity, by which some practical men understand the brotherly kindness which Cain felt for Abel. Our two theorists are something like ; and we extract a chapter from Lamartine's History of the Girondists, in which he is describing the Revolution of 1789. We hope our readers may understand it better than we do.

" Human thought, like God, makes the world in its own image.

" Thought was revived in a philosophical age, it had to transform the social world.

" The French Revolution was in its essence a sublime and impassioned spirituality. It had a divine and universal ideal. This is the reason why its passion spread beyond the precincts of France. Those who limit it mutilate it. It was the accession of three moral sovereignties :—

" The sovereignty of right over force.

" The sovereignty of intelligence over prejudices.

" The sovereignty of the people over governments.

" Revolution in rights, equality.

" Revolution in ideas, reasoning substituted for authority.

" Revolution in facts, the reign of the people.

" A gospel of social rights.

" A gospel of duties, a charter of humanity.

" France declared itself the apostle of this creed. In this war of ideas France had allies every where, and even on thrones themselves." (Girondists, b. 1. ch. vii.)

We give this specimen of French Radicalism as a counterpart to our English reformer, not only as a warning against republicanism, but because (making allowance for the Frenchman's infidelity) there is a wonderful similarity between the two minds. Like the dog with the shadow, both pursue a phantom to the destruction of a real good. It may be said of Mr. Noel, as M. Lamartine says of his " Angel of Assassination," Charlotte Corday, when meditating the destruction of Marat, " Who can measure the force of her thought and the resistance of nature ! The thought prevailed." To gratify this " thought," Mr. Noel would overwhelm England in a social revolution. He would close hundreds of churches ; he would reduce thousands of respectable men, not to say, brethren in the ministry, to comparative poverty, and annihilate the noble fabric of the Established Church, to the ruin of generations yet unborn.

We confess, from late events, we think we have been able to decide a very celebrated question of the schoolmen which for

ages was supposed to be incapable of solution: "Whether a chimæra buzzing in a vacuum can produce any physical effect." Our answer is, Nothing good, but much evil. Some ladies are said to carry a bee in their bonnet; and we suspect that when a real sound and efficient chimæra lights upon the proud emptiness of a conceited brain, some fearful results have followed. Lamartine has described with terrible truth the horrors of the first revolution, yet with all the evil and bloodshed before his eyes he wilfully involved his country in a third. Liberty, fraternity, and hatred of tyrants occupied such a portion of his vacuum, that by his writings he drove Louis Philippe from the throne; and the enthusiast found his reward: he enjoyed the excitement of the Provisional Government for three months; embracing his wife each morning, and telling her that probably before night he should attain to the inestimable privilege of dying for his country. He is now cast off and forgotten; and will probably suffer from the poverty which he has brought upon himself, unless some English aristocrat should take compassion upon him. So it is with Mr. Noel. His chimæra is a Free Church, and the fear of a lawn sleeve; and if Englishmen were as frivolous and excitable as Frenchmen, we might fear an equally fatal result. The greatest difference between our authors is this, that M. Lamartine from his provisional throne in the midst of barricades, explosions, and slaughter, proclaims in transports of ideal ecstasy, "Frenchmen! the Republic is one and indivisible;" while Mr. Noel, calmly contemplating the evil of schisms, revolutions, and infinite disputes, cries out from the peaceable recesses of his study, "Christian brethren! the Church is one, but infinitely divisible."

Mr. Noel's advice to ministers is excellent. Nothing can be better than his exhortations to each as to the zealous exercise of his own talent in his own sphere; but when Mr. Noel leaves the position in which God had placed him as a minister of the Gospel, and sets himself up as a politician and a universal rectifier of abuses, we feel that he has grievously mistaken his calling. He calls himself a Christian pastor, yet we suppose he must preach Radicalism; we feel curious to hear a sermon from him on the thirteenth chapter of the Epistle to the Romans, or the text, "Fear God. Honour the King."

Having thus convicted our author of inconsistency, and exposed several fallacies in his book; having also given our verdict, that he would fast hurry our country into practical infidelity, it is only right that we should proceed to pass upon him the sentence of the court. We neither intend to transport him, though he is an invader of property; nor, in any sense of the word, to suspend him as a traitor to the cause which he has promised to uphold: we should merely apply the old Roman law—we should punish

him "per legem talionis," we should reward him as he would serve us, indeed in the very line he has chalked out for himself. He cannot object to our sentence, as it seems to be the beautiful ideal of the ministry after which his imagination is straining. We should first take hold of his property (we believe he is not a poor man; if he were he would think more of the value of money). This should be invested with trustees for the benefit of his family, on the strict condition that he should not have a shilling of it until he recants his errors. We should then compel him to labour for his subsistence, as the free and independent minister of a large congregation in a manufacturing town. Though he would allow his brethren but 130*l.*, we should allow him double or even treble that sum; but we should strictly stipulate that the congregation should be the true spiritual rulers, having full power to call or dismiss the minister, to pay his salary or to withhold it. He should in this sense be in the position of his own imaginary Levites, and involved in the actual difficulties by which every American pastor is surrounded.

We should look out for a couple of churchwardens or lay deacons, to superintend the secular interests of our Free Church. The senior should be an anti-corn-law-leaguer, with as much Radicalism as Mr. Noel, with religion enough to produce spiritual pride, and as much divinity as should enable him to distinguish between a laboured sermon and a careless one. The other should be a man totally ignorant of all the common usages of life, except the art of making money. In fact, we should select a gentleman who had realized a fortune of 100,000*l.*, by retailing sixpenny loaves at sevenpence halfpenny. He should withal be a man who was willing to pay largely for the most conspicuous seat in the church, provided he might exclude all others from the occupation of it. As he had only turned his mind to religion at a late period of life, he should pursue the subject with the restless inquisitiveness of an elderly amateur. These men should be perfectly blameless in their outward conduct, regular in their attendance on all the ordinances of religion, punctilious in enforcing the duties of the minister, and strictly correct in all the social relations of life, except in the determination to disobey their spiritual ruler. When he had thus laboured for seven, ten, or fourteen years, on the recantation of his errors and a promise of amendment, we should recommend him for a stall at the top of the steeple of some very High Church cathedral, or appoint him a major-canon of the whispering gallery of St. Paul's. We only fear that the force of reaction would be rather too strong for a sensitive mind, and that we should find him either editing a new version of "Tract 90," or going boldly forward and professing his adhesion to the pope.



Mr. Noel cannot complain of the harshness of our decision, he has worked for it, nay, we believe at this moment he earnestly desires it. The public cannot find fault with us, for we can produce numberless precedents to confirm our views, and to prove that punishment often overtakes the guilty by tracking their steps in their own path. Hogarth has left us his opinion on "cutting down the Crown," in his print of the general election: his Radical is mounted upon the sign, and is busily engaged in sawing through the beam which supports it, so that when the crown falls, he must be the first to suffer. Samson's desire of vengeance for his two eyes, led him to pull down the temple which crushed him in its ruins. Pius IX. began his reign by assisting democracy, which soon shook his throne and sent him as a wanderer to Gaeta. The French Revolutionists, Albert, Raspail, Blanqui, and Barbes, (the personations of the rights of labour, Socialism, the guillotine of '93, and conspiracy against all government,) have met their fate by transportation. Had they gone a step farther, and "erected the guillotine," as some of them proposed, they must ere this have fallen under the axe.

When Garrick was attacked in lampoons by Dr. Hill, he replied, as we should say to Mr. Noel,

"The worst that we wish you for all your bad crimes,  
Is to take your own physic, and read your own rhymes."

When Perillus first imagined the idea of a bull for burning refractory Sicilians, he, doubtless, considered it a triumph of thought; he executed his plan, and gloried in the notion that his flaming conceptions were starting into life. His bull, however, proved worse to him than an ordinary Irish blunder, for Phalaris the tyrant roasted him in it by way of a trial. The contriver was punished by his own instrument, and the Sicilians refused to pity the hunter who perished in his own snare.

— "Pœna est nec justior ulla,  
Quam necis artifices arte perire suâ."

\* \* Since the above was written, Mr. Noel has published a Letter to the Bishop of London, in which (like Jack in the Tale of a Tub) he begs that the bishop will favour him with a little persecution. He will not avail himself of the law, because it implies a deposition from holy orders, to which he will not submit. His promise at ordination is still binding upon him, though he renounces the authority which admitted him to the priesthood. He is therefore, we suppose, self-ordained. We only hope the bishop will not notice this weak production, as Mr. Noel is evidently anxious to follow in the steps of Mr. Shore, and we neither wish him the trouble nor the celebrity attendant upon modern martyrdom.

ART. IV.—"*The Christian Life. A Manual of Sacred Verse.*"  
By ROBERT MONTGOMERY, M.A., Oxon.; Author of "*The Omnipresence of the Deity*," "*Luther*," "*Gospel in Advance of the Age*," &c. &c. London: Arthur Hall and Co. 1849.

THE thought which appears to have inspired this collection of Christian lyrics, is briefly and well indicated in the title-page by the motto, "To live is Christ." And whatever judgment may be formed, according to the taste and liking of each reader, touching the details of execution, few among those who are capable of forming an opinion on a subject of this nature will deny, that the fundamental idea which has given rise to these fresh effusions of the author's fertile and poetic mind, is both in itself beautiful, and beautifully worked out. That to the Christian's spiritual eye the whole universe of creation presents itself in an aspect peculiarly his own, is a truth as deep as it is precious. It is felt alike by all in whose souls the life of Christ is kindled; felt with greater intensity, the purer and brighter the flame of that inner life is burning. Many such there are, in whose hearts these songs of "*The Christian Life*" will waken vivid echoes, though few be they who might attempt with equal success to body forth in verse the train of thought and feeling stirred up in a Christian mind by the varied scenes and fitful vicissitudes of life. On the other hand, there are multitudes—not only among the openly worldly and profane, but among those who have an apprehension of, and desire for, better things—who have not reached the depth of Christian sentiment which alone can yield responsive sympathy to such minstrelsy of holy contemplation; and many therefore, we doubt not, will find as little to admire in this last production of a favourite author, as a blind man passing through a gallery of paintings. If Mr. Montgomery partakes at all of that keen sensitiveness to praise and censure which popular opinion attributes to authors in general, and to poets in particular,—if he belongs to the *genus irritabile vatum*,—we trust he is prepared, in this instance, for the inevitable result, that many will regard with indifference efforts of his muse into which it is evident that he has thrown all the enthusiastic ardour of his soul. The only consolation we can offer him is the reflection, that he will be compensated for the insensibility of the uninitiated, by the

admiration of many of those who, like himself, have learned the meaning of that word, "To live is Christ."

Enlisted ourselves among the admirers of a poetry which gives a Christian significance to that aspiration of the pagan bard,

*Sublimi feriam sidera vertice,*

we are scarcely disposed to launch forth into critical remarks upon such blemishes as a fastidious eye might descry in turning over the pages of the volume before us. Yet, considering Mr. Montgomery's standing as an author, especially in the field of poetic literature, it would scarcely be respectful towards himself, if we omitted to subject him on his re-appearance—in the character of a poet—after an interval of nearly seven years, to a closer and more critical scrutiny than we might be prompted to by the feeling with which the perusal of these gems of religious thought, set in the bright gold of lyric verse, has inspired us. If we must needs find fault, however,—and what becomes of the office of the critic if we do not?—we will at once say, that it is to the setting, and not to the gems themselves, that we feel here and there disposed to object. Those who are conversant with the general style of the poetry which has procured for him his well-earned literary reputation, will readily understand us when we say, that the chief fault of Mr. Montgomery formerly was, that his poetic thoughts were set too massively, in a superfluity of heavy, and sometimes *outré* ornament. It does him infinite credit that he has shown a willingness to profit by the censure which this has drawn down upon him from some quarters. There is an evident anxiety in the poems now offered to the public, to eschew all extravagance of trope and turgidity of language, and to confine them within the bounds of chaste and sober composition. We are not prepared to say that the poet has always succeeded. He would be more than mortal, if he had escaped from the general rule—

*Naturam expellas furcá, tamen usque recurret ;*

but this we are prepared and bound to say, that he has succeeded to a far greater extent than we could have thought possible. Our complaint is, rather, that he has sometimes succeeded too well. Sobriety may be carried too far ; it may be pushed to jejuneness. It does not answer in poetry to clip the wings of genius too close, to restrain the exuberance of fancy, and to lay aside the piquancy of ornament, until nothing is left but the naked truth, which, when thus simply stated, often assumes, however rich and deep it may be in itself, the semblance of commonplace. And in religious lyrics this is the more dangerous a rock

to split upon, because their themes are mostly supplied from topics with which all are conversant, and which, when divested of poetic auxiliaries, are apt to become assimilated to the devotional rhymes of our common Psalmody and Hymnology, whose abounding triteness is painfully familiar to us all. Such passages, where they occur in Mr. Montgomery's volume, strike upon the ear the more painfully, because they are out of keeping with the general tone and character of his poetry, and disagreeably interrupt that high flight of thought to which the reader's mind has been raised.

At other times we have to complain of obscurity, arising either from the thought not being sufficiently worked out in the author's mind, or from his having suffered himself to be cramped by the necessities of metre and of rhyme. Not unfrequently the language is inadequate to the really fine ideas which underlie it, but which are to be reached by guess-work rather than by the regular process of construing the author's words. Occasionally the thought itself is at fault; the poet wandering from his own proper sphere into fields alien to the domain of song. Philosophy, even of the mind, requires careful handling to prevent it from marring all true poetry; the philosophy of nature, and mathematical science, are still more unpromising; but what shall we say to such an *outré* statement in rhyme as this?

" Were the huge world *one atom more or less*  
*In gravity*, from centre to the pole,  
 The flowers would lose their bending loveliness,  
 Like living sympathies with Nature's whole.

" Despise not, then, Philosophy and Pride,  
 The golden king-cup and yon daisy small,  
 You could not from the universe divide  
 That infant bud, *without deranging All!* "

We have much too great a respect for Mr. Montgomery's intellect, to suspect him, for a moment, of meaning what, in effect, he has here said. We only mention it as a proof of the inconveniences which arise from poets taking it into their heads to lecture in verse on Newton's *Principia*. Not much more defensible is the idea expressed in the following lines:—

" Since God, from Whose ideal wealth of thought  
 All that is bright, or beautiful, or fair,  
 By shaping wisdom into form was wrought  
 And thus committed unto the sun and air,—

" Made the wild flowers like earth-sprung stars to shine  
 With gleams of almost sacramental power,  
 Dull is the heart that hails no tone divine  
 When such *accost* him from the vernal bower! "

We are not clear whether it is the gleams, or the flowers, that are represented as *accosting* the passer-by; in either case the notion is too extravagant to be pleasing. The whole of the poem, indeed, from which both these quotations are taken, appears to have been written in one of those twilight hours of the mind in which an author is scarcely accountable for what he writes, on the well-known principle:

*Quandoque bonus dormitat Homerus.*

We have noticed these blemishes—to say nothing of numerous minor ones, such as the pleonasm "reborn anew," or the construction of the Holy Trinity with a plural verb, "the Trinity express," or the inappropriate epithet "baptismal souls," or careless rhymes such as "aim" and "gain," and other like peccadillos of thought and expression, to which we must add a frequently faulty punctuation, which disturbs the sense,—not from any wish to detract from the character of Mr. Montgomery's last volume, but, on the contrary, from a desire to see defects which are easily avoided, removed from a collection of poems which we so highly prize for their great beauty and excellency. Mr. Montgomery is, and most deservedly so, one of those successful authors whose works run through edition after edition, and one of the very few of that fortunate class, of whom it may be confidently predicted that their posthumous fame will outlive their popularity with their contemporaries. Such an author owes it to himself, quite as much as to the public, to apply the file carefully to his productions; and we hope that before another edition (a second one is, we believe, already printed) of "The Christian Life" is put to press, Mr. Montgomery will act upon the hints which we have ventured to throw out, and subject the whole volume to a searching process of revision.

And now, having performed the distasteful office of hunting out imperfections, and showing up blemishes,—having, in fact, taken the mote out of Mr. Montgomery's eye, without, we trust, giving him occasion to reflect too severely upon the beam in our own,—we turn to the more agreeable, and, to our own feelings, far more grateful task of sauntering through the many lovely windings and pleasant paths of poetic thought which are to be found in the volume before us,—a veritable "golden grove," in which stately kings of the forest, diffusing delicious coolness beneath their wide-spreading branches, alternate with noble fruit-trees, whose blossoms fill the air with the most exquisite perfumes, and whose ripening and full-ripe fruits allure the taste, and feast the eye, with present sweetness and with the promise of future delight; while, every now and then, a vista opens

through the luxuriant thicket, and admits the enraptured gaze to an interminable prospect into the distant regions of the glorious and eternal world which lies beyond the Jordan of death. In truth, "the Christian Life" is not a book, like other books, to be read through consecutively; it is, in the true spirit of its title, a manual of sweet and holy thoughts, to be resorted to from time to time, on divers occasions, and in various moods. Whenever the soul is stirred up and disposed to meditation,—whether by scenes and events from without, or by its spontaneous emotions, the ebbs and tides, the ripples and crested waves, of the inner ocean of spiritual life,—the sacred lyre of "The Christian Life" will be found attuned to some melody or other accordant with the soul's vibrations.

As the author himself has lived,—in the world as one that is not of it,—as he has rejoiced and suffered,—as he has felt and meditated,—as he has wept in weakness, or exulted in strength,—as his eye has wandered over the world, surveying now the busy haunts of men, and now nature's peaceful solitudes,—as pity or indignation, sympathy or abhorrence, sweet delight or bitter sorrow, musing wonder or rapturous admiration, have caused his own bosom to heave, he has embodied his thoughts and sensations in such language as his poetic genius supplied him; and every thoughtful and sensitive Christian mind will therefore find its own life re-echoed, as it were, in the sweetly pleasing numbers of Mr. Montgomery's verse.

Not the least brilliant among these are the meditations on the beauties of nature, for which it is evident that our poet has an open eye. Of all that is charming or majestic in outward scenery, he sings with an enthusiasm fully equal to that of an artistic idolater of nature,—with this only difference, that his eye, open not only to the world of matter, but to the spirit-world by which the former is encompassed on all sides, beholds every where the beauty of the Divine work, and the glory of the Divine presence. As he himself expresses it:—

"What men call Nature, is a Thought divine,  
The Infinite in forms of finite grace,  
Where all conditions, seen in God, combine  
To make this earth a consecrated place.

"Th' unwritten Bible of the woods and fields  
By Love perused, and ponder'd o'er by Prayer,  
A kind of gospel to the Fancy yields,  
That walks creation, feeling Christ is there.

"Nothing is mean, by Power Celestial made,  
And nought is worthless, by His wisdom plann'd,  
Who fashion'd all, that Faith may find display'd  
The holy impress of God's master-hand.



" Oh, could we hail the element divine  
That circles round whatever lives or moves,  
A mystic radiance would o'er all things shine,  
And teach the coldest how the Godhead loves !

" One vast cathedral, with its roof of sky,  
The earth becomes to reverential souls,  
When, deepen'd by such felt divinity,  
Our heart-breath'd hymn of ceaseless worship rolls."

It is with such feelings as these, ingrained, so to speak, in his mental constitution, that Mr. Montgomery looks out upon the deep blue waters, and watches the billows rolling in and breaking at his feet ; with such feelings that he salutes the Ocean :—

" Eternity of waters ! there Thou art,  
Dear to the eye, and glorious to the heart !  
Bounding in brightness as they plunge on shore,  
I greet thy waves, and gladden in their roar.

" Alone in grandeur, ever-living Sea !  
Thou swelling anthem sung to Deity  
When thy deep thunders with a dying fall  
Roll like hosannahs to the Lord of All."

Equally spirited is the language in which he records the impression produced upon his mind by the sight of the Alps :—

" All glory to the ancient hills ! that to the godless preach  
Sermons of more stupendous power, than erring man can reach ;  
Dumb orators to sense they look, but how divinely grand  
The deep significance they bear to hearts that understand !

" The stillness of their frozen trance is more than thunder's tone,—  
Resembling that celestial hush that deepen'd round the Throne  
When silence through the heaven of heavens for half an hour there  
reign'd,  
And Seraphim before their God eternity sustain'd !

" It is not that the clouds array with myriad-tinted hues  
Those peaks of alabaster ice, that pinnacle our views ;  
Nor is it, that our sateless eyes are spell-bound by the scene  
Of rocky scalps ten thousand feet above some black ravine !

" Nor is it, that the glaciers lift their crags of gleaming snow,  
And move down in a noiseless march, to meet the vale below ;  
Nor all the dreadful joy that chills the soul of him who braves  
Montánvert ! from thy summit vast, the ever-frozen waves.

" Far more than this do mountain-spells to echoing minds impart,  
When through the veil of outer sense they reach the central heart,—  
There enter with mysterious power, like Purities to reign,  
And over all its hidden springs a moral influence gain."

In beautiful contrast with the majestic grandeur of the thoughts excited by the lofty spectacle of the snow-girt mountains, and their ice-bound pinnacles, is the holy melancholy which pervades the following apostrophe to the flowers of the earth :—

“ Orphans of Eden, their parental soil  
Has long been wither'd, and by weeds o'errun ;  
While burden'd manhood, with a brow of toil,  
Endures the desert, and outworks the sun ;  
“ But these, like babes whose mothers we deplore,  
Still do their budding features love to keep  
A soft sad trace of paradise no more,  
And waken memories that well may weep !”

The sensations which the works of nature thus excite in the mind of the matured Christian, are admirably traced back to the wonder of the child, when for the first time the beauties of creation burst upon his feeble senses, and give the first impulse to his half-unconscious inner life :—

“ Oh ! for the reverential eye  
To Childhood which pertains,  
That sees religion in the sky,  
And poetry in plains ;  
To whom a rainbow like a rapture glows,  
And all is marvel which th' Almighty shows.

“ Blest age of Wonder ! when a flower,  
A blossom, fruit, or tree  
Gives a new zest to each new hour  
That gladdens home with glee :  
When like a lispng stream life rolls along  
In happy murmurs of unconscious song.

“ It smiles on that, and speaks to this,  
As if each object knew  
A child exulted in the bliss  
Of all that charms its view ;  
Personified the whole Creation seems  
Into a heart that mirrors back its dreams !”

On the other hand, how strikingly, in a few lines, is the contrast pointed out between all outward nature, and man, in the closing stanzas of the poem entitled “ Life is a fading Leaf :”—

“ Creation finds an everlasting grave ;  
Where fall the dead leaves, they for ever lie,  
No resurrection-winds shall o'er them wave,  
And show their beauty to a new-born sky :

" But, man shall triumph o'er an endless tomb,  
When God's loud clarion shall recall his frame,  
A dread eternity *must* be his doom,  
In heaven immortal, or in hell, the same!"

But we must not linger on the outside, if we may so term it, of "The Christian life." There are deeper mysteries explored by our bard than those which the visible creation spreads out before the eye; he sweeps his harp in accents more significant, and more penetrating than the mere echoes of an inner life rendered back to the soul from the world without. The life of which God is at once the centre and the source, which wells up from within, and is quickened and sanctified from above, calls forth yet sweeter and mightier strains. The longing of the soul for that Divine life,—that want of our nature which in its lowest condition declares itself as an unquenchable thirst for unknown happiness, and in its highest state of cultivation can be satisfied by nothing else but God,—is expressed in language akin to that of the royal minstrel of Israel:—

" As pants the hart for living brooks,  
So pines my soul for Thee;  
Away from this lone earth it looks,  
And longs Thy face to see.

" Thrice Holy One! athirst I am  
From man's false world to fly,  
And on the glories of the Lamb  
To feast my fasting eye.

" 'Tis here, a bleak and barren land  
Where hearts and hopes are vain;  
But Faith perceives at Thy right hand,  
Supernal wonders reign!

" There, pleasures bloom which cannot lead  
Compliant souls to sin;  
And all celestial Love decreed,  
Victorious martyrs win.

" No shades of guilt or sorrow now  
Athwart remembrance roll;  
Eternity unveils its brow,  
And God enshrines the soul."

The inner peace and purity of soul which is at once the fruit of a life sanctified by a sense of the Divine presence, and the condition of the free and full enjoyment of that presence, is exquisitely illustrated by the following image:—

"The Moon cannot her image glass  
On restless waves that rise,  
For, when the storm-winds o'er them pass  
Her broken semblance dies ;

"And so, where passion's lurid fires  
The love of truth erase,  
No sight of God the soul inspires,  
But all grows blind and base.

"By heavenly likeness hearts discern  
The secrets most divine ;  
Just as we live, so much we learn  
Of Thee, O God ! and Thine."

To the process of inward suffering, of secret mortification of soul, through which the heart of man must pass before the storm of its sinful passions is succeeded by the great calm of the peace of God, the author of these poems is no stranger. Many of the most touching and deeply devotional pieces in the collection, have their origin in the chastening sorrows which constitute the discipline of the Christian life. Among the poems of this class we note particularly the one entitled, "Hearts which have no Echoes," which contains passages of great beauty. A few detached stanzas is all we can make room for :—

"Some hearts lie wither'd in their transient spring  
Long ere the yellow leaf of change began ;  
Seldom to them does human summer bring  
A beaming welcome from the soul of man.

"Cinctured as by a preternat'ral spell,  
Languid their pulse of low dejection beats ;  
Yet, none who mark their smile-clad face, could tell  
How dark the mood that back from man retreats !

\* \* \* \* \*

"And thus, there is a loneliness of heart,  
In all deep souls a never-enter'd shrine,  
Where neither love, nor friendship takes a part,  
And no eyes witness, but, Jehovah ! Thine.

"But shall we mourn, that each is circled round  
With veiling myst'ry from the ken of man ?  
That waters deep within the soul abound  
No word has fathom'd, and no wisdom can.

"No, rather let such merciful disguise  
Move the just thinker into grateful prayer ;  
For who could live beneath terrestrial eyes,  
If such could witness all secreted there !"

A poet who like Mr. Montgomery enters deeply into the hidden life of the inner man, and into the spirit of that love which binds together in Christ all the members of His body mystical, is not likely to confine his sympathies to the existence of the Church visible on earth. His thoughts and musings follow the Church invisible into the mysterious mansions of the spirit-world. On this subject there is a passage of exceeding beauty and originality of conception, in the poem entitled "The first Soul in Heaven :—

- " In hush'd eternity alone,  
Before all creatures were,  
Jehovah held His awful throne  
Unworshipp'd by a prayer.
- " There was no space, nor scene, nor time,  
Nor aught by names we call ;  
But, center'd in Himself sublime  
Was God, the All in All !
- " But through eternity there ran  
A thrill of coming change,  
And lustrous Shapes of life began  
Around His Throne to range.
- " Radiant with rapture, pure as bright  
Angelic myriads rise,  
And glow and glisten in the light  
Of God's approving eyes.
- " In volumed waves of golden sound  
Roll from celestial lyres  
Those swelling chants, that peal around  
From new-created choirs.
- " But, hark ! amid the shining throng  
Of Shapes who arch their wings,  
A single Voice another song  
With mortal cadence sings :
- " Alone he seems, and chants apart  
In unexpected notes  
A music, where the grateful heart  
In strains of feeling floats :
- " A beauteous Soul ! whose seraph brow  
Is bright with glory's hue,—  
Lo ! angels pause to hear him now  
'Their harping praise outdo.

" *Their* choral rapture swell'd as deep  
As purity could pour ;  
But they, who have not learn'd to weep,  
Could never God adore

" With such a burst of whelming love  
As earth's first martyr sang,—  
When, glory to the Lord above !  
The voice of Abel rang.

" Angelic harps their key-note found  
In God, as great and good ;  
But Abel's heart did beat and bound  
As only sinner's could !

" ' Worthy the Lamb ! who *shall* be slain ;  
Redemption crowns my song,  
Ye seraphim ! *your* notes retain,  
But these to *me* belong.' "

With this extract we must bring our anthology from this interesting and attractive volume to a close. We had noted much more that we would gladly have transferred to our pages ;—and many are the topics on which the rich materials before us might have tempted us to dilate. But we felt that we must curb the current of our thoughts, and that in justice both to our readers and to the author himself, we ought rather to furnish the former with illustrations of the tone and character of the present collection of poems, than occupy our space with dissertations of our own. In conclusion, we desire to tender to Mr. Montgomery our sincere thanks for the enjoyment and edification which the rich stores of spiritual truth and poetic beauty contained in his volume have afforded us, and to express our fervent hope, not only that the holy thoughts and devout meditations so eloquently breathed forth by him, may prove instinct with life to others as they have been to us ; but that the benevolent object aimed at by the author in devoting one-half of the emoluments arising from the sale of these poems to the funds of that admirable institution, the Consumption Hospital, may meet at the hands of the public with all the support which its intrinsic excellence, no less than the constant and powerful advocacy of its interests by Mr. Montgomery, both as a preacher and as a poet, so abundantly deserves.



ART. V.—I. *The First Annual Report of the Catholic Poor School Committee, established in the year of Grace 1847, by the Right Reverend the Vicars Apostolic in England and Wales.* London: Printed for the Catholic Poor-School Committee; sold by Burns, Dolman, &c. &c., and by all Catholic Booksellers. 1848.

2. *The Catholic School.* London: Published by the Catholic Poor-School Committee; sold by Burns, Dolman, &c. &c., and by all Catholic Booksellers. Nos. I.—VI. August, October, November, 1848. January, April, May, 1849.

THE Government scheme for supporting popish education in England, by aid from the parliamentary education grant, was briefly noticed, as far as it appeared on the face of the Minutes of the Committee of Council on Education, in the review which we gave in our last number of the history and proceedings of that body. Since then evidence of the most authentic kind has reached our hands, respecting the plans of the Roman Catholics, and the use which they propose to make of the concessions obtained by them at the hands of a secular education board, alike insensible to the claims of truth and careless of the advances of error. A digest of that evidence we now proceed to lay before our readers, in the hope that the further development of a scheme fraught with mischief and danger to the cause of truth and to the best interests of the country, may yet be arrested by the veto of the legislature, under the influence of such a decided expression of public opinion as the exposure of the movements and designs of the popish party cannot fail to provoke.

“The First Annual Report of the Catholic Poor-School Committee,” just published, enlightens us upon three essential points: the internal arrangements of the Roman Catholic body for promoting and directing popular education; the character intended to be given to the schools established under those arrangements; and, lastly, the facilities given to the Roman Catholic body by the Government, through the Committee of Council on Education.

As regards the first point, the internal arrangements of the Roman Catholic body for promoting and directing popular education, it is impossible to peruse that Report, and the different papers in the periodical devoted to the subject, to which we have referred at the head of this article, without being forcibly struck

by the entire and absolute control exercised over the whole movement by the popish hierarchy in this country. The "Catholic Poor-School Committee" owes its very existence entirely to their mandate; its members are the nominees of the Bishops acting in concert with each other.

The eight Vicars Apostolic, in a document addressed on the 27th of September, 1847, (three months, be it observed, before the date of the Minute of the Committee of Council on the subject of Roman Catholic Schools), to the Chairman and the Acting Committee of the Catholic Institution, announce to them the formation of this new body, and "respectfully recommend" to them that they will, "without any unnecessary delay, cause to be passed over to the credit of the gentlemen of the subjoined List whatever sum of money may be standing in their books exclusively for the purpose of education; it being the unanimous intention of the bishops to carry on henceforward the great work of the Religious Education of the Children of the Poor *by the assistance, and through the instrumentality*, of this new subjoined Committee<sup>1</sup>." The List in question contains twenty-four names, subdivided into eight sub-committees, one for each district. Each sub-committee consists of an ecclesiastic, and two laymen, who are designated in the same document as "the gentlemen, lay and clerical, who, from each of our respective districts, have kindly *consented to assist* us in this great work of education." In a letter of the bishops to the chairman of the "Catholic Poor-School Committee," it is said that "they have at *our* (the bishops') *request* engaged" in the work<sup>2</sup>. Dr. Wiseman, in his Pastoral, exhorts the "faithful of the London district," to contribute towards the funds of "that committee to which all the Vicars Apostolic of England have *agreed to entrust* the interests of our Poor Schools," and expatiates on the merits of "this excellent institution, composed of distinguished ecclesiastics and lay gentlemen, *selected* from each district<sup>3</sup>." The Pastoral of the Vicar Apostolic of the central district, in speaking of the Committee, says, "At the *head* of the society stand the whole of the episcopal body in these two realms<sup>4</sup>." The Address of the Committee itself in March, 1848, in accounting for its origin, asserts that "the interest of the bishops in 'Catholic' education led to the *appointment* of the Catholic Poor-School Committee<sup>5</sup>." Lastly, the Circular of the Committee to the "Catholic Clergy" of England and Wales describes it *totidem verbis* as "The Catholic Poor-School Committee, NOMINATED BY THE VICARS APOSTOLIC of England and Wales<sup>6</sup>."

<sup>1</sup> Report, pp. 29, 30.

<sup>2</sup> Report, p. 34.

<sup>3</sup> Report, p. 55.

<sup>4</sup> Report, p. 33.

<sup>5</sup> Report, p. 36.

<sup>6</sup> Report, p. 56.

It is almost needless to say that this constitution of the Committee by the nomination of the bishops is not an accidental circumstance, adopted for convenience sake, but that it is a matter of principle, and is of the very essence of the whole movement. The account given of its origin in the first number of *The Catholic School* is conclusive on this point:—

“ We have dwelt at some length upon this head because it is *fundamental*. The Committee is no self-elected body, discharging in a meddling spirit a variety of duties self-imposed; on the contrary, it has been *called into existence by the legitimate powers*. The unanimous authority of the English episcopate has invited it to the performance of labours no less arduous than honourable. Incalculable are the advantages conferred upon the Committee and the Catholic clergy and laity of England—its supporters—by *the regularity of its origin*. Through it the Committee enjoy *an indisputable right* to the sphere in which they operate; and its benefactors, while they possess the privilege of combining in good works with the entire body of their ecclesiastical rulers, gain also a valuable opportunity of giving the weight of their sanction to the great principle, that *education belongs of right to the Church and to her appointed servants*. ”

The principle enunciated in the concluding sentence of this extract is carried out with the utmost strictness and consistency through the whole organization of the educational movement which the Romish hierarchy have so vigorously taken in hand. Not only is the Poor-School Committee a purely ministerial board, appointed to carry out the directions of the Romish bishops, but the local school managers are, by the rules of action which the bishops have laid down for their guidance, placed in a state of the most entire dependence upon priestly and episcopal control. It is assumed throughout that the priest will be the mainspring in the establishment, and the chief authority in the management, of the school; and all the regulations are calculated to ensure that object. Even exceptional cases, in which Roman Catholic laymen might take the initiative in an attempt to set up a school, are immediately brought back into the ecclesiastical channel, by a provision which makes the clerical nominee of the district the organ of communication between local applicants for aid and the Poor-School Committee<sup>7</sup>. Of a similar tendency is the regulation which *compels* applicants for aid from the funds of the Poor-School Committee, to make application to the Committee of Council for aid from the parliamentary grant<sup>8</sup>, and at the same time prohibits all communication between local managers and the

<sup>7</sup> *Catholic School*, No. I. p. 5.

<sup>8</sup> Report, p. 15. Reg. 6.

<sup>9</sup> Report, p. 16. Reg. 9.

Committee of Council, except through the medium of the Poor-School Committee. This is a point which is constantly kept before the mind of local managers. It is embodied in the published directions of the Poor-School Committee<sup>1</sup>. In their address of March, 1848, after protesting that "the Committee desire nothing less than to interfere with local charities," they add:—

"To obviate mistake, however, it must be stated, that applications to the lords of the Committee of Privy Council for grants for Catholic schools are *required by the Vicars Apostolic* to be made through the Poor-School Committee. The memorials must pass through the Committee's hands<sup>2</sup>."

And in *The Catholic School* of May, 1849, "promoters of schools are" again "reminded of *the direction of the Catholic bishops*, that all applications for Government aid should be made through the Catholic Poor-School Committee<sup>3</sup>."

The absolute control which the bishops thus exercise over the Poor-School Committee, and through it over the whole work of Romish education generally throughout the country, has its counterpart in the absolute control which the priests exercise in their several localities. The administration of the funds is by a Circular of the Poor-School Committee, addressed to "the clergy of England and Wales," placed entirely in the hands of the priests:—

"It is requested that one clergyman in every mission will consent to become local treasurer for the Committee; but if the clergy should be unwilling to undertake the office, in that case they will be good enough to appoint some competent and trustworthy member of their congregation, to discharge the treasurer's duties<sup>4</sup>."

And the light in which the relation of the priest to the school-managers generally is regarded in official quarters, appears from the instructions issued for the "general examination of Catholic schoolmasters," in which it is said, with admirable *naïveté*, "The signatures of *the managers of the school, in other words, of the Catholic priest*, will be sufficient<sup>5</sup>."

By far the most powerful lever, however, which the Vicars Apostolic bring to bear upon the work of popular education, is the character of the proposed masters and mistresses, whose position in the Romish hierarchy will place them in a state of the most absolute subjection to ecclesiastical authority. Even the existing

<sup>1</sup> Report, p. 50.

<sup>2</sup> Catholic School, No. VI. p. 86.

<sup>3</sup> Report, p. 93.

<sup>4</sup> Report, p. 53.

<sup>5</sup> Report, p. 57.

race of "Catholic" schoolmasters are kept under strict control. The attempt made by one D. O'Gorman in the columns of the *Tablet*, to take up a more independent position, was speedily put a stop to, by an insinuation that he belongs to "the old leaven," which "is now being purged out," and with a distinct intimation that "insubordination towards clerical authority" is "among the most serious disqualifications under which a schoolmaster can labour<sup>6</sup>." A most stringent regulation prevents any connexion between the masters and the Committee of Council, except through the approved inspector. The following postscript is appended to a Circular of the Poor-School Committee on the subject of the examinations under the Minutes of August and December, 1846 :—

"As it is of the greatest importance towards *securing the nomination of a proper inspector* of Catholic schools, that no Catholic master should present himself for examination before any other than the inspector approved by the Committee, it is hoped that the clergy, or other trustees or managers of Catholic schools, will impress upon their schoolmasters, that consent to any such other examinations will be a *disqualification for future employment* in a Catholic school<sup>7</sup>."

And this regulation of the Poor-School Committee is endorsed by the following order, to which the signatures of the Vicars Apostolic are appended :—

"We, the undersigned Vicars Apostolic of England and Wales, approve of the above caution to masters of Catholic schools, and hereby recommend its *strict enforcement* by the clergy of our respective districts<sup>8</sup>."

While care is thus taken to exclude any thing like a co-ordinate influence on the part of the Committee of Council over the existing body of masters, it is contemplated, by an effective organization of normal schools, to provide a constant supply of teachers, both male and female, who shall, by virtue of their religious vows, be amenable to the strictest ecclesiastical discipline. This is necessarily a work of time; but even the arrangements made *ad interim*, contain a foretaste of what is intended :—

"No school can succeed without efficient superintendence; and yet it must be confessed, that the services of good schoolmasters and mistresses are not easily procurable. Something beyond wishes and good intentions is wanted to make a teacher. Diligent study, and much previous training and preparation, are absolutely indispensable; and

<sup>6</sup> Catholic School, No. V. p. 80.

<sup>8</sup> Report, pp. 49, 50.

<sup>7</sup> Report, p. 49.

for some time to come, until the wishes of the bishops and of the Poor-School Committee have been accomplished, in the establishment in England of one or more normal schools, we do not anticipate that this difficulty can in all cases be overcome. The Irish *Christian Brothers*, as is well known, have charge of some of our schools, and give much satisfaction. Good masters, trained under the Irish Commissioners of National Education, are occasionally found in this country, and other excellent teachers are not rare; but still, until we have a normal school, for the supply of trained and tried persons, the engagement of a master must retain something of the character of a speculation; and it will be impossible to indicate to the promoters of schools any means by which, without risk of disappointment, they may count upon obtaining a good master. The secretary to the Catholic Poor School Committee is usually acquainted with the names of one or more teachers, well recommended to him, and will always be happy to make them known. In the case of schoolmistresses, the want has not been so keenly felt, partly from the large and happily increasing number of religious ladies engaged in conducting Poor-Schools, and partly from social causes, which place so considerable an amount of female intelligence at the disposal of the managers of schools. *Catechists trained by the nuns of the Presentation Convent, Doneraile, County Cork, Ireland, have been introduced into several schools in the North of England, and have received high commendation*<sup>9</sup>."

In connexion with this account of the sources from which the present supply of masters is derived, the following passage is too curious to be omitted:—

"We are left without a single institution in England and Wales, where a young man, wishing to become a schoolmaster, can acquire the principles of his art; or where an actual schoolmaster, desirous of increasing his qualifications, may witness a good system of primary instruction in operation, and derive hints for the improvement of his own practice. The Irish Christian Brothers conducting schools in England have been fitted for their duties by a long and systematic training. Trained masters from the Irish Commissioners' Normal School in Dublin occasionally find their way into this country; and *teachers brought up in Protestant training schools have, after conversion, undertaken the charge of some of our schools*. But it may safely be questioned whether there is in the whole of England and Wales one single native schoolmaster, *born Catholic*, who has received any regular adequate instruction in the performance of the most important duties entrusted to his care. This cannot be allowed to continue, unless we wish our schools to become a by-word and a laughing-stock<sup>1</sup>."

It is with a view to remedy this state of things, and to provide an adequate supply of teachers, qualified to claim stipends

<sup>9</sup> Catholic School, No. II. p. 22.

<sup>1</sup> Catholic School, No. III. p. 37.



under the regulations of the Committee of Council, that the establishment of conventual training schools has been made the most prominent feature in the plans of the Poor-School Committee. At a meeting of the Catholic clergy and laity of the Yorkshire district, held at York, in March, 1848, the following resolution was, among others, adopted:—

“That, in order to secure to Catholic schools an efficiency which *mere lay instructors* can never impart, as well as to avail ourselves of perhaps the most important provision of the parliamentary grant, this meeting urgently appeals to the Catholic body, to establish in one of our most populous towns a normal school of *religious teachers*; and this meeting pledges itself to use its utmost efforts to raise a fund especially devoted to this purpose<sup>2</sup>.”

In accordance with this resolution, the address of the Poor-School Committee of March, 1848, urges “the establishment of normal schools for masters and mistresses, qualified for their arduous duties by a regular course of systematic instruction, and *fortified in their performance by approved discipline and religious vows*”; and from a paper on the subject of normal schools in the November number (1848) of *The Catholic School*, we learn the determination at which, upon a full consideration of the case, the Vicars Apostolic have arrived:—

“These institutions being such, and so necessary, it remains to consider briefly how they may be introduced amongst us. The question is not a new one. It has long occupied the attention of those conversant with Catholic education. It has been brought before the Vicars Apostolic, and their lordships have taken an important step in selecting the institute in France, which they wish to adopt as the model of our own normal schools, and in which they desire a certain number of English youths to be trained, with the special object of fitting themselves to commence so grand an undertaking. The superiors of the house in question enter heartily into the scheme, and promise to forward it by every means in their power. The Catholic Poor-School Committee is not backward to perform its part. It will willingly provide funds for the support of the *novices* at Ploërmel during the period requisite for their complete training; and it is engaged in looking out for suitable young men to recommend for appointment by the bishops<sup>3</sup>.”

A first beginning in the way pointed out at the close of this extract, has already been made by the Committee:—

“It has undertaken to support five young women during the period requisite for their training as teachers in a *conventual normal school*

<sup>2</sup> Report, pp. 45, 46.

<sup>3</sup> Catholic School, No. III. pp. 38, 39.

<sup>3</sup> Report, pp. 53, 54.

approved by the bishops. It has undertaken to support eight young men in *a similar institution*, and has corresponded with their lordships the Vicars Apostolic respecting the speedy establishment of a central normal school<sup>5</sup>."

The full development of this plan, in all the expansion proposed to be given to it, is set forth in the Report of the Poor-School Committee:—

"The committee, from their first formation, have turned their earnest attention to this vital question; and at Easter, *when the Vicars Apostolic met in synod*, they requested their lordships' direction and guidance in establishing normal schools. Subsequently, with the bishops' authority, five female teachers were placed in training with *the community of the Holy Child Jesus*, then settled at Derby, but since removed to Hastings. These candidate teachers are to remain with the community for two years and a half, at a pension of 25*l.* each per annum, to be defrayed by the committee, and the superior entertains sanguine hopes that, at the expiration of the period named, *the nucleus of a female training school* will by this means have been formed. The bishops, after mature consideration, resolved upon selecting *the brothers of Christian instruction*, established in Brittany, as presenting more nearly than other orders the best model for an English *teaching brotherhood*; and their lordships sanctioned the committee's wish to send a certain number of English youths to the principal house of the brothers in Ploërmel, there to be trained under the eye of the Abbé de la Mennais, the *Superior of the Order*, who had kindly offered to co-operate to the full extent of his ability. Some time was necessarily consumed in preliminary arrangements, and in the selection of proper subjects, so that it was late in the year before any candidate teachers were ready for the journey. Up to the present time five youths have reached Ploërmel; and two more have been duly appointed, and will take their departure immediately<sup>6</sup>."

Then follow two letters; the first from one of the young men, the other from the Superior of the school at Ploërmel, after which the Report continues:—

"In the assurances of the Superior in Brittany the committee find great support, and they look forward with deep anxiety to the time when *a normal school* shall be established in *England, whence brothers*, after completing a regular course of systematic training, *may be sent out to teach our Poor-Schools*; going singly to destitute missions, where the resources are unequal to the maintenance of more than one schoolmaster, and where *the parish priests* are willing to receive them; and in large towns forming *comprehensive establishments*, in which payments derived from boarders of the middle class will enable the brothers materially to

<sup>5</sup> Catholic School, No. I. pp. 6, 7.

<sup>6</sup> Report, p. 17.

diminish the ordinary charge for instructing the children of the poor. Such normal schools—for why should the number be confined to one?—will give a most powerful impetus to education, and confer inestimable benefits upon the population of Great Britain<sup>7</sup>.”

It is worthy of observation that, in cases where circumstances should seem to warrant it, this plan contemplates in fact the establishment in each locality of a religious house, similar to the houses which the Jesuits formerly established, likewise for the ostensible purpose of education, in all parts of the world, a number of “brothers” dwelling together; while in cases where there is not room for such an institution, it is intended that the “religious” brother should take up his abode with the priest; an arrangement which we find elsewhere<sup>8</sup> taken for granted, as the only alternative, if the teachers do not occupy a separate house, and which is in perfect keeping with the strictly hierarchal character of the entire scheme. No less remarkable are the provisions respecting the selection of the individuals to be put in training, specified in a form of “letter to candidates for the normal schools.” A series of questions is proposed to the candidate, to which he is to return answers in writing. The last of these questions runs as follows:—

“Are you aware of any cause which is likely to prevent you from devoting yourself *in religion* to the training of masters for poor schools, and is it your desire so to devote yourself<sup>9</sup>?”

To the whole of the questions the following directions are appended:—

“It will be desirable for you to have your answers to the above questions attested by the signature of *your spiritual director*, or *some other priest* well acquainted with you.

“If your papers are considered satisfactory, they will be *submitted to the bishops for their decision* respecting your appointment<sup>1</sup>.”

To complete this picture of the strictly hierarchal character of the education movement in the Romish Church, we add a specimen of the tone in which the bishops issue their orders for levying contributions in furtherance of the object. In their “Joint Pastoral Letter,” issued at York, on the 15th of February, 1848, the Vicars Apostolic say:—

“*We hereby direct* that a collection be made in every Catholic church and chapel throughout England and Wales, on such Sunday of the ensuing summer as shall be by each of us subsequently appointed,

<sup>7</sup> Report, pp. 19, 20.

<sup>9</sup> Catholic School, No. III. p. 42.

<sup>8</sup> Catholic School, No. II. p. 22.

<sup>1</sup> Catholic School, No. III. p. 42.

for the educating of the children of the Catholic poor. All individual subscriptions and congregational collections are to be *transmitted by the clergy to the Catholic Poor-School Committee* established by us<sup>1</sup>."

The "Joint Pastoral" was followed up by separate pastorals from the individual bishops; and the Report alludes to the whole proceeding in the following terms:—

"A general collection made in every Catholic church in England and Wales, and *enforced upon clergy and laity* both by a joint pastoral from the whole Episcopal bench, and by distinct letters from various bishops, *forms an epoch in the history of English Catholic charities*."

Such is the organisation set on foot by the Roman Catholics with a view to secure for the propagation of their own creed, by means of education, a share of the parliamentary grant annually voted in furtherance of the last-named object:—a Central Committee, consisting of nominees of the Vicars Apostolic, and acting under their superintendence and control, through whose hands all the transactions with the Committee of Council must pass; a clerical nominee of the Vicars Apostolic, as the organ of communication between the Central Committee and the promoters of Romish education in the different localities; local committees of school managers, appointed by the priest, acting under his control, and virtually represented by him in their communications with the Central Committee; local funds vested in the priest or his nominee, and a general fund, levied by collections "enforced" upon the clergy and laity, and vested in the Central Committee, nominated by the Vicars Apostolic; and a body of teachers admitted as candidates for training upon the certificates of their Spiritual Directors, countersigned by the Bishops, trained in conventual schools, and on entering upon the active duties of their office lodged either in religious houses, or, in the case of single male teachers, under the same roof with the priest. That under such arrangements as these, the schools will be completely under the control of the Romish hierarchy, it is impossible to deny; and it would be no less ridiculous to doubt that they are intended to be used as instruments for the spread of popish superstition, in a spirit of propagandism. Still, for the satisfaction of those who are unwilling to believe that the zeal for education suddenly awakened among the Romanists in this country, is closely connected with the general scheme for the "conversion" of England, and that the education to be imparted in the proposed schools will be subservient to more than one strictly popish object, some additional evidence of the designs entertained by the Romanists,

<sup>1</sup> Report, p. 32.

<sup>2</sup> Report, pp. 22, 23.

as disclosed in the publications before us, may not be altogether superfluous.

Among other purposes which these schools are intended to answer, is the training up of choirs for the more effectual and attractive singing of the mass. On this point Dr. Wiseman has honoured the Editor of *The Catholic School* with a communication in which the object in question is avowed without disguise :—

“ By teaching all the boys music, we prepare the germs of good church choirs, and may indeed supply all our choirs with singers, available on holydays as well as Sundays, who can sing good plain church-music by note. And for congregational singing at vespers, benediction, and even mass, we should have a body of fresh, well-trained voices, which it would be a happiness to hear echoing through the house of God, instead of the languid and timid way of the few which now form all that we can call congregational music. Any one who has heard *the school singing at mass* in Cologne cathedral, or the congregational singing in any German church, will feel the weight of this motive. There is no choral music that can compare with it for devotional effect’.”

The Mariolatry of the Romish church is to constitute a prominent and *distinctive* feature of the education imparted in the schools. At the very outset of the entire movement the Vicars Apostolic accompany their announcement of the constitution of the “Catholic Poor-School Committee” with the following intimation :—

“ We gladly avail ourselves of this opportunity to announce to all our beloved brethren and children in Jesus Christ, that we confidently place this holy work of the religious education of the children of the poor under *the special patronage of the blessed mother of God* ; and we respectfully suggest to the gentlemen of our new Committee that they adopt this for their motto, *Mater admirabilis, monstra te esse matrem nostram*. Under this *all-powerful patronage*, we confidently trust that the good work will go on and prosper’.”

The recommendation so given was not lost upon the Committee. After congratulating themselves on their success, in their Report, the Committee distinctly ascribe it to the fact of their being “under the special patronage of our Blessed Lady’.” And in the course of their proceedings we meet with the following resolutions :—

“ *Resolved*—That all schools built or supported with assistance from this Committee be invited to place themselves under *the special patronage of Our Blessed Lady* ; and that to every school adopting

<sup>4</sup> Catholic School, No. IV. p. 51.

<sup>6</sup> Report, p. 5.

<sup>5</sup> Report, p. 20.

this recommendation, a present be made of a *figure of Our Lady*, to be prepared for that purpose.

*"Resolved—That it be recommended to all schools, where it may be practicable, to introduce in the principal room a recess to be appropriated to religious services, e. g. for a temporary altar during the month of Mary, the Rosary on Sunday evenings, &c. &c'."*

Subsequently a notice occurs, that the "images" to be set up in the schools are ready for delivery:—

*"An IMAGE of our Blessed Lady, about 2 ft. 2 in. in height, is ready for presentation to schools, on the condition stated in page 15. A larger figure, for the same purpose, is in preparation by a talented Catholic artist."*

And of the intent with which the introduction of this most obnoxious feature of the Romish system into the schools is insisted on by the Vicars Apostolic, the following remarkable account is given by the Committee:—

*"The Committee have undertaken to present every school aided by them, and placed by its managers under the patronage of our Blessed Lady, with a beautiful image of the Madonna. This image has been universally admired, and will, it is hoped, increase the devotional element in the schools which have applied for it. At a time when our schools are newly admitted to privileges shared alike by professors of various religions, it is right openly to avow that Catholics, while they cherish love towards all men, yet can never in the education of their children abandon or conceal the distinctive truths of the faith. Of this determination the Committee's Madonna is a very appropriate symbol. Aided or unaided by earthly governments, Catholics will not shrink from avowing their confidence in the help of the Queen of Saints."*

With this determination, to give a distinctively popish character to their schools, the Vicars Apostolic do not, however, confine their views to the children of the poor of their own communion. To make provision for them is, indeed, the primary, and the ostensible object; we are told that "within twenty years from the present time," the Committee expect "every mission in England" to be "provided with that essential element in the success of all missionary labours, a good school<sup>1</sup>;" and for the achievement of this purpose the Committee intimate that they intend to "ask the Committee of Privy Council *not barely for a just proportion* of the grant for 1848, but for a sum of money proportionate to existing wants, and *compensatory of previous wrongs*<sup>2</sup>."

<sup>1</sup> Catholic School, No. I. p. 15.

<sup>2</sup> Report, pp. 16, 17.

<sup>3</sup> Report, p. 53.

<sup>4</sup> Catholic School, No. III. p. 48.

<sup>5</sup> Catholic School, No. I. p. 6.



The sums taken from the British treasury are thus to be considered in the familiar light of "instalments" of an enormous debt alleged to be owing from Great Britain to popery; and in return it is proposed to extend to the whole country the blessing, such as it is, of popish education.

" Catholics have *every thing to gain* by the instruction of the poor. A very large proportion of the lower orders in the most populous places—it might almost be said, all the lower orders who profess any religion whatever—are Catholics; and education, as it spreads among the poor, will confer temporal and eternal blessings upon thousands now so grievously neglected, and in blessing them will elevate and strengthen all united with them in the same holy faith. Nor will our own poor alone, though we are bound to consider them in the first place, be the gainers. It is now commonly allowed, even by persons whose opinions force them to explain away the fact, that *the Catholic religion alone is qualified to influence the masses*. What these masses now are, it is beside the purpose to describe. Suffice it to say, that *the education of the Catholic Church*, and not one or all of the many devices which have been tried, or may be tried, can, and, as far as that education is diffused, will, convert these masses into useful citizens, loyal subjects, and good men<sup>3</sup>."

On this subject the address of the Poor-School Committee of March, 1848, already referred to, is particularly eloquent, fortified as it is by the testimony of no less a personage than the brother of the secretary of the Committee of Council. The passage, though somewhat lengthy, is too instructive, as to the opinions and views entertained in certain quarters, to be omitted or curtailed:—

" The one great obstacle to the conversion of our beloved country is neglect of the poor children. Persons, whose position gives authority to their opinion on such a point, do not scruple to assert, that through want of means of educating her children, the Church loses as many souls as she gains by the conversion of adults. Will Catholics for another year tolerate a state of affairs so heartrending, so awful? When the facts are set before them, *can* they tolerate it? Can they allow that glorious event, for which they daily pray with such ardour, to be indefinitely postponed, rather than contribute abundantly, one and all, according to their means, towards the establishment and support of educational institutions calculated to confer countless blessings, now and hereafter, upon themselves, their children, and their country? Surely, as Christians, they can give but one reply. They will do their duty liberally.

" But as Englishmen, they are no less bound to *extend in every*

<sup>3</sup> Report, pp. 13, 14.

*direction the opportunities of obtaining a Catholic education.* For is not the state of the country generally, and of *the manufacturing districts in particular*, viewed by every thinking man with horror for the present, and with alarm for the future? And is it not confessed by intelligent Protestants, that *the Catholic Church alone can influence the masses of the poor?* Mr. J. Kay, travelling Bachelor of the University of Cambridge, and *brother to the able secretary to the Committee of Council on Education*, in his work on *The Education of the Poor in England and Europe*, published in 1846, writes as follows:—

“ ‘And yet what are we doing? Behold us, in 1846, with one of the most demoralised and worst educated people in Europe; with the greatest accumulated masses in the world; with one of the most rapidly increasing populations in the world: behold us, I say, in 1846, developing our productive powers still further, giving the most tremendous stimulus to our manufactures and our population—resolved to turn the north into one vast city—to collect there the labourers of the world, and to leave them wholly without a religion! Not only are we fearfully careless of the best interests of our brethren; not only are we acting as if we were ourselves convinced that our religion was a lie; but we are blind, cursedly blind, to the absolute necessities of the commonwealth. Why the very heathens would have laughed our policy to scorn. . . . The contrast between the religious character of the people in populous districts of our own country, and in the Catholic countries of Austria, the Tyrol, and some of the Swiss cantons, is almost inconceivable to those who have not witnessed it. In Lancashire I have attended many of our churches, and of the chapels of the Dissenters, in the vain hope of finding out where the operatives worshipped; but my search was vain, and I firmly believe that I speak quite within limits when I say, that of the poor operatives themselves, not one in every hundred now attends either church or chapel belonging to the Episcopal Church or to the orthodox Dissenters. Their ordinary custom is to spend one-half of the Sunday in bed, resting after the toils of the week, whilst their evenings are spent in alehouses, listening to seditious conversations, and reading together exciting papers of revolutionary and infidel principles; whilst in the countries of which I have spoken, I do honestly declare, notwithstanding that I deplore the errors of their religion, that the religious and reverential character of the poor was most striking and most delightful. . . . I do not mean to say that Protestantism is inconsistent with order; I thank God I am not yet forced to believe that; but I do believe, and all Protestant countries are a proof of what I say, that *Protestantism with an uneducated people is decidedly inconsistent with social tranquillity.* What I mean is, *that none but the lowest forms of Protestantism will ever affect an ignorant multitude, but that Catholicism is particularly designed for such a multitude;* and what I do wish is, that if we may not have an educational system, whereby to fit our people for the reception of Protestantism, *that we might again have Roman Catholicism for the people;* believing, as I do, that it is infinitely better that the

people should be superstitiously religious, than that they should be, as at present, ignorant, sensual, and revolutionary infidels. . . . I repeat again, that the people of the manufacturing districts of this kingdom have no religion. They are not fitted for the reception of Protestantism, or if they are so in a few cases, it is only for the reception of a corrupted and *corrupting* phasis of it; and *we have taken from them the only religion capable of influencing them* in their present state.'

"It is thus that a Protestant addresses Protestants. And shall we Catholics, who know that ours is the only religion which is suited not merely to an ignorant multitude, but to the wants of all mankind, of all ages, ranks, and nations; shall we be wanting in our exertions to restore to our countrymen what has been taken from them? This boon we shall give them most easily, most thoroughly, by means of education<sup>4</sup>."

Nothing short of the conversion of England to the Romish "faith" will satisfy the ambitious projectors of this education movement, which is to work wonders by means of images of the Madonna, and of the chanting of the mass; and, lest any of our readers should be incredulous as to the rapid success anticipated from the appliances which the educational system of the "Catholic Poor-School Committee" will bring to bear upon the untutored multitudes in our land, we subjoin a most edifying description of the success of the Popish Gospel in New Zealand and in Australia, which, in a letter addressed to *The Catholic School* by the Vicar Apostolic of the Western district, is held up as a pattern of what we may expect to see in England:—

"In the year 1840 I assisted at a Mass for catechumens in New Zealand. Having but recently been cannibals, these dusky children of mere fallen nature *had not been instructed* in the nature of that same Last Supper of love and sacrifice which we have above recorded, and at which they now assisted, nor would they be until near the end of their long course of preparation and instruction. All they knew was, that it was the highest and divinest mode of worship and prayer. Led by another priest, they 'sang hymns to Christ as God,' whilst *Christ himself, unknown to them, was sacrificed before them*. And how their singing did thrill through us strangers! So intent was their attention, their look so fixed and elevated, so energetic and piercing their firm and powerful voices; so possessed of their nature seemed the work they were about. Singing has in all times been the great coadjutor of the missionary. The venerable Archbishop of Sydney had at one time, and probably may still have, a person entirely devoted to the teaching of singing in the free-schools of his metropolitan city. I have seen nearly a thousand young girls, in white garments, kneeling in concentric

<sup>4</sup> Report, pp. 54, 55.

circles round the steps of the high altar of his cathedral church, singing hymns of thanksgiving after a great act of religion. Those who saw the recollection and the evident fervour, and who heard the multitudinous harmony of that young virgin chorus, as they chanted to the Lamb upon that altar slain, declared that this spectacle could not be realized by any description to those who had not witnessed it. And one said thoughtfully to me, 'What a hope for this land, to see the future mothers of its people trained in this way!' *We have not yet witnessed such scenes in England, and yet we have much better means for realizing them*<sup>5</sup>."

Fired by such a prospect as this, we can hardly feel surprised at the climax of enthusiasm with which the Poor-School Committee concludes its address of March, 1848:—

"Never was a grander cause; never a better opportunity. The Catholics of Great Britain will not mar the one, nor neglect the other. They will neither disgrace their faith, nor turn away from the poor. *Placed under the special patronage of our Blessed Lady, and led by their bishops*, they will act promptly, unitedly, generously, decisively; and they will succeed<sup>6</sup>."

It will no doubt occur to our readers to ask, whether the Vicars Apostolic and the "Catholic Poor-School Committee" may not have reckoned without their host; and not a few probably will view with feelings of contempt, rather than of apprehension, this scheme for Romanizing England under the auspices of the Committee of Council. Though not disposed to raise a cry of alarm on the subject, and confident that if the true Church of Christ in this land be but permitted to put forth her energies with that efficiency which the great body of her clergy are longing to impart to her, the devices of the Popish faction will come utterly to nought, we cannot but call to mind that there is such a thing as judicial blindness, "the strong delusion," even to "believing in a lie." Nor can we shut our eyes to the fact that startling symptoms of that "strong delusion" are perceptible in the conduct of those who have practically the power to determine what degree of countenance and support shall be given to the machinations of Popery by the State, out of the funds, and in the name, of the nation. To that conduct, as it is exhibited in the documents before us, we shall therefore now, in conclusion, turn our attention.

The whole tone and spirit of the language held on the subject by the Popish bishops and their Poor-School Committee, is conclusive as to the position which they occupy in relation to the

<sup>5</sup> Catholic School, No. V. pp. 69, 70.

<sup>6</sup> Report, p. 56.

Committee of Council : not that of humble suitors for the bounty of the State on such terms as the State may see fit to impose, (which is the position assigned to the Established Church by the Committee of Council and its partisans,) but that of arrogant claimants upon the public Exchequer, peremptorily demanding aid on such terms as they themselves deem proper to dictate. It is the boast of the Romanists, constantly, advisedly, reiterated and obtruded upon the Committee of Council, that from these terms there is to be no abatement made, no compromise of the essentially Popish character of the whole work, no toleration of State interference with that character. The system proposed for this country is placed in contrast with the mis-called "National" System in Ireland: "the English and Irish systems," we are told, are "as wide as the poles asunder". It is not a combined plan of education, in which the Romish hierarchy are to act concurrently with the State for a common purpose, that is contemplated; the avowed object is to "render *available to Catholic purposes* the parliamentary grant for education". A determination is expressed by the Poor-School Committee to "forego every advantage, rather than endanger the religious character of their schools;" and this determination, together with "the growing importance and the vast numbers of the British Catholic body," and "the jealousy of undue State interference which is common to every class of religionists throughout the country," are calculated upon as so many "guarantees that Government will not venture, or, if the attempt be made, will not be allowed to tamper with the freedom of education".

The principal plea relied on by the Romish party in support of their claims, is to represent the refusal of State assistance for the promotion of Popish education as an injustice and a grievance. Thus in a resolution adopted at a public meeting at York, to whose proceedings we have already adverted, the following language occurs:—

"That this meeting, repeating most emphatically its sense of *the injustice done to the Catholics of Great Britain*, by being hitherto solely excluded from the parliamentary grant for education, voted from funds to which they equally with others have contributed, calls upon her Majesty's ministers to redeem the pledge given in the last parliament of *a tardy act of justice*, by an *immediate recognition of the rights of Catholics* to their full share of any funds voted by Parliament for education<sup>1</sup>."

Nor is this outcry confined to the complaint of non-participation,

<sup>7</sup> Catholic School, No. VI. p. 85.

<sup>9</sup> Report, p. 13.

<sup>8</sup> Report, p. 45.

<sup>1</sup> Report, p. 46.

hitherto, in the parliamentary education grant. It is a significant fact, indicative of the designs and hopes of the Romanists, at this time, that in the "Joint Pastoral" in which they order collections to be made for meeting by grants from their own body the proffered grants of the Committee of Council, the Vicars Apostolic resort to the same charges of spoliation which in Ireland preceded the attacks upon the property of the national establishment. There can be no question as to the real scope and tendency of such a statement as the following, put forth at the present moment in connexion with an appeal to the Roman Catholic body for pecuniary contributions, and with a boastful announcement of the concessions made by the Committee of Council:—

"We beg to remind you that one of the most insidious and most dangerous persecutions the Church of God ever sustained, was that which was devised by the apostate emperor Julian. He thought it was impossible to destroy the Catholic religion so long as her members were well educated, and so long as the Church could array in her defence her Gregories and her Basils. Hence this persecutor framed a decree, unexampled before his time in the annals of tyranny, which, under the severest penalties, forbade all Christians, or Galileans—as he impiously called them—to attend the schools of grammar, &c. *The insidious scheme of the apostate Julian was again adopted in the reign of Elizabeth, in order to decatholicise this our native country.* The noble and well-endowed universities and public schools, erected and endowed by our Catholic ancestors, were then seized upon, and rigorously closed against all adherents to the ancient faith. Nor was this severe privation deemed sufficient. Catholics were forbidden, under severe penalties, either to provide an education for their children at home, or procure it for them in foreign lands. It was then enacted, that if any Catholic should keep or maintain a schoolmaster, he should forfeit 10*l.* per month, and the schoolmaster should suffer imprisonment for one year; that Catholics directly or indirectly contributing to the maintenance of Catholic seminaries beyond the seas, should forfeit their lands and possessions, and be consigned to prison during the pleasure of the sovereign; and that no Catholic should send his child for education beyond the sea, without special license, under forfeiture of one hundred pounds for every such offence.—*Vide Statutes, 23 & 27 of Elizabeth.*

"Dearly beloved brethren and children in Jesus Christ, the Catholics of the British Empire have great reason to lift up their hearts in gratitude to Him who is the Ruler of kingdoms and of empires, and to thank Him that this cruel persecuting state of things no longer endures and disgraces our land. We rejoice to see that our holy religion is once more spreading its branches over this kingdom—that many and illustrious converts have lately returned to the bosom of the Catholic Church; that many new chapels have in all directions been lately erected, and



that many of the old established congregations have doubled their numbers. Seeing with gratitude our holy religion progressing, released as we now are from the oppression of the penal code, and placed now on a level with our fellow-countrymen, it behoves us to attend to the striking change in our position. One of the first moving appeals made to us is from our poorest brethren in behalf of their uneducated children. *The munificent endowments provided by our Catholic ancestors for the education of the children of the poor were seized by the civil power about three hundred years ago, and transferred to a hitherto unknown system of Christianity for which they were not designed.* We cannot derive assistance for the education of the children of the poor from these ancient Catholic endowments; and we have no resource but feelingly and emphatically to appeal to you, dearly beloved brethren and children in Jesus Christ, the Catholics of England, for the means to enable us to give a *good and religious education* to the children of our poorest brethren<sup>2</sup>.

In perfect accordance with the tone here taken by the popish bishops, the Poor-School Committee, in one of their manifestoes put forth in their own periodical, are lavish in their praises of the "Catholic body" for having so kindly *forgiven* the injuries inflicted by Protestants, and so readily condescended, in token of their forgiveness, to avail themselves of the aid offered by the Committee of Council:—

"Considering the treatment which British Catholics have received from the Protestant majority, considering the suspicions and jealousy naturally arising from such treatment, our clergy and the other managers of our schools have done themselves the highest credit by *their alacrity in demanding*—not for themselves, for that were poor praise, but for the children of their poor parishioners—those educational advantages which the State has at length thrown open to them. We own to a feeling of pride in this behaviour,—proving, as it does, both our zeal in the cause of education, and *our willingness to be blind to the injustice and persecution of the past*, provided that fair treatment be henceforward accorded to us<sup>3</sup>."

The great point for which at present the Romanists are contending, is the establishment of the principle of their claim; feeling certain that if this be once conceded, they will, by dint of craftiness and perseverance, in due time get all they want. The Vicars Apostolic loudly declare that they "calculate on Government assistance in building their schools, and on annual grants for maintaining efficient masters, *without any attempt at State*

<sup>2</sup> Report, pp. 31, 32.

<sup>3</sup> Catholic School, No. VI. p. 85.

*interference with their spiritual independence*<sup>4</sup>;" they announce that this assistance has been "*offered*" to them by the Government<sup>5</sup>; and they record their determination to accept the assistance so offered only on their own terms, in an official letter, addressed to the chairman of the "Catholic Poor-School Committee," as their organ of communication with the Government:—

"We recognise your committee as the organ sanctioned by us of communication with the Government; and we have every confidence that your committee, in your communications and negotiations with Government, for any Government grants, will be fully aware of our determination *not to yield to the ministers of the day any portion, however small, either of our ecclesiastical liberty, or of our episcopal control over the religious education of the children of the poorer members of our flock*<sup>6</sup>."

Nor are these demonstrations confined to their own communion. In their address of September 27th, 1847, the Vicars Apostolic say that "they desire to have *intimated to Her Majesty's Government* that they approve of the Poor-School Committee as their organ of communication on the subject of education<sup>7</sup>;" and although it does not appear in what manner they gave effect to this "desire," the result is announced in the Report recently issued by the committee, in which they distinctly state that they are "*recognised as the official organ of communication*" by the Government<sup>8</sup>. That there was no backwardness in this recognition, appears from the fact, that long before Parliament and the public had any official knowledge, indeed any knowledge whatever, of the Minute by which the Committee of Council "unostentatiously" established the principle of giving State support to Popish education, the secretary of the Committee of Council, and the secretary of the "Catholic Poor-School Committee" were engaged in active correspondence. The minute in question, which did not see the light till nearly the close of the session of 1848<sup>9</sup>, was concocted at the Council-office on the 18th of December, 1847; and on the 1st of March, 1848, we find the secretary of the Committee of Council answering certain queries put to him, in a letter dated February 29th, by the secretary of the "Catholic Poor-School Committee," whom, in his eagerness to do honour to his Popish correspondent, he dubs "Reverend," though, as Mr. Scott Nas-

<sup>4</sup> Report, pp. 42, 43.

<sup>5</sup> Report, p. 44.

<sup>6</sup> Report, p. 33.

<sup>7</sup> Report, pp. 29, 30.

<sup>8</sup> Report, p. 7.

<sup>9</sup> The Blue Book which contains it, bears no date; as far as we have been able to ascertain, it was presented to the House of Commons in August, 1848, immediately before the vote for the annual education grant.

myth Stokes informs him in his reply, "a simple layman." One of these inquiries, as appears from the answer, was a modest request that their lordships of the Council-office should "anticipate the decision of Parliament upon their lordships' minute relating to Roman Catholic schools<sup>1</sup>." To this request, indeed, their lordships felt it impossible to accede; still a point was gained on the part of the Poor-School Committee by the very fact of having opened an official communication; and a further letter was sent on the 7th of March, asking their lordships to accord at least "the advantage of priority" to applications made to them from Roman Catholic schools before the minute had been laid before Parliament. Once more their lordships felt themselves constrained to declare their inability to comply; and, somewhat alarmed, it would seem, by the readiness of their new friends to let Protestant bygones be bygones, they instructed their secretary to "guard himself from the possibility of misconstruction" by an express protest against the assumption "that by continuing the correspondence he in any degree presumed to anticipate the decision of the House of Commons<sup>2</sup>." Still the correspondence continued, and another curious specimen of Popish modesty reached the Council-office on the 13th of July, when the secretary of the "Catholic Poor-School Committee" inquired:

"How far the *probability* of a grant towards building a school, augmenting the teacher's salary, or apprenticing pupil teachers, would be imperilled by the erection or employment of a room above the school as a *place of public worship*, or by the erection or employment for the same purpose of a room adjoining the schoolroom, and separated from it by a movable partition<sup>3</sup>?"

The secretary of the Council-office, finding the scaling-ladders thus applied to his citadel, defended himself adroitly by enclosing one of those convenient documents which constitute the chief ammunition of the Committee of Council on Education, to wit, an "explanatory letter," in which the question is answered in the negative.

Notwithstanding the caution, however, which was observed by the secretary of the Committee of Council, the "Catholic Poor-School Committee" made a public announcement of their expectations as early as March, 1848:

"The Catholic Poor-School Committee have *reason to anticipate* that Her Majesty's ministers, in applying to the House of Commons for a vote of money for educational purposes during the current year, will no longer propose to exclude Catholics, on account of their religion,

<sup>1</sup> Catholic School, No. I. p. 8.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid. p. 9.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid.

from the benefits of the grant; and they feel deeply anxious that the Catholics of Great Britain should exert their best endeavours to prepare to take advantage of the occasion, and to secure for their poorer brethren that share in the national bounty to which their numbers and necessities justly entitle them.

“It has been computed that one-fifteenth part of the population of Great Britain may be stated to belong to the Catholic Church. Recent circumstances, demonstrating with a daily increasing force the frightful want of a sound training in the labouring classes, forbid the supposition that ministers will seek in 1848 a smaller vote for education than they obtained in 1847. Rumour increases the amount, and alleges, with every appearance of truth, that in the present year the premier will ask for a vote of 150,000*l.* for the encouragement of educational efforts. Of this sum, then, Catholics may fairly look to obtain one-fifteenth part, namely 10,000*l.* towards building and supporting schools<sup>4</sup>.”

The fulfilment of this expectation took place “within the *octave of the Assumption*,” a date specifically noted, with a view, no doubt, to impress Roman Catholics with the belief that the parliamentary education vote having passed during the period of the chief festival of the Virgin, was come to under the influence of their patroness, “the Queen of Heaven.” The account given in the Report before us, of the overtures made to the Roman Catholics by the Committee of Council, is highly characteristic, and will be read with interest. After reciting the minute of the Committee of Council of December 18th, 1847<sup>5</sup>, the report of the Poor-School Committee thus proceeds:—

“*Nothing can be more straightforward and intelligible than these terms of Government aid to Catholic schools. The Catholic Poor-School Committee appointed by the bishops for this very purpose, with others, is recognised as the official organ of communication. Such of our schools as receive aid will be open to inspection like the schools of all other religions; but the inspectors cannot be appointed without the*

<sup>4</sup> Report, p. 52.

<sup>5</sup> We gave this Minute in our last number (p. 134), but for the convenience of our readers we repeat it here:—

“1. That the Roman Catholic Poor-School Committee be the ordinary channel of such general inquiries as may be desirable, as to any school applying for aid as a Roman Catholic School.

“2. That Roman Catholic schools receiving aid from the parliamentary grant be open to inspection, but that the inspectors shall report respecting the secular instruction only.

“3. That the inspectors of such schools be not appointed without the previous concurrence of the Roman Catholic Poor-School Committee.

“4. That no gratuity, stipend, or augmentation of salary, be awarded to schoolmasters or assistant-teachers who are in holy orders, but that their lordships reserve to themselves the power of making an exception in the case of training schools, and of model schools connected therewith.”

concurrence of the Poor-School Committee, neither can they report upon the religious instruction.

“ Priests teaching schools, if any such there should at any time be, cannot receive aid from the parliamentary grant, being in this respect in the same situation as Protestant ministers of all persuasions; but an exception may be made in favour of the *Superior* of a normal school. It is not unimportant to observe, that the exclusion from participation in the advantages of the grant extends to schoolmasters and assistant-teachers who are in holy orders, and to *them alone*. There is not a word in the minute against *religious teachers* not in holy orders.

“ The minute containing the above provisions was presented to Parliament in the course of the session of 1848, and *within the octave of the Assumption* in that year it was *formally sanctioned* by the vote of 125,000*l.* for the promotion of education in Great Britain. Thus, at length, *after years of unjust exclusion*, Catholics were, in the autumn of 1848, admitted to participation in the benefits of the national education grant.

“ Shortly after *the Catholic minute* had been *sanctioned* in the way recorded, Mr. Kay Shuttleworth, the secretary to the Committee of Council on Education, *requested* Mr. Langdale, the chairman of the Catholic Poor-School Committee, to meet him at the Council-office. This interview was held *at the desire of the Lord President of the Council*, and the general principles of the Government grants were then communicated to the chairman, who, at the time, took a written memorandum of them, of which copies were afterwards forwarded to the bishops and the members of the Catholic Poor-School Committee. This important document, which, it should be premised, refers solely to building grants, runs as follows:—

“ ‘ 1. In cases of leasehold property, either a bond will be required from the promoters of the school, or a clause inserted in the lease, that, in case of forfeiture of the lease by breach of covenants, repayment be secured of the grant of the Committee of Council.

“ ‘ 2. Legal trustees must be appointed with powers of renewal in case of death.

“ ‘ 3. Local management of the school to be in a committee composed partly of clerical and partly of lay members, whose authority will be limited to strictly secular education. Religious instruction, or where *partly of a religious character, as in questions of historical controversy*, the clerical members to be *the sole authority*. In cases of questions arising of a religious character, an appeal to be made to *the Catholic bishop of the district*. In questions *purely* secular, the Lord President of the Council will appoint as his arbitrator an inspector of Catholic schools, and the Catholic bishop of the district will appoint his arbitrator, and these will have power to appoint a third<sup>6</sup>.

“ ‘ The Government object is of a civil character; for this reason

<sup>6</sup> It may be observed that all the arbitrators must be Catholics. [Note of Report.]

they insist on a mixture of laymen, to see their views, namely, civil instruction, fairly carried out<sup>7</sup>."

By this communication the *verata quæstio* of management clauses was raised between the Committee of Council and the "Catholic Poor-School Committee," but under circumstances very different from those which have led to such grave and protracted discussions in the case of the National Church. For considering the effectual manner in which ecclesiastical control is secured over all local committees, as well as over the Central Committee,—the demi-ecclesiastical staff of teachers, inevitably subject to that control, by which the schools will be conducted,—and the wide construction put upon the words "religious instruction," including all that is "partly of a religious character," and excluding only that which is "*strictly*" and "*purely*" secular,—it is not likely that the effectual control of bishops and priests over the schools will be affected by any provisions that might be inserted in the management clauses. The Romish bishops have taken care, however, that even the remotest possibility of interference inconsistent with their views and intentions shall be excluded, by taking the framing of the management clauses into their own hands, instead of leaving it in the hands of the Committee of Council.

"After due deliberation," the Report continues, "as soon as the assent of the Vicars Apostolic and of a meeting of the Catholic Poor-School Committee had been expressed, the chairman, on behalf of the Committee, intimated to the Committee of Council his *acquiescence in the general principles* submitted to him by Mr. Kay Shuttleworth, *subject to such arrangement of details as would be satisfactory to the Ecclesiastical Authorities of the Catholic church*. It only now remained to embody the regulations of Government aid, thus recognised, in a model trust deed, applicable generally to Catholic schools built with aid from the parliamentary grant. In preparing such a deed, the point of principal difficulty lay in the clause providing for the future management of the school; and the Chairman found it desirable to request an interview with the Lord President of the Council. Subsequently, with the assistance of their solicitors, the Messrs. Harting, *the Committee succeeded in drawing up a Management Clause, which obtained the sanction of the bishops*, and has now been presented for acceptance to the Committee of Council on Education. The result will be made known to the Catholic public at the earliest possible time. Until this question is definitively arranged, no building grants will be made to Catholic schools<sup>8</sup>."

And in the May number of *The Catholic School*, an intimation is given that, under no circumstances, will a management clause be agreed to, which should, in the slightest degree, trench

<sup>7</sup> Report, pp. 7—9.

<sup>8</sup> Report, p. 9.



upon the jealously-guarded hierarchical government of the Romish church.

“ It must be frankly stated at the outset, that not one shilling of the public money has yet been granted towards the building of a Catholic school-house. For this there are excellent reasons. In making building grants the Government, as their duty is, insist that schools which the country helps to build should be securely settled in trust for educational purposes, and placed under the protection of the law of the land by the enrolment of the trust-deed in the Court of Chancery. Now this requirement, though in itself perfectly reasonable, yet involves details which need mature deliberation. *These details are before the Vicars Apostolic, with every prospect of a satisfactory arrangement.* Meantime we are sure of the acquiescence of our readers when we say, that it is far better to suffer a delay of twelve months in this matter than to accept objectionable terms. Nay, we go further, and we are certain the British Catholic body will go with us. Better will it be—far better—to decline Government building grants now, and for all future time, rather than sanction, in one Catholic school, any arrangements which shall even *seem* to interfere with *the authority which the priest does now, and we trust ever will, exercise over the whole of the religious teaching and every question connected with it*.”

Precisely the same language is held by the organ of the Poor-School Committee with regard to normal schools. After describing at length the sort of institution in which it is proposed that Roman Catholic schoolmasters should pass their “noviciate,” the question is asked and answered :—

“ Will the Government render assistance ? We trust it will. We hope to experience as liberal treatment as has been shown to the National School Society and the British and Foreign School Society. But if not, if *the lingering remains of an antiquated prejudice*, if a misunderstanding of *our use of the term ‘ religious,’* if the idle or malicious tales of credulous or designing men should operate to induce the Government to pause ere it promise aid to our normal school : what then ? Then, convinced as we are of the excellence of our plans ; trusting, as we do, in the judgment of our bishops, and confident of the cordial co-operation of the Catholic body, we will proceed, unaided, to establish a religious normal school from our own resources<sup>9</sup>.

The tone thus assumed need not surprise us. The Romish bishops know full well, by experience, that the Government are anxious, at any cost, to secure the support of the Roman Catholics ; and they also know that they have the power within their own communion of preventing any one from accepting Government aid on any terms other than those which they shall prescribe. It

<sup>9</sup> Catholic School, No. VI. p. 83.

<sup>10</sup> Ibid. No. III. p. 39.

is upon this that they make their calculations, and take their measures accordingly. They have, as has already been shown, prohibited all negotiations with the Council Office, except through their own Poor-School Committee, and they invite the immediate communication to them of any attempt at encroachment which might be made on the part of the Committee of Council.

“ If the promoters and managers of schools, in prosecuting their claims for aid from the parliamentary grant, will proceed with care but without delay, and will *at once communicate to the Catholic Poor-School Committee every reason for suspicion or attempt at encroachment*, they will take the best means of securing for their own schools the full benefit to which they are entitled, and at the same time adopt that course which will be most advantageous to the Catholic body at large. Meantime, they may rest assured that no general arrangement will be entered into without the full knowledge and sanction of the bishops; and, since this is the case, that neither will faith nor morals be sacrificed, nor the religion of our poor children be overlooked<sup>1</sup>. ”

In the mean time, although the question of building grants is standing over, until the management clause can be satisfactorily arranged, considerable use has already been made of the Minute of December 18, 1847, for the furtherance of Romish education. Up to the 1st of January, 1849, the following applications had been transmitted to the Council Office by the Poor-School Committee:—For aid in building school-houses, 37; for normal schools, 2; for examination of teachers, 28; for pupil teachers, 18; for books and apparatus, 4; for inspection, 1; making, within little more than four months of the time when the Committee of Council considered themselves authorised to act upon their Minute, a total of 90 applications, of which 51 were of a nature to be at once entertained; and although no statistical accounts are given in *The Catholic School* beyond the 1st of January last, we infer, from the circular issued by the Council Office in March of the present year, on the subject of the examination of teachers<sup>2</sup>, that the tide of applications under that head has continued to flow freely.

In the course of the arrangements made for this and other kindred purposes, the Committee of Council have given various proofs of their anxious desire to conciliate the Roman Catholics and to satisfy their demands. A list of books has been put forward, for the purpose of being supplied to the Romish schools at greatly reduced prices, which, “ though it does not *as yet* comprise any *distinctly Catholic* works,” still contains the publi-

<sup>1</sup> Catholic School, No. IV. p. 54.    <sup>2</sup> See pp. 136, 137, of the present volume.

cations of the Irish Commissioners, and others suited to Romish schools<sup>3</sup>. But this does not satisfy the Committee: it is proposed “to demand that *the publications of the Christian Brothers* should be placed upon the list<sup>4</sup> ;” and with a view to render this part of the machinery of the Committee of Council still further available for their purposes, the Poor-School Committee have “instituted measures which they hope will result in the production of *a course of Catholic instruction specially adapted for British Poor-Schools*.” Another, and most important concession made to the Roman Catholics is the abandonment, in the inspection of their schools, of the query relative to the reading of the Holy Scriptures. Special notice is given that

“when Catholic schools are inspected, the managers are *not expected to answer the question regarding the number of children reading the Holy Scriptures*. If, however, the managers themselves express a desire to return the number of scholars reading the Bible, the Inspector will not refuse to receive the information. The answer in this case will, of course, refer to the translation commonly called the ‘Douay,’ or to any other used in the school with the approbation of ecclesiastical authority<sup>5</sup>.”

But by far the most flagrant of all the evidences of subserviency to popish designs on the part of the Committee of Council, is the selection for the office of Roman Catholic Inspector of Schools, of an English clergyman who has renounced his faith, and become a member of the Romish communion. The Rev. T. W. Marshall, who to this day is not divested of his ecclesiastical character, nor exempted from the jurisdiction of his bishop in the English Church, is paraded in the publications of the “Catholic Poor-School Committee” as “T. W. Marshall, Esq., Her Majesty’s Inspector of Schools,” to which office he was appointed, with the concurrence of that Committee, in December, 1848<sup>6</sup>. He is described as a man who “possesses the confidence of the bishops<sup>7</sup>,” and his services to the cause of popish education are loudly extolled.

“It would be impossible to speak of Mr. Marshall as we could wish, and as he deserves, without doing violence to his feelings; but it is due to the Government which appointed him, and to the Catholic Poor-School Committee which readily acquiesced in that appointment, to declare our conviction that he possesses in an eminent degree the combination of qualifications requisite to obtain the confidence of our school-managers, to win the esteem of our teachers, and to elevate the

<sup>3</sup> Catholic School, No. IV. p. 57.

<sup>5</sup> Report, p. 20.

<sup>7</sup> Report, p. 9.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid. No. I. p. 6.

<sup>6</sup> Catholic School, No. V. p. 80.

<sup>8</sup> Catholic School, No. IV. p. 55.

standard of education in our poor schools. Now the talents, the knowledge, and the tact of Mr. Marshall are placed at the disposal of our schools. In him every Catholic school has an adviser and a friend, ever ready to apply the results of a general experience to the disentanglement of local difficulties; and we count a visit from the Inspector to be not the lowest of our gains. At all events, we may safely value the advantages of possessing such an Inspector at his cost to the Committee of Council on Education; and this will be about 1000*l.* per annum<sup>9</sup>."

Having no knowledge of Mr. Marshall, beyond the fact of his having seceded from the Church to whose ministry he had not many years before sought admission, and violated all the solemn engagements entered into by him at his ordination, we have no wish to give an opinion as to the correctness of the valuation put upon him by his new friends. He may be worth 1000*l.* per annum, for aught we know, to the Roman Catholic body, among whom, "Catholics bred and born," fit for the office of Inspector of Schools may not be very plentiful; and he may be worth that to the Committee of Council, likewise, as a standing type and symbol of insult to the Church of England, the only religious body in the land, against which there exists at the Council Office an inveterate prejudice, and whose members are treated with marked disrespect. But we question, we will not say the policy, nor the propriety, but the common decency of a public board, invested with the authority of the Crown, and composed of members of the Government, selecting for an office of trust and emolument, the position of which brings its holder prominently before the eyes of the whole country, a renegade minister of the established Church of which the Sovereign is the temporal head, and to the forbearance of which alone it is owing that the individual in question has not been visited for his treachery to her with the merited process of formal degradation. Nor is the grossness of this outrage diminished by the fact that the religious community in which the individual in question has been raised to so important a station by the Government, assumes towards the National Church an attitude of determined hostility and active aggression, and that, by virtue of its principles, its loyalty to the Sovereign is more than questionable.

We cannot bring this article to a conclusion without drawing attention to the unconstitutional manner in which this scheme of popish<sup>1</sup> education, under the patronage of the State, and in part

<sup>9</sup> Catholic School, No. VI. p. 84.

<sup>1</sup> We have, we perceive, incurred the wrath of a Romanist writer in *The Catholic School*, by the observations which we made in our last number on the Minute of the Committee of Council, granting aid from the parliamentary fund for

defrayed by its funds, has been smuggled into the country. In the dark recesses of political intrigue, statesmen who in their official capacity have divorced themselves from all religious creeds and communions, and whose party necessities make them anxious to secure what support they can get, without being over nice as to the character of their partisans, or the means of enlisting them among their auxiliaries, ascertain the views and wishes of a hierarchy intruded into this country, in defiance of the Queen's supremacy, and in violation of the rights of the National Church, by a foreign prelate, the head of a church which has separated itself from Catholic Christendom, by one of the most flagrant acts of schism on record,—the adoption of the decrees of the Council of Trent and the creed of Pope Pius IV. Having learned what these enemies of the National Church, and of the constitution of our State, will consent to take as an equivalent for their political support, the ministers of the Crown, acting by their Committee of Council, determine upon appropriating a portion of the public funds entrusted to their distribution for the purposes of national education on scriptural principles, to the suicidal end of promoting a system of anti-national and anti-

popish schools. To the abusive language employed by that writer,—so abusive that even he feels the necessity of apologizing for it in some sort,—it is altogether beneath us to reply ; and his fallacies are too palpable to call for serious refutation. What we may be “unconsciously conscious” of, we are of course unable to tell, being unskilled in Romish metaphysics ; but of this we feel confident, that it will take a long time to persuade the British public that the Church which alone claims for her schools exemption from “the question regarding the number of children reading the Holy Scriptures,” is the Church destined in the providence of God to “win back the unhappy population of this island to true reverence for the Holy Scriptures.” There is one point, however, on which we must beg to correct a misapprehension into which our irate opponent has fallen. He charges us with contravening “the laws of the land, the usages of decent society, and the rules of civilized life,” by the use of the terms “Popish” and “Romanist.” From the soreness betrayed in this remark, we are led to suspect that the writer is one of the late “converts,” who having long enjoyed, in the communion from which he has deserted, the privilege of confessing himself a true member of the “Holy Catholic and Apostolic Church,” has not yet learned to accommodate himself to the exigencies of his new position. It is quite a mistake to suppose that there is any slur conveyed, or any discourtesy involved, in the use of the terms “Popish” and “Romanist.” There are no other appellations which express with equal precision the *status* of that communion and of its members. They maintain that the standard by which Christians are to regulate their faith and practice, is the doctrine and discipline of the Church of *Rome*,—their distinctive tenet is that the *Pope* is of the essence of the Church,—the terms “*Romanist*” and “*Popish*,” or “*Papist*,” are therefore applied to them with as much propriety, and with as little discourtesy, as the terms “*Wesleyan*,” “*Lutheran*,” “*Calvinist*,” “*Genevan*,” &c. &c., to the sects and schisms which are severally known by these names. Why should a believer in the infallibility of the Pope and the Church of Rome object to a designation which points out accurately the foundation of his faith ? Can it be that he is “unconsciously conscious” of the untenableness of his position ? that he unblushingly blushes for his own principles ?

scriptural education ; and having recorded this their determination in the secrecy of their office, they communicate the fact, not to Parliament and the country, but to the parties in furtherance of whose designs this extraordinary and disloyal measure has been adopted ; nor until many months after, at the last moment at which, as a matter of form, it becomes indispensable that they should do so, do they present the brief record of it—and that not conspicuously, in such a manner as to attract attention to so great a constitutional change, but “unostentatiously,” in a huge mass of papers,—to the Lower House of Parliament, then about to pass the annual education vote. The Minute of the Committee of Council which introduces an entirely new element into the education of the country, and places the most inveterate enemies of our Church and State in a new and most advantageous position, having slipped through unnoticed, and the usual money grant having passed, the Ministers of the Crown thereupon assume the “sanction of Parliament” to have been given to their unrighteous and unconstitutional schemes, and forthwith proceed to carry those schemes into effect. Nor should it be lost sight of that simultaneously with their alacrity to advance the designs of the popish faction, and to support schools in which the Word of God is set at nought, and a system of idolatry is inculcated which the Queen in her Coronation Oath solemnly repudiates and abjures, the Ministers of the Crown have exhibited the utmost tenacity in refusing to give the support of the State to the schools of the established Church of the land, of that Church which by the same Coronation Oath the Queen solemnly swears to protect and to uphold, except on such terms as greatly abridge the freedom, conceded to all other religious bodies, of organizing her educational work in consistency with her own principles. The same Ministers who jealously circumscribe the lawful authority of the bishops of the established Church of the land, recognize the autocracy of the alien prelates set up by the Pope’s decree ; the same Ministers who cavil at the salutary control which the clergyman naturally exercises over the parochial school, admit the pernicious power of popish priests over schools taught by monks and nuns ; the same Ministers who loudly express their regret at the introduction of the Church Catechism in Church schools, have not a word to say against the setting up of the image of the Madonna in schools aided by the money of the State, as the type and symbol of the distinctive errors, superstitions, and idolatries of Rome.

While it is impossible to contemplate with any other feeling than that of unmitigated disgust such a glaring departure by the highest officers of the State, from every rule of just and fair dealing, and from their own boasted principle of civil and religious liberty—



to say nothing of the grievous violation of the fundamental principles of the constitution, and of the outrage to the nation's faith and to God's holy truth, involved in the public support of popish education,—there is an useful lesson which we trust our own Church will learn from these transactions. If the established Church of this land, with her bishops at her head, had presented as compact and determined a front as that organized by the popish bishops, in opposition to the encroachments of the Committee of Council, her well-founded rights would have met with the same respectful consideration as the unfounded pretensions of the Romish body, at the hands of statesmen whose principle is expediency, and their measure of right the amount of pressure brought to bear upon them. Let the Government once understand that the bishops, the clergy, and the laity of the National Church are determined to carry out her system in its integrity, and to repel all undue State interference, and the difficulties which have so long beset the question of Church education in connexion with the parliamentary grant, will speedily vanish; and if our Church be but left at liberty to act up to her principles, and to put forth her energies, unobstructed by the State, we have no fear for the issue of the struggle in which she is engaged in defence of God's truth. On the field of education, as on every other field, she will be well able to encounter her enemies, and by God's help to conquer them all, not excepting the proudest and mightiest of them, the Church of Rome.

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ART. VI.—*Poems.* By ROBERT BROWNING. *In two Volumes.*  
*A new Edition.* London: Chapman and Hall. 1848.

IF it be important, be indispensable, that the organs of the Church and State, the representatives of the great principles of order and religion, should never be wanting in the hour of trial to their country and their God, should always be ready to devote their main attention to the graver questions of the age,—it remains, nevertheless, scarcely less expedient, that less serious subjects should also be discussed by them from a Christian point of view; that the world should be shown, Christianity is not a thing apart, but a living principle, capable of permeating all things, and of glorifying the very use of that world, and of “the flesh.” Thus, on a recent occasion, we shrank not from examining and praising the great “Humourists” of the day, lovingly recognizing those elements of Christian truth apparent in many of their creations: thus we now purpose, not to introduce to our readers’ notice, (for praised he already has been in this Review,) but to give them some sufficient notion of, the Poet and Dramatist, Robert Browning. Such minds as his should be dealt with fairly and honourably: we have no right to reject or pass them by, because they do not treat religious themes directly, or use our own exact phraseology: in so doing, we should adopt a suicidal course, implying that our Christian philosophy was not sufficiently comprehensive to include any general truth which should not at first sight appear a part of our dogmatic system.

Having said so much by way of preamble, we must proceed to assert, lest we should appear to do Mr. Browning injustice, that he is always reverential, and sometimes directly Christian. His main error, indeed, is one of a serious nature; but some of our readers may perhaps esteem it a virtue. We know that there are enthusiastic Churchmen and earnest Christians, who applaud the murderous deed of *Tell*, and warmly sympathize with, if they do not sanctify the memory of, *Charlotte Corday*. We do not belong to this class of thinkers: in our eyes, murder is always murder; and political murder is perhaps the most odious of slaughters. Once admit the *possible* right, in such a case as Tell’s for instance, and the meanest scoundrel has but to allege conscience, and he is justified in assassinating the best of kings, or the first of heroes, because, forsooth, he regards their existence as fatal to the rights

of man. Now, we do not assert that Mr. Browning would seriously advocate political murder; but he certainly alludes to it, and even treats of it, in a most lenient tone. To mention one single instance, in his dramatic poem of "*Paracelsus*," a certain poet called Aprile, expressing his desire to be at once sculptor, painter, poet, and musician, and giving a list of those objects he should especially wish to embody, declares he would omit

"no youth who stands,  
Silent and very calm amid the throng;  
His right hand ever hid beneath his robe,  
Until the tyrant pass."

In the poem of "*Pippa passes*," we have another offensive instance of the same apparent predilection, against which we must beg to enter our most energetic protest. Another mischievous tendency of this poet's, in our opinion, is towards the exaltation of suicide, as a high and noble act. From time immemorial, poets have availed themselves of this method of disposing of troublesome characters, but we have not the less objection to it on this account. It has indeed been made a question, even among Christian casuists, whether in some instances death might not be preferable to shame. We are of opinion, however, that the Christian's paramount duty must be endurance, even in the most extreme cases. But Mr. Browning's suicides are *not* suicides of this character: that in "*Luria*," as well as that in "*The Blot of the Scutcheon*," do not pertain to any such category, and, from a Christian point of view, they are certainly indefensible. Nevertheless, we should not be too severe on a blot which Mr. Browning shares in common with so many other writers: we would exhort him indeed to avoid this error for the future; but with this, we rest content. Finally, one other moral objection to certain of Mr. Browning's creations may be advanced with too much truth: though the general spirit of purity breathing from his works be deserving of all praise, he is not sufficiently studious of certain external decencies; he has treated themes, with a moral purpose we admit, and perhaps even with a moral effect,—which had better been left untouched. This remark holds good more particularly of parts of "*Pippa passes*," of the general design of "*The Blot on the Scutcheon*,"—otherwise a truly exquisite work, treated with wonderful pathos, grace, and delicacy,—and of two or three of the short dramatic lyrics,—we will name only "*The Confessional*." We have now said the worst that can be said on the score of morality; and the moral and even religious beauties which counterbalance these

errors are so great, as to call for the genial appreciation of all true lovers of poetry or of truth.

Robert Browning is still, we believe, a young man, though he has been before the world as an author for some ten or twelve years. His genius may be said to be pre-eminently dramatic,—so much so, indeed, that whatever he writes, takes consciously or unconsciously a dramatic form. His lyrics are almost all monodramas; and his one long poetic tale, “Sordello,” is almost unintelligible, from the abruptness of its conversational and dramatic style.

“Who wills may hear Sordello’s story told :—  
His story ?”

The poet commences, asking himself a question in the second line, and throughout strangely embodying his own momentary moods of thought and fancy, without placing himself for a moment in the position of those to whom the tale is told; making no allowance for their inevitable ignorance of the minutest historic circumstances connected with his theme, but going straight on,

“Over park, over pale,  
Thorough bush, thorough brier,”

exhausting his readers in their attempts to keep pace with his passionate advance, and at last leaving them all far, far, behind him. “Sordello,” not having been republished in that new edition of Mr. Browning’s works which especially engages our attention, scarcely falls within the scope of the present essay. We will only say, therefore, that its tendency is in our opinion morbid, and so, rather mischievous than otherwise, and that its style is pre-eminently harsh and rugged: it is such a work as a great man only could have created, with all its faults; but it is deficient in moral healthfulness, and therefore we do not regret its absence from the present edition. We believe that we understand it, speaking generally,—having studied it carefully; and therefore venture to pronounce our opinion on so abstruse a theme. One other work of Mr. Browning’s, a tragedy on the subject of “Strafford,” performed with great success some ten years ago, has not been republished here. We are glad of this also. Regarded as a drama, it was, no doubt, a fine and stirring creation, despite the exaggeration so prominent in it, and the many starts and bursts, which made ill-natured people call it

“a thing of shreds and patches :”

but, in our opinion, it was deficient in the important element of historic truth,—embodying, and exaggerating even, the prevalent

absurd notions as to the royal martyr's faithlessness and tyranny, and, in fact, representing him as a kind of moral monster. Strange is it, that after the testimony of such men as Hume and the elder D'Israeli—men not likely, from their creed or position, to overvalue the representative of Anglican high churchmanship—every stupid calumny, which Puritan rancour ever devised, should be revived in this enlightened age. The mad fury of a Carlyle might be regarded as a thing of course: his praise would be desecration, his abuse is praise: the worshipper of a Mahomet is the natural adversary of a Charles. He, who cringes in the attitude of adoration before successful brute force, in every age and country, was not likely to appreciate the royal martyr. But that *Mr. Macaulay* should have been so carried away by the fashionable superstition on this score, as to accuse the king of faithlessness, because, while for the sake of peace he negotiated with the London parliament, he recorded his protest that it was no true parliament,—adding other charges of a still more preposterous nature,—this may well excite our wonder at the bigotry and prejudice of man. But we must not wander from our theme.

“*Strafford*” is not in the present volumes, and we therefore dismiss it from our consideration; proceeding at once to the contents of this edition, which might afford matter for several comprehensive essays, instead of the cursory review we shall be enabled to bestow: for the works contained in this edition (counting the dramatic lyrics as one series) may be said to be *all* great works, and worthy of serious consideration: they are characterized by deep earnestness, sweet pathos, high purpose, and intense dramatic truthfulness. That to dramatic intensity probability, and even truth, are sometimes sacrificed, we cannot deny. There is, perhaps, an absence of repose in Mr. Browning's dramas; the interest is too passionately sustained; every thing is made too much a matter of life and death: even when the characters speak with most apparent calm, we see that deep feeling or wild passion are working underneath; there is nothing purely narrative, little purely demonstrative; the dramatic active element is almost invariably paramount. This is one of the reasons for which Mr. Browning is so difficult to understand. The very souls of his *dramatis personæ* are constantly palpitating before us; yet they express themselves so simply, with such an apparent absence of fuss, that we do not at once perceive the full import of their speeches: we regard them only from an external point of view, as poetry perhaps, without entering into the characters of those who speak, and then we must be necessarily disappointed. We have mentioned that general obscurity, which some people regard as necessarily fatal to Mr. Browning's popularity to the end of

time, however great may be his merits. This obscurity arises, mainly, from an excess of *reality*. Mr. Browning does not write about people,—does not tell you why they think or feel so and so, as other poets do, but shows you the people themselves, thinking, feeling, acting: he brings the scene actually and immediately before you, not presenting it through the usual artificial medium: he rushes abruptly into the very heart of his subject without any exordium, and presupposes a certain knowledge of his theme on the reader's part, which he cannot reasonably expect to find. Every where an introductory argument seems to be wanted, placing the reader at the right point of view; in the absence of which, this author's highest beauties may at first be unintelligible, or apparently even absurd. To give a strong instance of what we mean:—the Tragedy of “The Return of the Druses” is founded on the superstition of the Druse people, that they shall only return to their home, Lebanon, when their former chief Hakeem, otherwise called the Khalif, who died on the verge of Mokattam's mountain several centuries before, shall return, to place himself at their head, and lead them on to victory. A certain Druse chief, called Djabal, who has lived many years in Europe, and possessed himself of certain secrets of science, has resolved to pass himself off on the Druse people as their Hakeem, or Khalif, as the only possible means of rousing them from their disgraceful lethargy; and has announced his intention mysteriously “to exalt himself” on a certain day, that is, to resume his former shape of Hakeem. The play thus commences. A certain number of Druses enter the Prefect's Hall,—as it afterwards appears, in his absence from the island,—and one of them thus exclaims (these are the opening words):—

“The moon is carried off in purple fire;  
 Day breaks at last!—Break, Glory, with the day,  
 On Djabal's dread incarnate mystery,  
 Now ready to assume its pristine shape  
 Of Hakeem!—As ‘the Khalif’ vanish'd erst,  
 In what seem'd death to uninstructed eyes,  
 On red Mokattam's verge;—our Founder's flesh,  
 As he resumes our Founder's function!”

This *may* seem plain enough, when the clue has been given, but without it, in the first instance, it must be nearly unintelligible; yet this is one of Mr. Browning's *least dramatic* speeches; it is one in which he is endeavouring to explain. The number of recondite facts crowded together constitute the difficulty,—not the hidden motive of the speech, as is more usually the case. However, many of these difficulties naturally



vanish on a second perusal: when the mind has once taken a bird's-eye view of the whole, it can better appreciate the parts. We would, however, force on Mr. Browning's attention the expediency of prefixing either arguments or prologues to his principal works, which should not themselves be dramatic, but simply preparatory, explanatory, demonstrative. We almost question, whether he could write them himself; but any one else who had studied his works could perform this office for him; and this would go far towards rendering his works accessible to the general reader, and himself consequently popular. So much must be admitted: the motives of Mr. Browning's *dramatis personæ* are always clearly defined in their author's mind; they never say a word at random: where we least see purpose, we shall be sure to find it, if we take the trouble to search. We may not always agree with the poet that such a motive is natural or becoming, but we shall always see, that, taking that motive for granted, the consequent expression of feeling is wonderfully natural and real; that the poet has done what he meant to do, whether that in itself be right or wrong. This is a very rare, perhaps the rarest, quality. How few, how very few men, in creating works of art, have a clear knowledge of their own intentions! How few dramatists, for instance, conceive and develop a character consistently! Almost all trust in a great degree to chance, and often write better than they know themselves; though generally, of course, much worse. Mr. Browning, on the contrary, realizes intensely whatever he conceives; he creates and commands his characters, he is not commanded by them. We believe, then, that as a real purpose will always eventually be discovered where the greatest apparent obscurity prevails, time must necessarily be favourable to the appreciation of Mr. Browning's works. When they are universally acknowledged to be noble dramatic creations, (as they must eventually be,) men, who can, will study them for themselves, and, communicating their observations to others, will pave the way even for masses, so that the very "public" at last may wonder at its having found much difficulty in the matter. But a truce to these general observations. Pass we to the first work in these volumes, the dramatic poem "Paracelsus," well worthy of a lengthy essay on itself alone.

It is difficult to express the object of this poem in a few words. Paracelsus [*the* Paracelsus] is a man who lives for Knowledge for its own sake, without regard to Love: after many years he is partially converted from this error, but his conversion is only partial; men treat him ill, and therefore he relapses into his old heresy under a worse form, and finally dies, acknowledging, that

he has lived too much for self, too little for his race. The beauty of much of the poetry in this work can scarcely be too highly commended. We must give a few samples. The two charming characters of Festus, the sympathizing and admiring friend of Paracelsus, and his bride Michal, would alone endear this work to us. In the first part, or act, entitled "Paracelsus aspires," he is discovered in a garden at Wurzburg, passing the last evening with these friends, previous to his departure on the search for absolute truth and knowledge. Festus has encouraged his mystical aspirations; but is now afraid of his own work, and would dissuade Paracelsus from his ambitious design,—an endeavour in which Michal unites. Paracelsus thus sweetly and affectionately addresses them:—

" You must forget  
All fitful, strange, and moody waywardness,  
Which e'er confused my better spirit, to dwell  
Only on moments such as *these*, dear friends!  
*My heart no truer, but my words and ways*  
*More true to it.* As Michal, some months hence,  
Will say, ' This autumn was a pleasant time '  
For some few sunny days, and overlook  
*Its bleak wind hankering after pining leaves.*  
Autumn would fain be sunny; *I* would look  
Liker my nature's truth; *and both are frail,*  
*And both beloved for all their frailty ! "*

Festus, however, is not blinded by this fair speech; he recognizes the secret pride of his friend, and chides his ambitious longings:—

" That look !  
*As if where'er you gazed there stood a star ! "*

We cannot enter into the philosophy of the poem: this would lead us much further than we can now go. Festus's main fear is that Paracelsus will not seek knowledge for the sake of God or of man. He says,

" Presume not to serve God apart from such  
Appointed channel, as He wills shall gather  
Imperfect tributes,—*for that sole obedience*  
*Valued perchance.*"

And further on:—

" How can that course be safe, which from the first  
Produces carelessness to human love ? "

And again Michal says (Aureole is Paracelsus's first name)—

“ Stay with us, Aureole! Cast these hopes away,  
And stay with us! An angel warns *me* too,  
Man should be humble:—you are very proud:—  
And God, dethroned, has doleful plagues for such!”

Paracelsus responds grandly and proudly, in the full conviction of his mission (we quote here and there, not in any regular course):—

“ Be sure that God  
Ne'er dooms to waste the strength He deigns impart!—  
Ask the gier-eagle, why she stoops at once  
Into the vast and unexplored abyss?  
What full-grown power informs her from the first?  
*Why she not marvels, strenuously beating  
The silent boundless regions of the sky?*”

His enthusiasm at last so carries away sweet Michal, that she exclaims,

“ Vex him no further, Festus! *It is so.*”

Though subsequently, on Festus's energetic remonstrances, she again retracts. Festus bids Paracelsus pursue the usual course to knowledge, study the writings of others, not seek only for himself: he responds—

“ Shall I still sit beside  
Their dry wells, with a white lip and filmed eye,  
*While in the distance heaven is blue above  
Mountains, where sleep the unsunn'd tarns?*”

Festus says very finely, after much more has passed, in continuation,—

“ But know this, *you*,—that 'tis no wish of mine,  
You should abjure the lofty claims you make;  
Although I can no longer seek, indeed,  
To overlook the truth,—that there will be  
*A monstrous spectacle upon the earth,  
Beneath the pleasant sun, among the trees;  
A being, knowing not what love is. Hear me!*  
You are endow'd with faculties, which bear  
Annex'd to them, as 'twere a dispensation,  
To summon meaner spirits to do their will,  
And gather round them at their need; inspiring  
Such with a love themselves can never feel,  
*Passionless 'mid their passionate votaries.*  
I know not if you joy in this or no,  
Or ever dream that common men can live

On objects, *you* prize lightly, but which make  
 Their hearts' sole treasure. The affections seem  
 Beauteous at most to you, which we must taste  
 Or die. And this strange quality accords—  
 I know not how—with you; *sits well upon*  
*That luminous brow,—though in another it scowls*  
*An eating brand, a shame."*

But our extracts are growing too frequent and too long. We must remember our appointed limits. We hurry to Paracelsus's last words in this part; they are these:

"Are there not, Festus,—are there not, dear Michal,—  
 Two points in the adventure of the Diver?  
 One, when a beggar, he prepares to plunge;  
 One, when a prince, he rises with his pearl.  
 Festus, I plunge!

*Festus.* I wait you when you rise!"

In the second part, called "Paracelsus attains," we are in Constantinople, at the house of a certain Greek conjuror, nine years afterwards. This conjuror professes the power of possessing everybody with the secret he may want to make his life complete,—everybody, that is, who first records in a certain book the exact amount of knowledge he has already attained to. The disappointed Paracelsus, who of course could not find for himself what God had revealed, though he had apparently not accepted that revelation, comes to this conjuror in a kind of mad despair; and here he *does* learn the one great want which has blasted all his efforts: it is brought home to him, that he only sought knowledge for its own sake, or that of pride in its possession; that his primary duty is to work for his fellow-men, to communicate what he has gained to them. He is taught all this by a certain mad poet Aprile, who has erred in a contrary direction, from excess of love, which has absorbed his active faculties, and prevented his turning them to any use. He has loved all art, for instance, too dearly to devote himself to any branch of it. Because he could not be all, he would be nothing. Much of the poetry in this part is exquisite, but we have no space for extracts from it. Paracelsus is really supposed to have discovered certain secrets, chiefly in medicine, which would be highly beneficial to humanity; amongst them, the circulation of the blood, and the sanguification of the heart. Mr. Browning says in his notes, "The title of Paracelsus to be considered the father of modern chemistry is indisputable," and quotes very learned authorities in support of this view. However this may be, the correctness or incorrectness of the assertion does not concern us. The poet conceives it to be thus, and had every

right to do so. Paracelsus now, then, resolves to devote his services to his fellow-men. He becomes professor at Basil in Switzerland, and meets with devoted followers for a while ; but his old original sin remains deep engrained ; he makes no allowance for dulness and slowness ; he is impatient to attain magnificent results ; he becomes more and more convinced that man is unworthy of sharing his true knowledge,—which, after all, is so insufficient in his own eyes, because he has not *all*. Festus visits him here ; and the third part consists of a long colloquy between them in the year 1526,—scene, a chamber in the house of Paracelsus. It is very fine, but necessarily very painful. The bitter discontent of Paracelsus, the trustful admiration of Festus, are each developed nobly. The passages of a domestic nature in which reference is made to Michal and her children are very touching. After Paracelsus has laid his heart open to his friend, and shown him his terrible disappointment and gnawing misery, Festus says beautifully,—resolved to trust still,—

“ These are the trials meet for such as you,  
 Nor must you hope exemption : *to be mortal,*  
*Is to be plied with trials manifold.*  
 Look round ! The obstacles, which kept the rest  
 Of men from your ambition, you have spurn'd :  
 Their fears, their doubts, the chains that bind them best,  
 Were flax before your resolute soul,—which nought  
 Avails to awe, save these delusions—bred  
 From its own strength, *its selfsame strength, disguised,*  
*Mocking itself.* Be brave, dear Aureole ! Since  
 The rabbit has his shade to frighten him,  
 The fawn his rustling bough, mortals their cares :  
 And higher natures yet—the power to laugh  
 At *these* entangling fantasies, as *you*  
 At trammels of a weaker intellect :—  
*Measure your mind's height by the shade it casts !*  
*I know you.*

*Paracelsus.*                      And I know *you*, dearest Festus !  
 And how you love unworthily ; and how  
 All admiration renders blind.

•                      •                      •                      •                      •

*Festus.*                      *Nought blinds you less than admiration will :*  
*Whether it be that all love renders wise*  
*In its degree :*                      •                      •                      •

•                      •                      •                      •                      •

I say, such love is never blind, but rather .  
 Alive to every the minutest spot  
 Which mars its object, and which hate—supposed  
 So vigilant and searching—dreams not of.”

There is much more equally beautiful, but we refrain. We must quote, however, certain descriptions of morning, which have a quiet witchery about them, to us irresistibly charming, occurring towards the end of this scene. The first is,

*Festus.* Hark !

*Paracelsus.* 'Tis the melancholy wind astir  
Within the trees. The embers too are grey.  
Morn must be near.

*Festus.* Best ope the casement!—See,  
*The night, late strewn with clouds and flying stars,*  
*Is blank and motionless;—how peaceful sleep*  
*The tree-tops all together!"*

The second occurs a little later, in a speech of Paracelsus's :

" See, morn at length ! The heavy darkness seems  
Diluted ; *grey and clear without the stars :*  
The shrubs bestir and rouse themselves, as if  
Some snake, that weigh'd them down all night, let go  
His hold :—*and from the east, fuller and fuller,*  
*Day, like a mighty river flowing in,*  
*But clouded, wintry, desolate, and cold."*

We need not waste comments on those who do not appreciate such poetry. Finally, Festus leaves Paracelsus deeply moved, to return to Michal and his own quiet vicarage ; making his friend promise, however, that he will call him to his side, if there should ever be a change for the better in his mood. In the next part, which plays two years later, Paracelsus "aspires again," but with baser and still more selfish aims. He has been driven from the university in disgrace, and has resolved to give up all idea of loving or serving men. His first vagrant life in pursuit of knowledge is once more assumed, with the addition of certain evil stimulants ; in other words, Paracelsus, despairing of a high and noble goal, has resolved to avail himself of all mean occasions for enjoyment, and regards even drinking as one of these. The greater portion of this part is occupied by another colloquy in a house at Colmar in Alsatia, betwixt Paracelsus and Festus, who has been sent for by his friend, and who has just lost his own wife Michal. It is naturally even more painful than the preceding colloquy, but it is powerfully conceived and executed. Terrible is the despair which makes Paracelsus say,

" So sickness lends  
An aid,—it being, I fear, the source of all  
We boast of. Mind is nothing but disease,  
And natural health is ignorance."

Nothing can be more exquisite than the pathos of the latter



part of the scene, in which Festus announces Michal's death, and Paracelsus comments on it. We have no space to extract it as we should wish to do. Paracelsus then goes forth once more on his life's journey, and he does at last *attain*, in the fifth part, within a cell of St. Sebastian's Hospital at Salzburg, not only death, but a knowledge of his own life-long errors. Festus is still by his side; he has sought out his dying friend, and passed the long night watching in the cell. Paracelsus knows him not, his mind wanders; he is buried in a kind of living trance. At last, after many wild speeches, uttered by Paracelsus on his awaking from his trance, he grows calmer. "Cruel," he says,

"Cruel! I seek her now, I kneel, I shriek,  
I clasp her vesture—but she fades, still fades;  
And she is gone; *sweet human love is gone!*—  
'Tis only when they spring to heaven, that angels  
Reveal themselves to you; they sit all day  
Beside you, and lie down at night by you,  
Who care not for their presence, muse or sleep,—  
And all at once they leave you, and you know them!"

Is there not many a heart which could respond to this, with an exceeding bitter cry?—Further on, he says, still in his delirium, unconscious of his friend's presence:—

"Truly there *needs* another life to come!  
If this be all—(I must tell Festus that,)  
And other life await us not,—for one,  
I say, 'tis a poor cheat, a stupid bungle,  
A wretched failure. *I, for one, protest*  
*Against it, and I hurl it back with scorn!*"

After this he relapses into a fit of madness, believing that all men are scorning and spitting at him. At last he pauses, exhausted. Festus speaks:—

"Have you no thought, no memory for me,  
Aureole? I am so wretched:—my pure Michal  
Is gone, and you alone are left to me;  
And even you forget me. Take my hand—  
Lean on me, thus.—Do you not know me, Aureole?  
*Paracelsus.* Festus, my own friend, you are come at last?"—

From this moment he never loses the possession of his senses. Festus predicts his future glory: he rejects all idea of this, but rises from his couch, to make a final revelation of his faith. We cannot scan its philosophy here: poetically, it is most beautiful; it predicts a future millennium of glory for mankind, it proclaims the duty of love—true love for man and God. It is not distinctly and dog-

matically Christian, as was Aprile's noble speech ; who, seeing in the moment of his death the errors of his past life, exclaimed :—

*“ Man's weakness is his glory ; for the strength,  
Which raises him to heaven and near God's self,  
Came spite of it : God's strength his glory is ;—(man's)  
For thence came with our weakness sympathy,  
Which brought God down to earth, a man like us.”*

Nevertheless, the conclusion of “*Paracelsus*” is in many respects satisfactory, and the whole impression conveyed by the work is one of a very salutary nature. We see the utter futility of all attempts to attain to the knowledge of God, *without* revelation : we see that the lowliest Christian child may be wiser than the heathen sage. As a poem, “*Paracelsus*” is a very noble creation, not devoid here and there of a certain objectionable mysticism of thought and expression, but nevertheless worthy of the most attentive study.

“*Pippa passes*,” the next in order of these works, will not now engage much of our attention. It is a wild but beautiful little drama, (if we can so call it,) marred, however, by two or three unpleasant stains, which we cannot leave unnoticed. Its leading idea is charming. A little girl, Pippa, from the silk-mills at Asolo in the Trevisan, “passes” by certain individuals, pertaining to various degrees of life, far above her own, and by her simple songs, which she carols almost unconsciously, is made to control the entire existence of those whom she thus “passes.” The moral is, that God can and does effect the greatest ends by the simplest ministers. We have already referred to the two drawbacks, of which we have to complain in particular : the one is the virtual encouragement of regicide, which we trust to see removed from the next edition, being as unnatural as it is immoral : the other is a careless audacity in treating of licentiousness, which in our eyes is highly reprehensible, though it may, no doubt, have been exhibited with a moral intention, and though Mr. Browning may plead the authority of Shakspeare, Goethe, and other great men, in his favour. These things set on one side, we should have little to do but to admire ; had not Mr. Browning most marvellously destroyed some of his finest passages by making certain alterations in them, for the purpose, we presume, of attaining greater clearness,—an end which has not been attained, though ease, grace, and nature have been sacrificed. We will give one instance. In the former edition, called “*Bells and Pomegranates*,” Mr. Browning had made Pippa say, talking of her own intention to imagine herself in the position of certain characters throughout the day :—

"Up the hill-side, through the morning!  
 'Love me, as I love!'—  
 I am *Ottima*, take warning," &c.

This is now changed to—

"See! Up the hill-side yonder, through the morning,  
 Some one shall love me, as the world calls love;  
 I am no less than *Ottima*, take warning," &c.

which is obviously void of the original's grace and nature. We might quote other, even worse, instances. The additions, too, are in almost all cases unnatural, if not positively offensive. We shall make one or two citations from the speeches of Luigi, the young Italian who means to kill the emperor of Austria, to save his country, and who *ought* to be converted from his purpose by Pippa's song, but unfortunately *is not*, as the case now stands. He is talking to his mother about Italy's woes and the trouble they occasion him, and he goes on:—

"No, trouble's a bad word: for, as I walk,  
*There's springing and melody and giddiness:*  
*And old quaint turns and passages of my youth,*  
 Dreams long-forgotten, little in themselves,  
 Return to me, whatever may amuse me;  
*And earth seems in a truce with me, and heaven*  
*Accords with me;* all things suspend their strife;  
 The very cicadas laugh, '*There goes he, and there!*  
*Feast him—the time is short; he is on his way*  
*For the world's sake,—feast him this once, our friend!*'  
 And in return for all this I can trip  
*Cheerfully up the scaffold-steps.* I go  
 This evening, mother."

How admirably does this embody the happy, genial, impulsive southern nature! The exquisite propriety of the rhythm can scarcely escape observation. Every line is in this respect a study. Once more he says:—

"Too much  
 Have I enjoy'd these fifteen years of mine,  
 To leave myself excuse for longer life.  
 Was not life press'd down, running o'er with joy,  
 That I might finish with it ere my fellows,  
 Who sparerlier feasted made a longer stay?—  
 I was put at the board-head, help'd to all  
 At first; I rise up happy and content.  
*God must be glad, one loves His world so much!"*

But we pause, from lack of space. What pity is it, that a

youth, who so much engages our sympathies, should be confirmed in sin by Pippa's pious song !

We pass on to the next work, a tragedy, "*King Victor and King Charles*." This is one of the finest dramatic illustrations of history with which we are acquainted, and in it Mr. Browning has been scrupulously true to his authorities. The idea of the piece is to demonstrate the superiority of moral excellence and kindness to cunning and worldly wisdom. King Victor Amadeus of Savoy, the first of that race who attained the regal crown, was a great diplomatist and a selfish tyrant. By plotting and counterplotting he had at last contrived to get himself into an almost hopeless situation ; for having entered into secret treaties for directly opposite purposes with two opposed powers, Spain and Austria, at the same time, and Spain and Austria having happened to compare books and so ascertain his treachery, they resolved to deprive him of his newly-acquired crown, and wipe Sardinia out of the map of Europe. In this extremity he conceived the following Jesuitical scheme. Charles, his son, being of a mild, frank, and ingenuous nature, had shared none of his father's treacheries : so Victor thought he could go through the form of resigning his crown, get Charles to accept it, and leave him to settle the difficulties with foreign powers, intending all the while to return again in a year or two, and dispossess his son once more. This purpose he partly carried into effect. Charles by his honesty and candour really satisfied Spain and Austria, and saved the state ; he further pacified his home subjects, who had been highly exasperated by the tyrannic policy of Victor. But Charles's sense of duty prevented his resigning the sceptre, which he had sworn to keep for life, to hands so certain to misuse it ; and Victor, unable to bully or wheedle his son out of the kingdom, intrigued with France, and entered into a conspiracy to bring a French army into the land. At this epoch, however, before he could carry this last scheme into execution, he died, and Charles remained in undisturbed possession of the crown. This union of a king with a foreign army against his own people, is what Voltaire denominated "a terrible event without consequences ;" and from these simple elements Mr. Browning has produced a great dramatic work. It is composed, properly speaking, of two parts and four acts. The first division plays in 1730, when King Victor still reigns, at the period of his resignation of the crown : the second plays the year after, in 1731, under King Charles, when Victor returns to re-assume, by fraud or force, his forfeit sovereignty. The principal characters, only four in number, (indeed these are absolutely the only speakers in the tragedy,) are Victor, Charles, D'Ormea, Victor's minister, and subsequently Charles's also, and Polyxena,

the wife of Charles; all these are admirably conceived and embodied. The self-distrust, but genuine worth and feeling, of Charles are touchingly delineated. His noble wife, who teaches him to esteem himself, and is throughout his mainstay, covering all his deficiencies, and breathing her own spirit of greatness into him, is one of the noblest female portraitures we ever met with. Admirable in their way, too, are Victor and D'Ormea. The scene betwixt the former on his return to Turin and his son is a perfect master-piece of its kind. It is difficult to give any extracts from such a work as this, which should give any due idea of its merits; it is so pre-eminently real and dramatic, that scarcely a word could be spared. It is not, indeed, devoid of faults. Probability is, we think, sometimes sacrificed to effect; and the reader not previously acquainted with the history on which the drama is founded, is not likely to understand for some time what King Victor and his minister D'Ormea are individually and conjointly driving at. We want a clue of some kind at the beginning which is not provided us. We will conclude with quoting a few lines from Victor's half-remorseful soliloquy, when he returns to deprive his son of the crown he had so nobly earned; though we question whether the reader will be able to appreciate them apart from the context:—

“ 'Faith,  
This kind of step is pitiful—not due  
To Charles, this stealing back—hither, because  
He's from his Capitol! Oh Victor! Victor!  
But thus it is: *The age of crafty men  
Is loathsome: youth contrives to carry off  
Dissimulation; we may intersperse  
Extenuating passages of strength,  
Ardour, vivacity, and wit, may turn  
Even guile into a voluntary grace:*  
But one's old age, when graces drop away,  
And leave guile the pure staple of our lives,—  
Ah, loathsome!”

And how nobly is this confirmed by Charles's subsequent speech to his father!—

“ Keep within your sphere, and mine;  
It is God's province we usurp on else.—  
*Here, blindfold through the maze of things we walk,  
By a slight thread—of false, true,—right and wrong:*  
All else is rambling and presumption.”

We pass to the next work in these volumes, a play, entitled “Colombe's Birthday,” of a lighter and happier character; in which the question seems to be, in the Poet's own words, “Is

Love or Vanity the best?" The plot is somewhat complicated. We will not attempt to unravel it here. Colombe, however, (so much we may say,) is presumed Duchess of Juliers and Cleves; but it turns out that she is barred by the Salic law, and her kinsman, Prince Berthold, takes possession; he, on his accession, makes some amends by proffering her his hand. She prefers, however, to resign royalty, and confer happiness on Valence, the Advocate of Cleves; the only man who stood by her in the hour of trial when all her former courtiers shrank away. The tendencies of this work might appear democratic at first sight; but we question their being so in reality. When Colombe talks of the loss of her duchy as a trifle, Valence replies:—

" Ill have I spoken, if you thence despise  
Juliers. Though the lowest on true grounds  
Be worth more than the highest rule on false,  
*Aspire to rule on the true grounds !*"

And again, where Valence speaks of the miseries of the manufacturers of Cleves, his townsmen, and inquires, wherefore they do not rise, arms in their hands, to redress their wrongs by brute force, he thus proceeds:—

" There is a Vision in the heart of each,  
Of justice, mercy, wisdom, tenderness  
To wrong and pain, and knowledge of its cure ;  
And these embodied in a Woman's Form,  
That best transmits them, pure as first received,  
From God above her to mankind below."

Our royal mistress, Queen Victoria, would scarcely disapprove of this description. It is impossible to enumerate the many, even the chief, points of excellence in this play. Grace is its prevailing characteristic; but that grace is accompanied by very striking power and dignity, displayed whenever there is occasion for them. A very remarkable and successfully depicted character is that of Prince Berthold, the noble-hearted man of the world; only a man of the world, and yet noble-hearted. We are at a loss again for fitting extracts, but will cull a few beauties here and there; though no procedure can be more unjust to Mr. Browning, who is a dramatist, not an English playwright; who creates a whole, and does not seek for prettynesses and gems and the order of passages which English critics almost invariably regard as the tests of dramatic power! It may be affirmed, indeed, with justice, that no civilized nation's critics are so ignorant of the first principles of the dramatic art as those of our country. How this should be, with Shakspeare's great example, it might seem difficult to conceive; but Shakspeare, with all his glories,



had, perhaps, too decided a predilection for the didactic ; and it is precisely this one drawback to his otherwise matchless power which is regarded as his superlative excellence by our English critics. To resume : We will first cite a few lines spoken by Valence, who brings a petition from the starving people of Cleves to the Duchess, and is informed that it is her birthday, therefore, no time for business. Valence replies :

“ I *know*, that the Great,  
For Pleasure born, should still be on the watch  
To exclude Pleasure, when a Duty offers ;  
Even as the Lowly too, for Duty born,  
May ever snatch a Pleasure if in reach :—  
*Both will have plenty of their birthright, Sir.*”

An example of the aptness and beauty of the epithets Mr. Browning employs may be discovered in these simple lines, addressed by the Duchess to Valence, when he appears as the spokesman of Cleves' miseries ; and she unsuspectingly says,

“ And you, Sir, are from Cleves ?—How fresh in mind  
The hour or two I pass'd at queenly Cleves !  
She entertained me bravely ; but the best  
Of her good pageant seem'd its standers-by,  
*With insuppressive joy on every face.*—  
What says my *ancient, famous, happy* Cleves ? ”

To which Valence responds :—

“ Take the truth, lady !—You are made for truth.”

Prince Berthold's half-remorseful doubts concerning the wisdom of his mere worldly career are graphically conveyed. His friend Melchior has been just rallying him on this head. Berthold soliloquizes :—

“ Say, this life,  
I lead now, differs from the common life  
Of other men, in mere *degree*, not *kind*,  
Of joys and griefs,—still there *is* such degree :—  
Mere largeness in a life is something, sure—  
Enough to care about and struggle for  
In *this* world. *For this world, the size of things :*  
*The sort of things, for that to come, no doubt !*”

Finely is Berthold afterwards described by Valence,—who thus speaks to Colombe :—

“ In that large eye there seem'd a latent pride,  
To self-denial not incompetent ;  
*But very like to hold itself dispensed*  
*From such a grace.* However, let us hope !—  
He is a noble spirit in noble form.

I wish, he less had bent that brow to smile,  
 As with the fancy how he could subject  
*Himself upon occasion to himself !—*  
 From rudeness, violence, you rest secure :  
 But do not think your Duchy rescued yet ! ”

The scene betwixt Valence and Colombe, at the end of the fourth act, is one of the most exquisite in any language: to be appreciated, it must be read from beginning to end, and then only in connexion with the rest of the play. We will only cite besides, Berthold's speech to Colombe, when he demands her hand. She has asked whether he could wed her, if she did not yield her heart. He replies,—

“ When have I made pretension to your heart ?  
*I give none. I shall keep your honour safe.*  
 With mine, I trust you, as the sculptor trusts  
 Yon marble woman with the marble rose,  
*Loose on her hand, she never will let fall,*  
*In graceful, slight, silent, security.*  
 You will be proud of my world-wide career,  
 And I content in you the fair and good.”

His last words, too, after Colombe has resigned the crown and plighted her faith to Valence, are very admirable; so admirable, that we must add them:—

“ Lady, well rewarded!—Sir, as well deserved!—  
 I could not imitate—I hardly envy—  
 I do admire you! All is for the best.—  
*Too costly a flower were you, I see it now,*  
*To pluck and set upon my barren helm*  
*To wither ;—any garish plume will do.”*

We must leave “Colombe's Birthday,” though we could find in our hearts to devote many more pages to this Play. It is likely to be an especial favourite with lady-readers, though the gravest men also may find much in it to command their admiration and respect. Perhaps its effects are here and there a little forced; but nothing is perfect, and “Colombe's Birthday” as nearly approaches perfection, as any modern dramatic work we are acquainted with; even as Grillparzer's master-pieces, which a little man like Carlyle has presumed to speak of as the productions of a playwright.

We have now arrived at the most pathetic, and in many respects, the most beautiful, but also the most painful perhaps, of all Mr. Browning's dramas; we allude to the domestic tragedy of “A Blot in the 'Scutcheon.” It is not free, we fear, from morbid and even evil tendencies. The hero and heroine of the

piece, both supposed to be very young and noble in their characters, have "fallen, fallen, fallen, from their high estate:" the lover's desire, (his name is Earl Mertoun,) is to make the only reparation in his power, and wed the lady. What is most objectionable, is, that there is scarcely supposed to have been any criminality, real innocence of heart and mind being the prevailing characteristic of either and both of the offenders. It is true, that they are most grievously punished; that after suffering all the pangs of remorse, they are doomed to an early death: still, the sympathy created for them may be dangerous in its effects, and the halo cast around them may mislead. Yet there is so much of moral, and even religious beauty in this drama, that we know not how to condemn it. The lovers already alluded to, Mildred and Earl Mertoun, are charmingly depicted; but Thorold, Lord Tresham, Mildred's brother, is the real hero of the play, and in him perhaps the interest centres. He is the noblest of English noblemen: his only fault is too great pride. Guendolen, his cousin, thus describes him: she is speaking to Mildred:—

"Thorold (a secret) is too proud by half,—  
Nay, hear me out! With *us* he's even gentler,  
Than we are with our birds. Of this great House  
The least Retainer, that e'er caught his glance,  
Would die for him, real dying, no mere talk;  
And in the world, the court, if men would cite  
The perfect spirit of honour, Thorold's name  
Rises of its clear nature to their lips.  
But he should take men's homage, trust in it,  
And care no more about what drew it down.  
He has desert, and that, acknowledgment:  
Is he content?"

And this Thorold's sister is the secretly fallen Mildred, whom he thus describes to Earl Mertoun, when the latter comes openly to sue for her hand:—

"What's to say,  
May be said briefly. She has never known  
A mother's care: I stand for father too.  
Her beauty is not strange to you, it seems:  
You cannot know the good and tender heart,  
Its girl's trust, and its woman's constancy;  
How pure, yet passionate; how calm, yet kind;  
How grave, yet joyous; how reserved, yet free  
As light, where friends are,—how imbued with lore  
The world most prizes; yet, the simplest, yet  
The . . . . One might know I talk'd of Mildred;—thus  
We brothers talk!"

His horror, when he learns her guilt, unconscious of its partner, (as he remains till he has wounded Mertoun to the death,) may be easily conceived. The scene in which this is developed, betwixt Mildred and Thorold, is one of the most pathetic we have ever read. He therein says, whilst yet afraid to come to the point, unwilling to believe the possibility of her guilt,—

“ Mildred—here's a line—

(*Don't lean on me!*—I'll English it for you)

'Love conquers all things.'—*What* love conquers them?

What love should you esteem—best love?

*Mildred.*

True love.

*Tresham.* I mean, and should have said, *whose* love is best

Of all that love, or that profess to love?

*Mildred.* The list's so long—there's father's, mother's, husband's . . . .

*Tresham.* Mildred, I do believe, a brother's love

For a sole sister must exceed them all!—

For see now, only see! there's no alloy

Of earth, that creeps into the perfect'st gold

Of other loves, no gratitude to claim.

You never gave her life, not even aught

That keeps life, never tended her, instructed,

Enrich'd her; so your love can claim no right

O'er hers, save pure love's claim: that's what I call

Freedom from earthliness.—You'll never hope

To be such friends, for instance, she and you,

*As when you hunted cowslips in the woods,*

*Or play'd together in the meadow hay?*

Oh, yes: with age respect comes, and your worth

Is felt; there's growing sympathy of tastes,

There's ripen'd friendship, there's confirm'd esteem—

—Much head these make against the New-comer!

*The startling apparition, the strange youth,—*

Whom one half-hour's conversing with,—or, say,

Mere gazing at,—shall change (beyond all change

This Ovid ever sang about), your soul:

. . . . *Her* soul, that is,—the sister's soul!—With her

'Twas winter yesterday: now all is warmth,

The green leaf's springing, and the turtle's voice,

'Arise and come away!'—Come *whither?*—Far

Enough from the esteem, respect, and all

The brother's somewhat insignificant

Array of rights!—*All which he knows before,*

*Has calculated on so long ago.—*

I think, such love, (apart from yours and mine,)

Contented with its little term of life,

Intending to retire betimes, aware

How soon the background must be place for it,—

*I think, am sure, a brother's love exceeds  
All the world's loves in its unworldliness."*

We shall tell no more of this sad tale, and cite no more passages from it, referring our readers to the original drama, where they may discover "through the troubled surface" as Tresham subsequently says,

"A depth of purity immovable."

Guendolen is very gracefully depicted.

The next Tragedy, "The Return of the Druses," is not one of our special favourites. Mr. Browning's main defects, a want of clearness, and a tendency to sacrifice truth to effect, are very conspicuous in it. The hero Djabal, as we have already said, wishes to gain a noble end by base means, for which he is rightly punished. Our only sympathy throughout (with the exception of a slight regard for Khalil, Anael's, the heroine's, brother) is with Loys de Dreux, a Knight-Novice of the Hospitallers, duped by Djabal, and bent on saving the Druses, without the slightest suspicion of their intended conspiracy against his order. Nothing can be finer and more effective in its way than the scene in which he finally learns the truth from the traitor Djabal's lips, and thus acts thereon:—

*Loys. (springing at the khandjar [or dagger] Djabal had thrown down, seizes him by the throat.)*

"Thus by his side am I!

Thus I resume my knighthood and its warfare,  
Thus end thee, miscreant, in thy pride of place!—  
Thus art thou caught! *Without*, thy dupes may cluster,  
Friends aid thee, foes avoid thee,—'thou art *Hakeem*,  
How say they?—'God art thou!' But also *here*  
Is the least, meanest, youngest, the Church calls  
Her servant; and his single arm avails  
To aid her as she lists: I rise, and thou  
Art crush'd! Hordes of thy Druses flock without:  
Here thou hast me, who represent the Cross,  
Honour, and Faith 'gainst Hell, Mahmoud, and thee!  
Die!"

This is undoubtedly sufficiently spirited. We would not be misunderstood: there is much that is extremely beautiful in this Tragedy also, and it is only by comparison with Mr. Browning's other creations that we are induced or enabled to disparage it. The stirring interest maintained throughout, the concentration of the action within a few hours, the various individualities so forcibly and dramatically sustained, are worthy of all praise. There is some beautiful poetry placed in the lips of Khalil and Anael.

The characters of the Order's Prefect and the Nuncio, both specimens of thorough villany, are admirably conceived and embodied. On the other hand, the motives in various instances are not as clear as might be desired. Djabal is decidedly ambiguous: he does not seem to know himself whether he loves or not; and though this may be said to be a part of his character, it is certainly not *comfortable*. Anael's motives, too, are throughout only indicated, and not sufficiently or clearly indicated; her intention of slaying the Prefect would never be guessed by the vast majority of readers. We do not like alterations in published works; but *this* play might certainly be rendered far superior to what it is.

We now come to a very great work, one of Mr. Browning's greatest indeed, the "Tragedy," or rather the dramatic Poem, of "Luria." In this, Genius is shown in conflict with obstinate mediocrity which will not believe in it, which will persist in attributing all manner of unnatural motives to its every action, and which finally accomplishes its ruin. Another view of this piece would present to us the contrast betwixt Luria, the impulsive half-savage Moor, and the comparatively Northern Machiavelian prudent Florentines, betwixt impulse in fact and worldly wisdom. Regard it as we will, "Luria" is a great work, and deserving of far other notice than we can bestow upon it here. There are some strained effects in it, some striking improbabilities, and there is a final suicide (of which the poetic effect is great), which we cannot admire from a moral or religious point of view. We can only hope that "Luria" was not a Christian; for then the deed of ignorance might be forgiven. It is certain that this excuse would not have availed poor Thorold. To resume: One unnatural circumstance we may not pass without direct censure. Luria, it must be observed, is the General of the Florentine army against the Pisans; Braccio, his great common-sense worldly adversary, is the Commissary of the Republic in the camp. Now a certain Florentine lady, called Domizia, is also there: we are not at all informed for what *expressed* purpose. We learn, indeed, that Braccio has had her placed there to entrap Luria; and that her secret wish is to lead Luria to rebellion against Florence, which she hopes to destroy through him; but all this does not bring us a step nearer any avowed motive for her presence, which is indeed wholly wanting. This deficiency greatly injures the effect of the part she takes in the play, and tends to give an unreality to the whole. Here, too, an *argument* seems needful. At all events, no one, we should say, would clearly understand the work, on his first perusal of it. But we must not pause for further comments. Our readers will thank us more for



a few extracts. Luria's character is admirably conveyed in a speech which he makes to Braccio and Domizia in the first act:—

“ I wonder, do you guess, why I delay,  
Involuntarily, the final blow,  
As long as possible?—Peace follows it!—  
Florence at peace; and the calm studious heads  
Come out again, *the penetrating eyes*:  
As if a spell broke, all's resumed; each art,  
You boast, more vivid that it slept awhile!  
'Gainst the glad heaven, o'er the white palace-front,  
The interrupted scaffold climbs anew;  
The walls are peopled by the painter's brush;  
The statue to its niche ascends to dwell:  
*The Present's noise and trouble have retired,*  
*And left the eternal Past to rule once more.*—  
You speak its speech and read its records plain;  
Greece lives with you, each Roman breathes your friend;—  
—But Luria,—where will then be Luria's place?”

The unaffected humility and candour of genius breathe from every line of this, and a similar spirit is sustained throughout. Braccio, however, chooses to believe this “childishness,” as he calls it, affected; he cannot conceive that such a leader should be so wanting in worldly wisdom; he suspects him of a secret design to turn Florence's arms against her; and so, whilst he is winning her battles, Braccio sends such reports to the Senators as induce them to pass a secret sentence of death upon him. *This* Luria learns from Tiburzio, the Pisan General, who is ushered to his presence by Husain, a Moor, and Luria's friend. We must not pass Husain without *his* meed of praise. In him is personified the true African instinct, whether of rage or love: he all but adores Luria as a God, and hates all the Florentines, against whom he warns him. He says:—

“ There stands a wall  
'Twixt our expansive and explosive race  
*And these absorbing concentrating men.*”

But we must not keep Tiburzio waiting. We may return later to Husain.—The Pisan General comes. He remains alone with Luria, he proffers him the proof of Florentine treachery, and conjures him to open the intercepted missive, and act thereon, as he may feel inclined. Luria replies at last:—

“ And act on what I read? *What act were fit?*—  
If the firm-fix'd foundation of my faith

In Florence, which to me stands for mankind,  
 If *that* breaks up, and, disemprisoning  
 From the abyss. . . . Ah, friend, it cannot be !  
*You may be very sage yet—all the world*  
*Having to fail, or your sagacity,*  
*You do not wish to find yourself alone.*  
 What would the world be worth ? Whose love be sure ?—  
 The world remains—you are deceived !

He refuses then to open the missive. Tiburzio expresses his admiration and goes. The following soliloquy of Luria's is so grand, and so characteristic of our author, that we cannot find in our heart to omit or even to shorten it:—

“ My heart will have it, he speaks true ! My blood  
 Beats close to this Tiburzio as a friend.—  
 If he had stept into my watch-tent, night  
 And the wild desert full of foes around,  
 I should have broke the bread and given the salt  
 Secure, and, when my hour of watch was done,  
 Taken my turn to sleep between his knees,  
*Safe in the untroubled brow and honest cheek.—*  
 Oh, world, where all things pass, and nought abides !  
*Oh, life, the long mutation !—Is it so ?*  
 Is it with life, as with the body's change ?  
 Where, e'en tho' better follow, good must pass ;  
 Nor manhood's strength can mate with boyhood's grace,  
 Nor age's wisdom in its turn find strength ;  
 But silently the first gift dies away,  
 And though the new stays, never both at once !—  
*Life's time of savage instinct's o'er with me :*  
 It fades and dies away, past trusting more ;  
 As if to punish the ingratitude  
 With which I turn'd *to grow in these new lights,*  
 And learn'd to look with European eyes.—  
 Yet it is better, this cold certain way ;  
 Where Braccio's brow tells nothing, Puzzio's mouth,  
 Domizia's eyes reject the searcher ;—yes :  
 For on their calm sagacity I lean,  
 Their sense of right, deliberate choice of good ;  
 Sure, as they know my deeds, they deal with me.  
 Yes, that is better,—that is best of all !  
 Such faith stays when mere wild belief would go.  
*Yes,—when the desert creature's heart, at fault*  
*Amid the scattering tempest's pillar'd sands,*  
*Betrays its steps into the pathless drift,—*  
*The calm instructed eye of man holds fast*  
*By the sole bearing of the visible star,*

*Sure, that when slow the whirling wreck subsides,  
The boundaries, lost now, shall be found again,  
The palm-trees and the pyramid over all.—  
Yes ; I trust Florence,—Pisa is deceived !”*

Alas, poor Luria, *he* is deceived. But we cannot directly pursue the narrative. He remains true to Florence ; he fights and wins for her ; then learns his intended doom. The adoring army is at his beck and call, and the faithful Husain urges him to vengeance. He says :—

“ There lie beneath thee thine own multitudes—  
Sawest thou ?

*Luria.* I saw.

*Husain.* Then, hold thy course, my king !—  
The years return.—Let thy heart have its way !”

And, again, further on :—

“ Oh, friend, oh, lord,—for me,  
What *am* I ?—I was silent at thy side,  
That am a part of thee—It is thy hand,  
Thy foot, that glows, when in the heart fresh blood  
Boils up, thou heart of me !”

And, finally,

“ Both armies against Florence ! Take revenge !  
Wide, deep,—to live upon in feeling now,  
And after, in remembrance, year by year,  
*And, with the dear conviction, die at last !—*  
She lies now at thy pleasure :—*pleasure have !”*

Luria, however, resists this and all other temptations. His only vengeance on Florence is to destroy himself by poison, from love for her, lest she should incur the disgrace of his punishment :—before his death, his true greatness is acknowledged by one after the other of those Florentines who have been leagued against him : finally, even the worldly-wise Braccio bows down before the purity of Genius. But it is all too late—he dies !—One more passage we must cite from one of Luria's later speeches :—

“ My own East !  
How nearer God we were ! He glows above  
With scarce an intervention, presses close  
And palpitatingly, His soul o'er ours !  
*We feel him, nor by painful reason know !*  
The everlasting minute of creation  
Is felt there ; *now* it is, as it was then :—  
All changes, at His instantaneous will ;

Not by the operation of a law,  
 Whose maker is elsewhere at other work !  
 His soul is still engaged upon his world,  
 Man's praise can forward it, man's prayer suspend :  
 For is not God Almighty ? ”

And now we pass on to the last of Mr. Browning's longer works, socially and politically, perhaps, the most important of them all, entitled “The Soul's Tragedy,” a wild species of Drama, the design and execution of which are thoroughly after our own heart. It is written for the purpose of flaying alive (if we may so express ourselves) certain morbid restless “byronisers” and troublesome democrats to be found in all countries in this our age. The hero, the representative of this class, called Chiappino, is a citizen of the Italian town Faenza, which is under papal domination. No matter, however, what the government may be, Chiappino is one of those who will always be found on the side of opposition (unless, indeed, they have secured the loaves and fishes for themselves); loud, noisy, turbulent, a mischief-maker by profession. Nevertheless, some good men are taken in by his high-sounding liberalism, and our Chiappino has a friend called Luitolfo, who is one of these. The Provost, who governs Faenza under the Pope, has not improperly banished this very odious fellow: he is in Luitolfo's house, with Eulalia, the latter's betrothed, whilst the honest, comparatively conservative friend, has gone to intercede for him with the Provost. He amuses himself in the mean time with abusing Luitolfo, whom he hates on account of his happy, genial nature, which contrasts with his own currish temperament. He derides what he calls his friend's “wise passiveness,” and says most characteristically of himself:—

“ True, I thank God, I ever said ‘ you sin,’  
 When a man *did* sin : if I could not say it,  
 I glared it at him ; if I could not glare it,  
 I pray'd against him. *Then, my part seem'd over.*  
*God's may begin yet : so it will, I trust.* ”

Not contented with this, Chiappino gets up a little additional misery on the score of his being madly in love with Eulalia, though he has never mentioned it: oh, no! he loved too deeply for that. Talking was all very well for Luitolfo, with his “slight, free, loose, and incapacious soul.” The fellow proceeds a long time in this strain. He is interrupted by Luitolfo's arrival, who, maddened by the Provost's refusal to spare his worthless friend, had actually come to blows with him, and left him for dead: of course he is very remorseful for this deed. Chiappino brightens up and resolves to act the martyr. Luitolfo shall fly in his stead.

He will remain, and accept the penalty of this heroic deed. Luitolfo, half deadened by horror, goes. The mob are heard approaching. Chiappino's vain-glorious heroism, which must be prating, is admirably conveyed:—

“ How the people tarry !  
I can't be silent . . . I must speak . . . or sing—  
How natural to sing now ! ”

To this twaddle Eulalia very finely responds:—

“ Hush, and pray !  
We are to die ; but even I perceive,  
Tis not a very hard thing, so to die.”

We cannot quote all her speech. Chiappino flashes forth again:—

“ If they would drag one to the market-place,  
*One might speak there !* ”

“ Ay, Lady Beatrice, you must still be talking.” Well, the mob arrives. Chiappino shouts instantly, “ I killed the Provost.” The mob, instead of being furious, are in transports of delight: they hail with rapture the doer of this mighty deed; and we may be well assured Chiappino is not the man to disclaim their gratitude. Eulalia turns an inquiring glance upon him. He responds to her thought, and talks vaguely of confession on the morrow. That morrow never comes. We cannot pursue the narrative to its close. The diplomatic skill and deep craft of the Pope's Legate, Ogniben, is admirably contrasted with Chiappino's shallow selfishness. The Legate stays the revolution by offering to make Chiappino the new Provost, after a certain interval: all the while, his intention is to turn upon him when he has got him into his power. But your liberal bites at the bait. How the catastrophe is brought about, how Luitolfo is pardoned for his manliness in finally coming forward and owning his crime, and Chiappino is dismissed with quiet contempt, utterly crest-fallen, we cannot pause to explain. This heading is put above the work by its author, with quiet but exquisite irony: “ A Soul's Tragedy. Part first, being what was *called* the *Poetry* of Chiappino's Life; and Part second, its *Prose*.” Further extracts from this work would be of little benefit, unless we discussed and exhibited its high merits at due length, and for this we have no space. We must therefore go forward, remarking only that the prose of the second part breathes some of the most bitter, but also the most salutary satire, with which we are at all acquainted.

We have now arrived at the last division of Mr. Browning's literary labours,—labours, no doubt, of love,—his “ Dramatic

Lyrics and Romances." As has been already observed, they are so many monodramas, that is, directly dramatic utterances under special circumstances of so many imaginary speakers, in lyric forms; but there are a few exceptions to this rule. Thus the "Cavalier Tunes," which head the series, are not strictly individual; though perhaps this can only be said with truth of the first of them, with its stirring refrain, (Kentish loyalists are singing) :—

" Marching along, fifty score strong,  
Great-hearted gentlemen, singing this song."

Of course, these lyrics, or monodramas, or whatever we may call them, are replete with Mr. Browning's usual earnestness and fiery vitality. They are extremely abrupt, and consequently, (speaking generally,) by no means easy to understand. The very first poem following the "Cavalier Tunes," strangely enough entitled, "My Last Duchess: Ferrara," and embodying Italian morbid jealousy, would no doubt be a perfect puzzle to most readers, without some clue to its meaning. The speaker is an Italian Duke, who is receiving the envoy of a neighbouring potentate, sent to offer him the hand of that potentate's daughter in marriage. The Duke is supposed to lead the envoy through his picture gallery, to pause suddenly before the portrait of his late Duchess, slain by his jealousy, and, drawing back the veil from it, to break out thus, in a tone of assumed indifference :—

" That's my last Duchess painted on the wall,  
Looking as if she were alive. I call  
That piece a wonder, now."

Such is the colloquial style of the majority of Mr. Browning's lyrics. The Italian's jealousy is thus finely indicated :—

" She had  
A heart . . . how shall I say? . . . *too soon made glad*, . . .  
*Too easily impress'd*:—she liked whate'er  
She look'd on, and her looks went every where.—  
Sir, 'twas all one! My favour at her breast,  
The dropping of the daylight in the west,  
The bough of cherries some officious fool  
Broke in the orchard for her,—the white mule  
She rode with round the terrace,—all and each  
Would draw from her, alike, the approving speech,  
Or blush, at least. She thank'd men,—good; but thank'd  
Somehow, . . . I know not how, . . . as if she rank'd  
My gift of a nine hundred years' old name  
With anybody's gift. Who'd stoop to blame  
This sort of trifling?"      \*      \*      \*  
\*      \*      \*      \*      \*      \*



“ Oh, Sir, she smiled no doubt,  
 Whene'er I pass'd her : *but who pass'd without*  
*Much the same smile ?* This grew !—I gave commands :—  
*Then all smiles stopp'd together ! ”*

There is a quiet and deadly earnestness in this, which cannot fail to strike those who duly apprehend it. But the theme is not a pleasant one. The next, with another odd heading enough, (it requires an argument prefixed,) is sweet and touching, though also too abrupt as it stands. We cannot notice each of these romances in particular. The “ Madhouse Cells ” are remarkably powerful : the first embodies the musings of a mad predestinarian, and is very terrible ; the second is truthful, passionate, and beautiful. All the world will be delighted with “ the Pied Piper of Hamelin,” written for a child, and, for Browning, marvellously easy of comprehension. It is charming throughout ; but extracts would convey no fitting idea of it, and therefore we give none. “ How they brought the Good News from Ghent to Aix,” an adventure told by a horseman, is wonderfully spirited and graphic. Mr. Browning does not write about “ the ride,” as another man would do ; he does not even describe it : he gives us the very thing itself. We have the reality, not its image or its shadow. “ Pictor Ignotus,” is finely conceived and executed. The idea is that of an Italian Painter of the 16th century, who might have been great as Raphael in the world's esteem, if he had not shrunk alike from vulgar praise and censure, and preferred to remain unknown.

“ Wherefore I chose my portion.—If, at whiles,  
 My heart sinks, as monotonous I paint  
 These endless cloisters, and eternal aisles  
 With the same series, Virgin, Babe, and Saint,  
*With the same cold, calm, beautiful regard,—*  
*At least, no merchant traffics in my heart ;*  
 The sanctuary's gloom, at least, shall ward  
 Vain tongues from where my pictures stand apart.”

There is more, finer even than this, but from such perfect “ wholes,” it is most difficult to extract. The segment of a circle gives but an imperfect notion of completeness. Next comes an extremely truthful soliloquy spoken by an Italian exile in England, which contains very great beauties, but is withal so simple, so natural, so intensely real, that to vulgar observation it might at first sight seem common place. “ The Englishman in Italy,” we like less ; but this, too, has its merits, especially the description of the Festival :—

“ To-morrow's the Feast  
 Of the Rosary's Virgin, by no means

Of Virgins the least—  
 As you'll hear in the off-hand discourse,  
 Which (all nature, no art,)  
 The Dominican brother, these three weeks,  
 Was getting by heart."

Very spirited is the next song, "The Lost Leader," commencing,—

"Just for a handful of silver he left us,  
 Just for a riband to stick in his coat :"—

And containing these fine lines, (despite their falsity, for if there ever was a literary aristocrat, Shakspeare was one,)—

"We that had loved him so, follow'd him, honour'd him,  
 Lived in his mild and magnificent eye ;  
 Learn'd his great language, caught his clear accents ;  
 Made him our pattern to live and to die !  
 Shakspeare was of us, Milton was for us ;  
 Burns, Shelley, were with us,—they fight from their graves !  
*He alone breaks from the van and the freemen,  
 He alone sinks to the rear and the slaves."*

"The Flower's Name" is a soft fanciful soliloquy, in lyric form, spoken by a lover, who recounts how his mistress visited his garden.

"*This flower she stopp'd at, finger on lip,  
 Stoop'd over, in doubt, as settling its claim,  
 Till she gave me, with pride to make no slip,  
 Its soft meandering Spanish name.  
 What a name ! Was it love, or praise ?  
 Speech half-asleep, or song half-awake ?  
 I must learn Spanish one of these days,  
 Only for that slow sweet name's sake."*

Another admirable composition is "The Flight of the Duchess," a tale, dramatically told by an old forester. Perhaps it is rather too lengthy in parts ; at least, there is one unnecessary episode (very clever in itself) respecting gipsy trades. We cannot speak as favourably of the moral of this composition, for we do not like a wife's being spirited away from her husband, however unworthy of her, even by her own gipsy race. Marriage is, in our eyes, an indissoluble tie. But Mr. Browning does not speak in his own person, and has seriously disclaimed in a certain note the opinions expressed by his lyric "dramatis personæ." A strange wild legend, replete with mystic beauty, is "The Boy and the Angel." We have no space to quote it. "Saul," which is a long soliloquy spoken by the youthful David, has rare excel-

lencies, but is not yet completed, a Second Part having to follow. The strange fragment called "Time's Revenges" is extremely powerful in its way. "The Glove," the last in the collection, is a tale told by the French Poet, "Peter Ronsard," or rather a new version of the old story—how a lady, to prove her own power and her lover's faith, threw her glove among wild beasts and bade the lover fetch it. Our readers may remember how Schiller and Leigh Hunt have treated this theme. Mr. Browning has "reversed the medal," and takes the lady's part with great tact and cleverness. In truth, this poem is marked by a wonderful command of language and an overflow of biting humour. On the whole, these Lyrics and Romances are well worthy of their author; and that is saying much. They are unlike any thing else we are acquainted with; for Southey's monodramas, very fine in their way, have another cast; and Tennyson's dramatic lyrics, such as "Ulysses," are more reflective and contemplative, though very noble also. That passion, that intensity, that power, which is the marked characteristic of Mr. Browning, is conspicuous throughout them. They are not altogether free from morbid tendencies and exaggerations,—witness "The Confessional," and "The Tomb at St. Praxed's," though both of these have merit: they are sometimes painful; but they are always forcible, and in some instances graceful and pleasant also.—We have noticed the series very cursorily, and Mr. Browning is not a Poet who can be done justice to in a few words. He must be illustrated and elucidated with care. No author more requires interpreters to stand betwixt him and the public: and where, in the present dearth of taste or common sense in the critical world, when the English of a Carlyle is thought sublime, and the artificial and conventional are in almost all cases preferred to the truthful, are we to look for such interpreters? Mr. Browning must bide his time, secure of his own greatness, and of the world's awaking sooner or later to a just appreciation of it. Even now a change is manifest; a new and complete edition of his works is called for, and proof is thereby afforded that the public is beginning to open its eyes.

We have said, on a former occasion, that Browning is most properly classed with Tennyson, and with Miss Barrett, now Mrs. Robert Browning and our poet's wife. The first has less intensity, but perhaps more grace and finish; at all events his talent is mainly and primarily lyric, while Mr. Browning's is almost exclusively dramatic. Mrs. Robert Browning possesses perhaps closer poetical affinities with her husband than with Tennyson, having displayed much of the same dramatic intensity. She is a very great poetess, probably the greatest this country

has possessed, and may yet achieve even nobler things than she has presented to us. These three, however, Tennyson and the Brownings (as we may now call them), possess in common a peculiar aristocratic grace and refinement, never perhaps exhibited in such an eminent degree, save by the ever matchless Shakspeare; and a certain deep pathos is also common to them, together with a general *reality*, of a kind which is almost new to poetry. They are not devoid of faults; and are addicted in some degree to the use of a marked phraseology of their own, which may be thought conventional. But, after all, we scarcely know how to blame this, since we believe it is natural to them.

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ART. VII.—*A Letter to the Lord Archbishop of Canterbury on the Actual Relations between Church and State. By the Hon. RICHARD CAVENDISH. Suggested by Mr. Baptist Noel's Essay.* London : Ollivier.

THE relations between Church and State constitute the great question of the present day, as they have for the last fifty years, and as they will probably for the next fifty. The adjustment of these relations, either by the entire prostration of the Church under the power and influence of a State altogether devoid of religion, or else by the liberation of the Church from many of those restraints which a Christian State placed upon her actions, will probably, sooner or later, take place. Whatever may be our views of the desirableness of maintaining those relations between Church and State which commenced with the Christianity of England, and which received their present shape at the Reformation, there is a party which must be consulted in the matter, and which holds no inconsiderable power; and that party is no other than the State itself. We may talk as much as we please of the *duty* of the State to be united with the Church. We may theorize away on the identity of Church and State, asserting as much as we please, that the State is imperfect if it be not another phase of the Christian Church. We may talk of the State possessing a conscience, and being bound to uphold the truth. But what, if the State is perfectly indifferent to all our arguments, and our wishes, and our theories? What, if the State lends itself to the views of a large portion of the community amongst us, who are always asserting that the State has nothing whatever to do with religion—that it has no business to support any Established Church—that it has no right to make a choice among religious systems—that its duty is to remain perfectly neutral—to discourage no error or unbelief—to leave religion to maintain and uphold itself—or to extend equal favour and power to all sects? We may protest against all this, and say that it is very wrong—very unchristian—and so forth;—but if it *goes on* notwithstanding;—if it is a clear and positive fact, that the State is under the influence of such views, and *not* under the influence of such principles as we believe to be right—would it not be a very unwise proceeding on our part to ignore the *facts* of the case, and shut our eyes to the actual steps which are leading to the overthrow of all that we hold right and necessary?

And, again—By what modes and in what ways are we, as practical men, to produce an alteration in the present state of things, so as to avoid the ruin which it threatens to bring down on us?

The broad and simple facts of the case are these. The State, in the time of Henry VIII. and during the reigns of the Tudor and Stuart dynasties, *i. e.* up to the period of the Revolution of 1688, allied the Church to itself by the closest ties, with a view of governing the country by means of it. The State was so closely attached to the Church, that it interfered in its internal arrangements, was assiduous in promoting its efficiency, and endeavoured by statutes, and by all means in its power, to make the Church co-extensive with the nation. Failing in this attempt, through the intrigues of Romanists backed by foreign aid, and the turbulence of puritans and other sectarians which issued in a civil war and the subversion of the government, the State at length, in the reign of King William, adopted the principle of *toleration* (which James II. had sought to introduce for the benefit of the Church of Rome); and the Dissenters (with the exception of Romanists and Socinians) were freed from all penalties. Here was a very great change in the relations of Church and State. The moment that the toleration of Dissenters from the Church of England was conceded by Government, it was plain, that the State no longer could regard the Church as the sole instrument for promoting the religious welfare of the country and the security of the State. Other bodies were recognized at once as undeserving of blame, and as possessed of power. The State ceased at that moment to be connected as it had been with the Church. It had failed in creating uniformity: it was obliged to recognize diversity of discipline and creeds.

From that time the State became latitudinarian in its character. The latitudinarian Tennison occupied the Primacy. The latitudinarian divines were in favour. The State became indifferent to the order and discipline of the Church; and hence, on slight and insufficient pretexts, the Convocation of the Church of England was prohibited from exercising its functions. The bishoprics and other benefices of the Church were permitted to fall into the hands of the minister of the day, either as matters of private patronage, or with a view to sustain the interests of some political party.

At length a latitudinarian State, only attached to Protestantism by political motives, was acted on by the ideas which arose from the fermentation of the French Revolution. Hence arose the continued struggles of sectarian bodies, such as the Romanists, to subvert the exclusive privileges held by the Established Church;



or to gain an equality of *status* for themselves. Hence, too, the gradual relaxation of all those laws which had fenced in the prerogatives of the Church of England, and the diminution or withdrawal of the aid which had formerly been extended to Church objects. The whole course of the State in England, since the epoch of the French Revolution, exhibits the spectacle of a Government without any strong religious principles, acted on by the persevering energies and activities of certain classes for the advancement of their own designs. The State had no power of resisting these efforts, because it had no deep principle to fall back upon. It possessed no conscience of its own, and, therefore, could not consistently reject the demands of alleged conscience. It had relinquished the old principle which connected its support of the Church of England with its own religious tenets: the statesmen of the nineteenth century, into whose hands the power once exercised by the Sovereigns of England had fallen, were not, like the Tudors and the Stuarts, bound by their own convictions, or, at least, by their professions and their policy, to an exclusive support of the Church, as the way of truth. Fifty years have exhibited the steady progress of a latitudinarian State in the direction of evil, and not of good. The statesman of the present day, who might feel disposed to act on higher and more Christian principle, finds himself hampered by the precedents of 160 years. The whole course of legislation sets in one direction; the spirit of the age sets in one direction. Each statesman as he rises, bends before the current. We may, and sometimes do, for a time—nay, for a long time, arrest the progress of evil in one point; but it always succeeds in the long run. The State is steadily becoming more and more unchristianized.

This state of things does not arise from any specifically irreligious character amongst statesmen in the present day. When we look back upon the statesmen of Charles II., or on those of King William, or the Georges, we do not recognize in them any character, as individuals, which causes the statesmen of the present day to contrast unfavourably with them. Perhaps we may say that, at present, there is higher and purer personal character, and better individual intention, than in any former period; and yet, notwithstanding this, the whole *policy* in regard to Church matters, which has prevailed for the last generation or two, is decidedly and increasingly irreligious. The great cause of this alienation from a religious policy is the divided state of public opinion throughout the empire, which the State reflects more and more; so that amidst contending forces, and directions, and impulses, the religious principle held in theory by the State

is gradually narrowed in its operation, and in many points relinquished.

To those who are really and sincerely devoted to the Church of England, as God's appointed instrument for conveying the blessings of the Gospel to this nation, the prospect before us is painful, and in many cases bewildering. Many men are unable to see their way through the difficulties presented by the existing union between a Christian Church and a State which is daily becoming more indifferent in religious matters. They see the State still in possession of the most momentous power over the Church. They see the nomination of all the Heads and Dignitaries of the Church directly or indirectly under the influence of the State. They see the Ministers of the day, who are more or less the representatives of the spirit of indifference and neutrality, invested with uncontrolled power in the selection of the Rulers and Guides of the Church. Can it be expected that statesmen will ever select bishops or dignitaries who, in their opinion, will be likely in any case in which the interests of the Church may seem to demand one course, and the interests of their political friends another, to give the preference to the Church's cause? What statesmen could be expected to seek for the appointment of such bishops as would regard their duty to God and His Church in the *first* place, and the welfare of the State in the *second* place? It would be unreasonable to expect from statesmen, to whom the interest of the State is the first consideration, to embarrass themselves or the State by the appointment of impracticable men, who were likely to give trouble by opposing themselves on religious grounds to the political projects of the day. The State possesses an enormous power over the Church in this respect: it possesses the power of neutralizing all effectual opposition to its designs from a united prelacy. It can always secure at least a *division* in the hierarchy. No matter how unanimous the clergy, and all other sincere members of the Church may be, the State can always manage to divide the hierarchy. It has nominated men of a certain class of mind; it has direct, personal influence over them. It can appeal to personal favours granted, and perhaps to promises and conditions made. It invests them with high temporal rank, and places them amongst the peers of the realm; and it is anxious to retain the spiritual peerage, because it is glad to have this pretext for retaining the power of choosing spiritual peers. Let that power escape from the State, and the Church would be no longer so manageable; it would have a will of its own, like other religious communities. It would be capable of union: it would become an organized body with leaders, instead

of a multitude deprived of its natural leaders. It would give laws to the State, instead of being legislated for *by* the State at the will of its adversaries. The Church, even now, bereft as it is of the active leadership of an *united* Episcopate, is not without power to resist what is evil. The Church is strong in her principles, united on great points (though apparently and outwardly divided), and determined to uphold what she believes to be right, and just, and holy; no matter what Sovereign, or Minister, or Prelate, or Peer may say to the contrary. And in spite of all the difficulties and discouragements that lie before her, we believe that her steadfast perseverance in the path of duty, without fear of man, will in the end be successful.

But in the mean time, our present condition is most alarming. We are divided, not merely by differences on some religious questions; but we are divided by the influence of the State. We can never reckon on unity amongst our hierarchy even on questions of the most vital importance to the existence of the Church or the preservation of her greatest privileges. Our Deans—our Archdeacons—our Canons and members of Chapters—large masses of our parochial clergy—are nominated, either directly or indirectly, by the State: and that State has ceased to have the interest of the Church at heart—ceased to recognize the Church as teaching *the* Truth. In dealing with the State we are not able to act with perfect independence. The State has its interest within our body: a portion of us are under State influence: some of us cannot act freely: they are bound to discourage all independent action: they are partizans of the State rather than of the Church. With the best intentions, and the purest motives, men are often influenced by their connexions, and their position, and their engagements, to a certain course—a mode of action justified by a thousand excellent principles of duty, loyalty, submission, discretion, and precedent, which, in other times, would have been rightly applied, but which, in the present day, are inapplicable, or rendered obsolete by the change of circumstances.

It is the positive, actual pressing dangers of our position—not any mere speculative and remote prospects, to which thoughtful minds amongst our laity are now directing their attention. The position of the Episcopate is more distinctly seen than formerly. Circumstances have brought out its serious disadvantages; and when we now urge on men who were formerly most earnest in their desire for an increase of the Episcopate, to pursue that object, we are frequently met by objections arising from the position of the Episcopate as nominees of the Minister of the day. They are not desirous of seeing the Minister given the power of creating more bishops, because they have no confidence that any

Minister will make such appointments as will really benefit the Church in her spiritual capacity. The feelings which are widely spread amongst the laity and the clergy of various schools, are fairly described in the following passage from the able and interesting publication of the Honourable Richard Cavendish, the title of which we have prefixed to these pages. This pamphlet, which is addressed to the Archbishop of Canterbury, draws the attention of that Most Rev. Prelate to various statements in Mr. Noel's recent publication, and having referred to his views on the union of Church and State, proceeds as follows :—

“ Of course, I shall not now attempt to prove the lawfulness of the union between Church and State, nor to point out the fearful calamities which would ensue from a separation between them. Too surely the day which shall dawn on this portentous divorce shall witness the sunset of England's glory, England's greatness, and England's stability. It is with the firmest conviction that nothing can ever justify the State in ceasing to promote, as much as lies in its province, the continuance and increase of religion in the land, and that nothing can ever justify the Church in severing the connexion between herself and the State, so long as she can maintain it without disobeying the clear and unmistakable laws of God, that I approach the consideration of some abuses to which Mr. Noel has directed our attention.

“ But, my Lord, while I entertain this conviction, I know also that there has arisen a deep and growing feeling amongst the most thoughtful and earnest of our clergy, as well as amongst the most religious of our laity, that the evils resulting from the *actual* relation between the English State and the English Church, are such as to make it their duty to endeavour at all hazards to effect by all lawful means an alteration in the existing conditions of that relation. Recent events have not tended to lessen the force of this feeling. Can we wonder, after the experience of the last year and a half, that a conviction should have arisen in the minds of men more ardent and zealous perhaps than prudent, but still men ardent and zealous in the cause of Christ and His Church, that a system which can produce such fruits is too vicious to be treated by any other remedy save that of annihilation ?

“ Now, my Lord, in the belief that the best, if not the only, way of averting the disastrous consequences which would arise from a total disruption of all ties between Church and State, is to place them on a sounder footing than that which they now occupy, I venture to entreat your Grace's attention to a few among the many items, in Mr. Noel's long catalogue of practical abuses.

“ Mr. Noel first adverts to the influence of the union as regards a bishop. He says, ‘ To fulfil his office rightly, a bishop must be more free than his brethren from ambition and covetousness, more spiritually-minded, more devoted to his ministry, more anxious to bring sinners to Christ, more brotherly and liberal to his fellow-Christians, more zeal-

ous for the honour of his Master, more entirely consecrated to God. As a pastor who is less pious than the members of the church over which he presides, does them mischief, because his ministrations tend to bring them down to his level; so a prelate less pious than the pastors whom he governs, inflicts on them a similar mischief. His duty to them is what theirs is to the Churches. He has to convert unconverted ministers, to guide the erring, to reclaim the backsliding, to animate the despondent, to strengthen the weak, to encourage and aid the most devoted. To accomplish these objects, he must surpass them in wisdom and Christian experience, in faith and fervency, in meekness and self-control, in holiness and spirituality of mind. Like Paul, he should be able to say, 'Be ye followers of me, even as I also am of Christ.'—'Be ye followers together of me, and mark them which walk so, as ye have us for an example.' To an office like this a man ought to be chosen with exclusive reference to his spiritual qualifications by pious men, with the utmost caution, and with the most solemn prayer. When the Church at Jerusalem chose Matthias as one of those most suitable to succeed the apostle Judas in his place as an apostle, they then sought the guidance of God. And when Paul was set apart for his mission to the Gentiles by the Presbyters of Antioch, they fulfilled that duty with fasting and prayer. With no less solemnity, earnestness, and dependence upon God, should pious men choose those prelates who exercise so vast an influence in the Anglican Churches for good or evil. But ministers of State are little likely to choose them in this manner. Since prelates have votes in Parliament, where parties are often nearly equal; the most religious statesmen are strongly tempted to make zeal for their political party a leading qualification for a bishopric; and, secondly, since prime ministers are usually the ablest men of their party, chosen, without reference to religious character, for their knowledge of public affairs, and their administrative skill, they have often been destitute of piety. Hence men have often been raised to the bench from party considerations: the choice of the nominee being determined by the wish to please a powerful adherent, or to strengthen the party by the accession of a debater of known capacity, not to mention more questionable motives. The way to rise is obvious. Let any cleric of fair abilities, who aspires to rank and power, be respectable, but not over religious, make himself a good scholar, write some work of literary merit, be a moderate but firm supporter of the party in power, express no opinions on any subject which could be inconvenient to the Government, be a foe to innovation, without being unfriendly to improvements of detail, cultivate the friendship both of powerful families and influential prelates, be a staunch but good-tempered supporter of the Church against dissent; above all, be a safe man, who neither in the administration of a diocese, nor in any parliamentary business, would create embarrassment to the Government, and he may be almost sure of reaching the highest honours of his profession.

“ ‘ I will not say,—

‘ That he  
Must serve who fain would sway ; and soothe and sue  
And watch all time, and pry into all place,  
And be a living lie—who would become  
A mighty thing among the mean ;’

but a course too near to this has often led to greatness. Government can count upon the services of pliant men who never form inconvenient opinions ; but they would be exposed to trouble should they nominate any man who, with severe integrity and ardent love of truth, will frankly express his convictions, and manifest the least approach to the temper of a reformer.’

“ My Lord, the force of this striking passage depends not on any personal opinions of the author. He states facts ; they are notoriously and indisputably true. Let us not, whatever may be the mischief with which worldly men, wise in their own generation, may threaten us if we raise the veil from these arcana of the system with which their interests are entwined, let us not attempt to blink the truth. There would be no true wisdom in the endeavour, even were it, by some possibility, to be successful. Perhaps if we look the evil boldly and honestly in the face, we may, by God’s blessing, discover a better way of overcoming it.”

We hold it as an axiom, which no one will venture to dispute, that men holding the sacred and awfully responsible office of a Bishop in the Church of God ought to be chosen *primarily*, and beyond all other considerations, because they are held to possess *spiritual qualifications* for that office—because they are *fit* for that office. To appoint men merely because they are of unobjectionable character and conduct, or because they are good scholars, or because they hold office in the universities, or because they are connected with noble families, or because they have been useful in political contests, would be to set aside altogether the grand question of *qualification*. Every one must admit that this *ought* to be the first question, and that every thing else should give way to it. Yet all the world knows that this question is, practically, lost sight of entirely. No one ever dreams of a minister looking for *spiritual qualifications* in a bishop. Let us again hear Mr. Cavendish’s remarks on this subject. They are well deserving of attention : such views are rife in all directions—amongst men of the most different theological schools :—

“ My Lord, I cheerfully admit that we are bound, in spite of appearances, to pass no judgment on the motives which dictated such appointments as those to which Mr. Noel alludes, except that which is consistent with the great law of Christian charity. However hard it is to think so, it is certainly just *possible* that they may have been con-



scientious. But what can we say of a system in which such scandals can be conscientiously committed, and committed too without raising an universal cry of indignation, so natural are they considered to be under that system? The prime minister is appointed, as Mr. Noel frequently reminds us, by the majority of a House of Commons, including Romanists, Socinians, and other Dissenters, and which moreover soon may, and probably will, include Jews, if not Mahometans. He has been all his life engaged in party struggles for the attainment or retention of office, sometimes in less creditable occupations. If by chance he be a conscientious and religious man, how in the nature of things can he, with the best intentions, be qualified to select bishops? Few ministers have earned or deserved a better reputation as dispensers of ecclesiastical patronage than Lord Liverpool. Yet his chief merit in this capacity was negative. It will scarcely be asserted by the warmest admirers of this statesman, that during his administration, the best and fittest men, or any thing like the best and fittest men, were chosen for vacant bishoprics. I dwell on this point of *selection*, because it is that which lies at the root of the evil. The Church, it may be said, possesses certain inherent safeguards against improper appointments. I admit that the Church has not yet been legally pronounced to have been robbed of her clear and inalienable right to exercise her immemorial privilege, and perform her imperative duty at the confirmations of her bishops. But supposing that she were freed from all the impediments so tyrannically sought to be placed in her way as regards this essential point, would even this secure good appointments? Assuredly not. Many a person may be appointed to an office, of whom all men may be morally convinced that he is unfit to discharge its duties, and yet against such a man it may not be possible to bring any tangible charge. A right reverend prelate, of whom I wish to speak with the deep respect due not only to his great abilities [and learning, but to his high-minded conscientiousness and integrity of character, observed in the House of Lords, that the Church possesses ample security as regards the appointment to bishoprics, because the minister is confined in his choice to clergymen, already approved of by their bishops as fit to hold the office of pastor. Was the bishop exercising that talent of irony, which he possessed in so eminent a degree? Granting that all clergymen were fitted, as regards their moral and religious character, for the office of bishop (Mr. Noel has uttered nothing more severe of the Church than is implied in this hypothesis), still to say that every one of these many thousand gentlemen was qualified for so high and difficult an office, would be about as true as to say that every fashionable young officer in the Guards was qualified to command an army. It cannot, therefore, be too strongly urged, or too continually borne in mind, that as long as the appointment to bishoprics shall rest with the prime minister for the time being, so long can the Church entertain no valid or reasonable hopes of exacting a compliance with her just and reasonable demands that none shall be set over her as bishops, who are not chosen simply for their fitness to discharge the apostolic office. There are now in the

rank of the English priesthood not a few men, the laborious charity and self-denying holiness of whose lives would have done honour to the brightest times of the Church's history. If any such were to be advanced to the Episcopate, it is scarcely possible to over-estimate the blessings which would ensue from their appointment. But the very heroism of their character, so unintelligible to worldly minds, creates an impassable barrier, as they well know, to their promotion under the present system.

"Mr. Noel proceeds to make some observations on the ensnaring influences of their new positions on men thus advanced to the prelacy. Would to God, my Lord, that we could believe him to be guilty even of exaggeration on this point! I spare myself the pain of dwelling on this most humiliating matter; but I cannot too strongly express my concurrence with Mr. Noel, when he speaks as follows: 'Through such an ordeal, scarcely the best men in the kingdom could pass unscathed. But, to make the matter worse, worldly statesmen are, in general, likely to create worldly prelates, and to expose men whose tempers are ambitious, and who have given no proofs of spirituality, to temptations strong enough to corrupt the wisest and the most devout.'

"These things being so, no wonder, my Lord, that the very idea of a bishop's office should be obscured, nay, lost, among the people at large. Sir James Graham has shown us what the consequences have been on the mind of one of our shrewdest and most practical statesmen, one too by no means hostile to the Church. Even Sir Robert Peel thought a proposed increase in the number of bishops a fit subject for ridicule. In fact, to multiply bishops would serve but to multiply the evil, unless some plan shall previously have been adopted for securing, as far as possible, the appointment of fit men to an office, the important influence of which on the religious character of the whole Church cannot be exaggerated."

Such views as these are not lightly to be regarded in any point of view. They are not the views of party men. They are not the opinions of those who are anxious for the political ascendancy of the Church over other denominations. They arise from a feeling very widely diffused, that the weak side of the Church in its contest with the spirit of the age for the great objects of its existence, is very much in its Episcopate and its higher members. It is felt, that while we are confronted by a spirit which is really and essentially that of Antichrist—a spirit which seeks to dethrone Christianity from its supremacy, and to give free scope to all forms of religious error, and even of infidelity—and while we can distinctly see that this evil agency is at work upon the State in England, guiding all its actions to the gradual subversion of all substantive and distinctive verities, and to the conversion of the kingdom of God into a deistical engine of state policy, the great mass of the Church is left unsupported by the hierarchy, because

the hierarchy is the ally of that State from which all our dangers and evils proceed. We recognize with the deepest thankfulness the great services of individual prelates, and other members of the hierarchy ; we cannot speak with too much gratitude of the exertions which they have made, and we have no doubt of their continued advocacy, under all circumstances, of the cause of the Gospel ; but this does not touch the real difficulty and danger of the case. It does not secure the Episcopate itself from being *divided*, and subject to State influence on all occasions ; and it is the perpetual recurrence of instances proving the subserviency of the hierarchy, in part, to the will of the Minister of the day, without regard to the Church's interests, that leads men with reason to inquire whether such close alliance between the Church and State be desirable—whether seats in the House of Lords are to be regarded as a benefit, if they involve political ties which are to overbalance higher considerations—whether the presence of a *divided* hierarchy in the House of Lords brings any benefit whatever to the Church or the State—whether a hierarchy so trammelled by its obligations to Ministers in office, and Ministers expectant, that it never dares to move independently of the will of Ministers—never ventures to introduce measures on its own responsibility—never attempts openly to *lead* the Church at large in its demands for undoubted rights and privileges—whether, we say, a hierarchy thus hampered and fettered, is *capable* of doing its duty, as it ought to be done, fearlessly, faithfully, with single-mindedness, and without admixture of secular objects. If men could see that under the present system of nomination it was possible for the representatives of the Church in the House of Lords to act with unanimity on great questions affecting the political *status*, the religious influence, the undoubted privileges, rights, and endowments of the Church, they would recognize the practical benefits of a system which worked so well ; but under existing circumstances it is impossible to point out any advantages in the possession of Parliamentary seats which can in any degree counterbalance the admitted evil of withdrawing bishops from their dioceses for many months in each year, and involving them in the expense of a residence in London during the fashionable season. We say, that the circumstances of the case make it impossible to take the ground in defence of Parliamentary seats which might otherwise be taken. The absence of every tangible good result, nay, the perpetual recurrence of the *extreme* evil arising from division amongst the Bishops in the House of Lords on every great question affecting the Church—completely shuts the mouths of those who would be unwilling to see the hierarchy divested of any one of its temporal dignities.

Of course the whole evil arises from the power possessed by the political minister, whoever he may be, of nominating bishops of his own choice. It is this which gives a political complexion to the Episcopate, and in depriving it of its unity, destroys its collective influence, and separates it from the great body of the Church. We are more and more deeply convinced, that until the power of the Crown in the nomination of bishops is exercised by some unpolitical body, there will only be a recurrence of the evil from which we have so long and so deeply suffered. Divisions there will always be in the Church:—the constitution of the human mind forbids the hope of perfect agreement at all times; but still there are certain points where aggression is manifestly made from without, in which the Church, if free to act for herself, will always unite. But all unity of action is at an end, when the very influence which has to be resisted has a body of allies and partizans in the bosom of the Church. The result is, that all efforts are unavailing, and the Church is able to oppose no effectual opposition to her antagonists. Her own members are willing to open the gates to the enemy. If this were an occasional and accidental evil, it would be of less importance; but the alarming feature in the case is, that such is the permanent, never ceasing danger and affliction of the Church. The world has its grasp tenaciously fixed on the positions which command our whole camp.

When we reflect on this unquestionable fact, it does seem to us, that there is as much to encourage Churchmen in one point of view, as there is to alarm them in another. What else but the Spirit of God could have sustained the Church's principles, under the paralyzing influence of ministerial appointments? It is to the special interference of God's Providence that we owe the amount of good which has actually existed, in positions where ministerial patronage placed men without reference to their spiritual qualifications, and merely with some political view. Amidst and notwithstanding worldly influences, Christian principle has found its way into high places in the Church; and in spite of all difficulties and discouragements, coldness of spirit, worldly pride, and many other deadening obstacles, the spirit of the Church has grown more earnest and zealous and self-denying—her energies have developed themselves in every direction; and while she is daily losing ground in the political world, she is gaining in all religious respects. And assuredly it is not without significance, that her increase and expansion in all ways, have been in exact proportion to the degree in which State protection and encouragement has been withdrawn from her. This is, we say, a source of great comfort to all true members of the Church

of England: it is to them a sufficient proof, if any were wanting, of the falsehood of that assertion of all the enemies of our faith—that the Church of England owes her existence to the will of the State; and that she has no claim to the character of a living and true branch of the Church founded by Jesus Christ.

We now approach the other great subject of Mr. Cavendish's pamphlet—we refer to the question of Convocation. There is considerable difference of opinion amongst good men on this important question. Various arguments are adduced against making the synod of the English Church more than a name. The grand argument against it, is founded on an appeal to our fears. We must confess that we were under the influence of such arguments formerly; we can therefore see more clearly the conscientious fear which haunts many minds of various sentiments. But we feel convinced that not only should the Church's legislative functions be resumed, even if there were a risk, but that they may be *safely* resumed. We must cite Mr. Cavendish's interesting remark on this subject:—

“Almost every divine who, either from station, character, or ability, is entitled to be quoted as an authority upon such points as those to which I have now called your Grace's attention, has attributed this most lamentable state of things to the same cause,—the suspension of the Church's legislative powers. When we see distinguished men of the most diverse schools of thought and opinion, such, for instance, as the Archbishop of Dublin and the Bishop of Oxford, Archdeacon Wilberforce and Archdeacon Hare, concurring on this one point, surely no slight presumption is raised by such an agreement in favour of their common conclusion. Even Mr. Noel justifies his secession from the Church by pointing to the same anomaly, and the hopelessness of removing it. Coleridge pronounced the loss of the convocation, ‘the greatest and, in an enlarged state policy, the most impolitic affront ever offered by a government to its own established Church.’ Let it be ever remembered, too, that we owe the suppression of convocation to the most profligate of ministers and the most profligate of Courts. Convocation threatened proceedings against the openly Socinian Bishop Hoadley. Queen Caroline and Sir Robert Walpole manifested their love of liberty and their sense of justice, by not only stifling all inquiry into the doctrines broached by their protégé, but also by sentencing the audacious assembly which demanded it to virtual extinction. Well, indeed, might Coleridge deliberately say, that ‘the virtual abrogation of this branch of our constitution, is one of the three or four whig patriotisms that have succeeded in de-anglicising the mind of England.’”

The combination of men of such different views as those referred to by Mr. Cavendish, at once relieves this question of all imputation of being a mere party question. It is supported by all the

various schools in the Church; and we regret to add, that it is also feared by members of the same schools. Nevertheless we see plainly, that the necessity of doing something is becoming too obvious and urgent, to permit longer delay. Men see that nothing is to be gained by waiting patiently for our rulers to lead the way; and they also see the Legislature yearly becoming less qualified to make regulations for a Christian Church. Let us again hear Mr. Cavendish on this subject:—

“ Since last century, however, vast national changes have taken place. Parliament was then composed of none but members of the Church. It might pretend, not unfairly, to represent the laity, while Convocation represented the spirituality of the Church. The case is now widely altered. Parliament has now lost the power of taking part, as a united body, in ecclesiastical and religious affairs. It is surely self-evident that Parliament should abstain from passing laws on religious questions, which laws must obtain the free concurrence of Romanists, Churchmen, and Socinians. The Church is Christ's institution, she is the witness to a certain definite and unchangeable body of truth, which has been handed down to us from the time of the Apostles. Parliament is the expression of the infinitely various and ever-changing wills and opinions of the men who happen to be in possession of the right of voting for its members. The mischiefs resulting from this dilemma have been pointed out with his accustomed force, by Archdeacon Wilberforce, in his charge for 1848. ‘Parliament,’ he says, ‘the State legislature, and Convocation, as the legislature of the Church, were once perfectly accordant, because no man was a member of the one, who did not recognize the authority of the other. Such temporal questions as concerned the Church were naturally left to the determination of her lay representatives in Parliament, while they left the consideration of spiritual questions to those whom, as Churchmen, they accounted the spiritual authority. But how can this co-operation be attained, now that the Church cannot look upon the members of the civil legislature as her lay representatives, and therefore cannot expect them to regard her as an authority in things divine? That it is unseemly to submit questions affecting the Church's internal management to those who are not Churchmen, is what their own practice teaches, and their own conscience may suggest. For what member of any other religious body would commit the management of its internal affairs to members of the Church? Would the Wesleyans entrust the arrangements of their conference to a body of Churchmen? Would the Romanists allow any but themselves to settle their faith? Since men of various parties have been admitted to an equal share in our Government, it no doubt becomes us to acquiesce, as good subjects, in what the wisdom of our rulers has decided. But there is surely one condition, on which we have a right to insist; it is so plainly equitable, that it can hardly be refused us. That Romanists or Socinians should have their share in civil legislation, is part of that broad system of liberty



which renders law the expression of the national consent. But this principle gives them no right to legislate for the Church. Its meaning is, that no man should be bound by laws, unless in person, or by substitute, he gives them his consent. Why, then, should men desire to legislate for a body to which they decline to belong? They can have no claim to make laws which they are not to obey. The result would be as plain a mockery of God, as it would be an injustice to their fellow-creatures. For how can men legislate for a system of religious faith in which they are not believers? Would it become a Christian legislator to devise laws for securing the adoration of Mahomet, or the worship of the idols of India? Would it not be a solemn mockery of the God whom he serves? And why so? Because a legislator is a man as much as his fellows, and in a few days he will be summoned to render his account before the righteous Judge, before whom he must answer for all his doings. And how, then, can he reverence that in public, which in private he disbelieves, or affirm any thing to be true in the senate, which he declares to be a lie in his chamber? Therefore, the only honest course, so soon as the legislature consists of men of various faiths, is the perfect abnegation of those functions which involve the existence of a single belief and an united confession. The contrary course would be inconsistent with the rights of conscience, and the liberty of individuals; with a regard for the sanctity of truth, and a consciousness of the majesty of God. We may well hope that the wisdom, moderation, and conscientiousness by which, under God's blessing, our land has attained its present state of happiness, will not be wanting in the present emergency to our secular rulers. The ancient custom of Parliament was, not to legislate for the Church, except in concurrence with that spiritual legislature, convocation, to which, while Parliament consisted of Churchmen, it naturally deferred in things divine. It cannot be expected to defer equally to a body, with which it is no longer so closely connected. But just as far as this circumstance exempts it from the necessity of hearkening to the counsels of convocation, it disqualifies it from legislating for the advancement of truth. For which truth is it to further? Is it that which Socinians think truth, or Churchmen? The only thing, therefore, which the Church can rightly ask from Parliament is to be let alone. State endowments would only be fetters which would impede her. Even the most useful improvements in organization, would not compensate for that sacrifice of principle which they would involve. Let Parliament confine itself to those temporal interests, of which its abandonment of its connexion with the Church has made it so full an expression. Indeed so numerous and overwhelming are they, that their mere pressure would exclude the possibility of that calm and unobstructed attention which is needed by the exigencies of the Church.' "

Nothing need be added to this clear exposition of the actual state of things. To those, then, who are still apprehensive that the meeting of Convocation would only lead to renewed struggles

of party, we would appeal whether such a contingent evil ought to counterbalance the excessive actual evil of having to carry Church measures through the House of Commons. Suppose a struggle of parties to take place in Convocation,—in what respect should we be worse off than we now are? Is there not an occasional struggle of party now? Do those struggles make no noise, and lead to no evil results? And, moreover, is there not a very large portion of the Church which has no party spirit at all? Assuredly we cannot see much of party spirit amongst our prelates in general, though there are exceptions to the rule; neither do we see any reason to dread violence of tone or spirit amongst our Deans, Archdeacons, and Canons, who would constitute two-thirds of a Convocation. Neither do we believe that the clergy in general are imbued with party feeling, or that their representatives in general would be any thing but *safe* men.

When we remember that no regulation becomes an Act of Convocation unless it has passed both the upper and the lower house—that it cannot be entered on without the royal licence—that it is not legal without the royal ratification—that it is not legally binding on the laity without the consent of Parliament,—it does seem that every possible security exists for safe legislation on Church questions in Convocation; and that at least there is so much reason to trust that good results might follow from it, that every Churchman ought to support the design so far as to make the experiment, and see what the working of the system will be. If it fails we must only look to something else; but surely it is most unreasonable to assert that because the lower house of Convocation quarrelled with the bishops in the time of Hoadley, the same thing must happen again; or that the best way to terminate such differences is to suppress the Church's legislature, and to govern her without consulting her representatives. The Church of England has in fact been deprived of her constitutional and legal rights and liberties for a hundred and thirty years, by an exercise of arbitrary power. Successive governments have kept her out of her rights. The *laws* of the land give to the National Church her fitting and appropriate legislature and supreme tribunal; and thus do not place her in a less advantageous position than any sect or denomination in the country. But those who are to *administer* the law so exercise the royal prerogative as to deprive her wholly of the rights which the law recognizes. It is not the law that is in fault, but the Executive Government. The one gives us all the liberty we want, the other interposes the royal prerogative for the subversion of our liberty sanctioned by law. We are of opinion that so gross a case of injustice, and of arbitrary, unconstitutional, and illegal

power, cannot possibly stand the test of argument and discussion. We contend that the Church of England has a just and legal RIGHT to hold her Convocations, as she has always done in past ages, and not to be impeded by the interposition of the royal prerogative, from making such regulations, and offering such petitions, as she may deem necessary. We claim the restoration of powers illegally and arbitrarily withheld. We also claim, as a matter of Christian right, and of imperative justice, that our Episcopate shall in future be selected simply with a view to *qualifications*, and that no bishop shall be under any political obligations or engagements whatever; but, while the nomination of bishops remains with the political ministry of the day, it is impossible that any securities can exist for a proper system of appointments.

These two points, the restoration of the Church's legislative bodies, and the purification of the sources of episcopal patronage, we believe to be the great essentials for which all faithful and sincere members of the Church of England ought now to contend. The battle of the Church on these points ought to be fought in the House of Commons. Our case presents features that must command the attention of Parliament, and the support of a large body of its members; if it be only treated in the right way, *i.e.* presented in its broad simple features, its hardships, and its injustice. A stronger case of grievance never was shown. Let it be felt as a grievance, and let the Church express that feeling so as to bring her case before Parliament and the public at large; and we feel confident of ultimate success.

In dealing with the question of Convocation we need not express any opinion as to the particular constitution of that body. This would only lead us aside from the real question, whether the actual *legal* rights of the Church of England are to be permanently withheld from her by an arbitrary exercise of the royal prerogative. When her rights have been recognized and restored, it will be time enough to see whether she cannot, in some degree, improve the organization of Convocation. In the mean time we hold it wiser not to enter on such questions (reserving our own opinion in favour of some change) because they tend to divert the attention to subordinate matters. In conclusion, we have to thank Mr. Cavendish for his most valuable and interesting publication, and to express a hope that his example may induce other influential persons to come forward in the same cause, with equal sincerity, and, we trust, with equal success.

- ART. VIII.—1. *Two Lectures, delivered before the University of Oxford.* By Professor H. H. WILSON. 1840.
2. *Rig Veda-Sanhita.* Edidit FREDERICUS ROSEN.
3. *The Sāṅkhya Kārika.* By Professor WILSON.
4. *Pāṇini's Grammatical Rules.* Von DR. OTTO BÖHTLINGK.
5. *Lois de Manou.* Par DESLONGCHAMPS.
6. *Gita Govinda, Interpretationem Latinam adiecit* CHRISTIANUS LASSEN.
7. *Hitopadésa. The Sanscrit Text* by FRANCIS JOHNSON, Professor.
8. *Indian MSS. Mahābhārata, and Adhyātma Rāmāyana.*

WHILST we see abundant reasons for thankfulness in the history of our missions, we must not disguise from ourselves one fact, that is, that in no one part of the world have we as yet planted a Church of converts from heathenism. By a Church we mean an organized body of bishops, priests, deacons, and laymen. This is the object we must have in view, and this we have not yet attained. We have spread a knowledge of the truth amongst savages, and have provided them with foreigners for clergy; on Mahomedans we have not made durable impressions, but amongst Hindus we have not only converts, we have also a few native clergy. Yet the deposit is retained in our hands: at present we see no probability of establishing a Native Church, launching it on its own independence, and committing the truth to its keeping. If British influence were to be withdrawn, and British connexions severed, where would be the Christianity of the New Zealanders, of the American Indians, or of the Hindus? If we argue according to human reason, it would, in a very short time, be totally extinguished.

Now the question is, Are we establishing such a Native Church as may be intrusted with its own economy? Are we making and educating such converts as we might rationally hope will be competent for the priestly and episcopal offices? We will confine our attention to the Hindus, as they are the most civilized and literate heathen with whom we have to deal. If we hope to raise up amongst them a body of native clergy, and a laity who may influence their countrymen by an exhibition of intellectual superiority,

how are we to effect our purpose? We shall endeavour to find an answer to this question.

All the world knows that the Hindus are divided into castes, one of which only follows literary occupations, and that to the lowest castes the study of their national literature is forbidden ground. Many and bitter are the curses pronounced on that Bráhmaṇ who should presume to instruct a Súdra in the védas, and utter degradation to the Bráhmaṇ who should demean himself by learning from an outcast. Now the consequence of such exclusiveness necessarily was, that a capacity for, as well as a habit of, study became confined to the highest caste. The lower orders have descended in the intellectual scale like the Caffres and Bosjesmans of Africa; they are not indeed without shrewdness and common sense, but they have neither the inclination nor the ability to undergo mental labour.

Let us now consider what, in this respect, is the condition of educated Bráhmaṇs. They are intrusted with the preservation of a most ancient, varied, and extensive literature. Beginning young, they contend with the rudiments of a dead language, at the feet of some Gamaliel; the noble Sanscrit gradually opens to them its stores; their brains are exercised in the involutions and niceties of their native grammar, which is the most ancient of all grammars, and which, abounding as it does in a profusion of arbitrary rules, can only be acquired by great assiduity<sup>1</sup>; they then have before them their ancient book of fables, from which many of ours are derived, or one of their popular epics, because it is simple in its style; then perhaps one of their sentimental poems, or numerous dramas: but their greatest labour would be in philosophy, in their logic, or abstruse metaphysics. If the scholar aspires to read their original Scriptures, or védas, then he has to master an antiquated style, and penetrate to their meaning through a language encumbered with an obsolete phraseology. And when we further add, that considerable portions of these works are committed to memory, we surely make it pretty clear that the mental powers of learned Bráhmaṇs are called into full activity.

And who can deny, that if the heart of one such man were touched by the Gospel, he might become a useful auxiliary in instructing his countrymen? He is justly entitled to be styled a man of learning, although his learning may appear to us of little value; he is versed in the oriental art of colloquial fence, and he can address himself to his own people in a manner which will gain attention where a European is ridiculed. Besides, he will gain

<sup>1</sup> Böhlingk says, "Die Zahl dieser grammatischen Regeln beläuft sich, nach einer gewöhnlichen Annahme, auf 3996."

some of that respect which considerable acquirements must every where claim; and if there is on one side a native heathenism, which includes men of abilities and profound knowledge, on the other side a native Christianity, which includes only the illiterate and semi-barbarians, we know which will be the respectable, the dominant religion of India. Behold the illustrations of the two cases in the Goa Roman Catholics, and the Bráhmans of the present day, and take the Mahommedans as impartial judges—unquestionably they would decide that the latter are the most respectable. And is there not every reason to conclude that, if a certain number of learned Bráhmans were, by God's blessing, converted, the millions of India would abjure the idolatry which their spiritual teachers were renouncing? And ought it not to become a leading question in missionary projects, How are the educated caste of Hinduism to be converted to Christianity? Certainly, it ought.

Learning must be met by learning. This consideration leads us to conclude at once, and that without much penetration, that Bráhmans never can be converted by our present system of missionary operations. To make this clearer, let us reverse the case, and suppose that some person was seeking to convert us. Suppose that a Mahommedan were seriously to offer us the religion of his prophet; by way of teaching us his faith, and refuting ours, he would desire us, say, to read the Koran, and would ridicule Christianity in some such language as this:—"The Koran was written from all eternity; a complete transcript was brought down to the moon by Gabriel, and thence revealed to the prophet, who dictated it to his secretary. Its authority, therefore, is unquestionable; its style and matter incomparable; 'Verily, if men and geni were purposely assembled, that they might produce any thing like the Koran, they could not produce any thing like unto it, though they assisted one another!'" It teaches the simple truth, that there is one God, and Mohammed is his prophet; and, appealing to reason, declares that they lie in their throats who say that God had a mother or a son. Renounce, then, your absurd faith in a begotten God, and embrace the creed which can alone direct you to the joys of Paradise." Of course we should not think such a Mahommedan's address worthy of the slightest attention: it might amuse and interest us, but certainly nothing more. Nor would the case be at all altered, if he were a learned man, if he could quote the moral sayings of Ali, the history of Ferishtah, or the poetry of Hafiz. We might find the more pleasure in conversing with him on this account; but we should not consider him any the better guide to eternal salvation. But suppose that

<sup>2</sup> See Ockley's *History of the Saracens* and Sale's *Koran*.



this same oriental had taken great pains to inquire into the principles and precepts of Christianity. In discussing points of religion with the Mahommedans of India, we find them asserting that we hold certain tenets, and their only authorities are the writings of their prophet or his followers. If, however, we were satisfied that they had examined for themselves, and had gained a fair insight into our Scriptures; if, further, they were to urge their arguments with temper, gravity, and consideration, we could scarcely refuse them a hearing, and we should be glad to enter into a discussion, if merely with a view to remove the doubts of a liberal opponent.

Now see how all this applies to our missions: take the most favourable specimen of a missionary, and suppose him to be "gentle unto all men, apt to teach, patient, in meekness instructing those that oppose themselves," and, moreover, to be a man of considerable abilities. Well! he sails for India: after arriving, he finds it necessary to acquire at least a smattering of Hindustani, for he cannot communicate properly with his domestics until he has done that; but his Hindustani will not qualify him to enter into religious questions with the Hindus, and for this purpose he must learn a vernacular, such as Bengalee, Murathee, or Tamul. This will of course occupy much time, and if only of ordinary abilities, it will be very long before he can converse fluently in a native language on religious topics. But suppose that at last he is competent for this, and he at once goes and discloses to a learned Bráhmaṇ the truths of Christianity: he produces a Bible, and desires him to read certain portions, and to give him his opinion at their next meeting. What answer does his perverse friend make? This:—"We have no objection to read your books, but we will enter into no discussion of their contents with you, until you have read ours<sup>3</sup>." Here is a barrier on the threshold; the missionary has not had time to acquire the Sanscrit language, and he is quite incompetent to accept the challenge of the Hindu.

Now the natives of India are not averse to discussion; they are fond of hair-splitting; some consider that logic is their strong point, and they would be glad to seize an opportunity of demolishing an adversary. How is it, then, that such as have not been forced by circumstances into a connexion with Europeans, are so often inaccessible to missionaries? How is it that a missionary will pass through a village or a bazaar with his little bundle of tracts, and a demure Shástri, on seeing him in the distance, will

<sup>3</sup> This actually occurred at Benares. See Professor Wilson's Lectures before the University of Oxford.

make a circuit so as to avoid the possibility of a collision ; or a fiercer spirit will pass him with a scowl, which seems to say, "Stand by thyself, I am holier than thou?" Simply, because the Bráhmans are deeply impressed with the notion that Europeans are unacquainted with their religious books, which contain, as they believe, all that is worth knowing in the world ; that, therefore, Europeans, with all their science and manufactures, are in a deplorable state of spiritual ignorance.

An exposition of some points of Hinduism will further elucidate this subject. That religion is a mass of inconsistencies, and on this very account it presents the greater difficulties. If it were unadulterated error, we might reasonably expect that it would not bear exposure ; but it is Protean, it assumes any shape for the sake of eluding our grasp. It teaches the existence of a Creator of the universe, and a providence over human affairs ; on the other hand, it denies the existence of any Supreme Being ; on the one side is the unity, on the other the duality and plurality of the Godhead ; the unreality of matter, and again, the real existence and supremacy of matter ; the perfect purity of God, the fraudulency and the lustfulness of His incarnation ; the responsibility of man, and his hopeless subjection to fate. Its morality is of the same character : in one place we read of the necessity of good works, and the rewards with which they will meet ; in another, of the all-sufficiency of faith ; and here the question of virtue and vice, morality and immorality, is treated as one of complete indifference ; the virtuous maxims which it contains are only inferior in simplicity and force to those of Christianity, but it sanctions and eulogizes examples of the worst sinfulness and baseness ; it depicts the power, the omnipotence of truth ; it positively enjoins falsehood and perjury. *There* is a system on which to lay hold ; *there* is a Proteus, which it requires a Hercules to secure.

We should be tedious, if we were to quote very many passages in proof of these paradoxes, but it is our object to show that we can substantiate all that we say. We shall, therefore, prove it by quotations, ranged in parallel columns, and given in the form of assertion and negation. The references are either to original works, or to standard European authorities :—

1. The Universe had a Creator.

"He (the Supreme God) having willed to produce various beings from his own divine substance, first with a thought created the waters, and placed in them a pro-

1. There is no Supreme Being.

In the Commentary of Gaurapada, on the Sánkhyā Kárika, this question is discussed. After stating the opinions on both sides, showing that some maintain and others

ductive seed."—*Manu*, chap. 1, s. 8.

There is a Providence over human affairs.

"Let not the being who has been formed by the Creator, take thought for his subsistence. When an animal is produced from the womb, its parent's breasts stream with nutriment. He who makes swans white, parrots green, and peacocks variegated, will provide your subsistence."—*Hitopadésa*, book i.

### 2. There is One God.

"There is one living and true God, everlasting, without body, parts, or passion; of infinite power, wisdom, and goodness; the maker and preserver of all things."—*Extracts from the Vêda, by Sir William Jones*.

"Manu sat reclined, with his attention fixed on one object, the Supreme God."—*Manu*, chap. 1, shl. 1.

### 3. Matter is unreal.

Every student of Hindu literature is acquainted with *Máya*, which Sir William Jones defines to signify "the system of perceptions, whether of secondary or of primary qualities, which the Deity was believed by Epicharmus, Plato, and many truly pious men, to rise by his omnipresent spirit in the minds of his creatures, but which had not, in their opinion, any existence independent of mind."—*Essay on the Gods of Greece, Italy, and India*.

### 4. God is Pure.

"The First Cause is incorporeal, immaterial, invisible, unborn, uncreated, without beginning or end;

deny the existence of a Supreme Being, and quoting the passage given in the parallel column, the commentator decides that there is no other First Cause than Nature.

### 2. There is duality in the God-head.

See the whole of the *Sánkhya* philosophy, an object of which is to prove that there are two independent existences, Nature and Soul—from the union of which all things proceed.

There is plurality.

"It is declared in some texts of the vedas, that the deities are only three."—*Prof. Wilson's Lectures*.

"He, the Supreme Ruler, created an assemblage of inferior deities, with divine attributes and pure souls."—*Manu*, i. 22.

### 3. Matter is real and supreme.

"Nature is imperceptible from its subtlety, not from its non-existence. It is perceptible in its effects."—*Sánkhya Kárika*, 8.

"The existence of a general, imperceptible, unseparated, universal cause, the substance of which all is made, the eternal matter of the Greek cosmogonies, is then argued."—*Prof. Wilson's Preface*.

### 4. The gods are fraudulent and lustful.

The *Gita Govinda* is a succession of odes in praise of Krishna's

he is illimitable, inscrutable, inappreciable by the senses, inapprehensible by the understanding, at least, until that is freed from the film of mortal blindness; he is devoid of all attributes, or has that only of perfect purity."—*Prof. Wilson's Lectures.*

5. Man has a free will.

Manu's work abounds with passages in which the rewards and punishments of virtues and vices are enumerated, and in which it is implied that man may choose the good and refuse the evil.

6. Uselessness of forms and ceremonies.

"If thou beest not at variance, by speaking falsely, with Yama, or the subduer of all; with Vaivaswata, or the punisher, with that great divinity who dwells in thy breast, go not on a pilgrimage to the river Gangà, nor to the plains of Curee, for thou hast no need of expiation."—*Manu*, viii. 92.

The great Râma spake: "Salvation is by faith in me, not through any distinctions of sex, caste, name, or religious order. I can never be seen through sacrifices, gifts to Brâhmans, penances, or through the study of the védas, by those who are without my faith."—*Adhyâtma Râmâyana*, book x. line 20.

7. Charitable liberality.

"By silent adoration, undoubtedly, a Brâhman attains holiness; but every benevolent man, whether he perform or omit that ceremony, is justly styled a Brâhman."—*Manu*, iv.

"The saints show kindness to

amours. It alludes to a well-known act of imposture wrought by the dwarf incarnation of Vishnu, in these words:—"Thou by thy walk deceivedst Balee, O wonderful dwarf and purifier of men!" For an account of the gross fables which are current, see "Ward on the Hindus."

5. Man a slave of destiny.

"The why, the wherefore, how, where, what, the purity or impurity of our works, depend upon the will of Fate."—*Hilopadésa*, book i. line 265.

6. Forms all-sufficient.

"Conduct is wholly immaterial; it matters not how atrocious a sinner a man may be, if he paints his face, his breast, his arms, with certain sectorial marks; or, which is better, if he brands his skin permanently with them with a hot iron stamp; if he is constantly chaunting hymns in honour of Vishnu; or, what is equally efficacious, if he spend hours in the simple reiteration of his name or names; if he die with the word Hari, or Rama, or Krishna on his lips, and the thought of him in his mind—he may have lived a monster of iniquity—he is certain of heaven."—*Prof. Wilson's Lectures.*

"Whoever shall repeat day by day, for three years, without negligence, that sacred text, shall hereafter approach the divine essence."—*Manu*, ii. 82.

7. Uncharitable exclusiveness.

"Nor let a Brâhman tarry even under the shade of the same tree with outcasts for great crimes, nor with Chândâlas, nor with Puccasas (men of the lowest castes), nor with idiots, nor with men proud of wealth, nor with washermen, and

the worthless as well as the good. The moon withholds not its light even from the dwelling of the Chándála. When a man of low caste comes to the house of one of high caste, he must receive due respect, in him all the gods are guests." — *Hitopadésa*, book i. line 367, &c.

8. Commanded to tell the truth.

"The fruit of every virtuous act, which thou hast done, O good man, since thy birth, shall depart from thee to dogs, if thou deviate in speech from the truth. O friend to virtue, that supreme spirit, which thou believest one and the same with thyself, resides in thy bosom perpetually, and is an all-knowing inspector of thy goodness or of thy wickedness." — *Manu*, viii. 90, 91.

other vile persons. Let him not give even temporal advice to a Súdra." — *Manu*, iv. 79, 80.

"If your only alternative be to encounter a heretic or a tiger, throw yourself before the latter; better be devoured by the animal, than contaminated by the man." — *Proverb from Wilson's Lectures*.

8. Perjury enjoined.

"In some cases, a giver of false evidence from a pious motive, even though he know the truth, shall not lose a seat in heaven; such evidence wise men call the speech of the gods. Whenever the death of a man who had not been a grievous offender either of the servile, the commercial, the military, or the sacerdotal class, would be occasioned by true evidence, falsehood may be spoken; it is even preferable to truth." — *Manu*, viii. 103, 104.

Now these inconsistencies blunt the edge of truth, and render it powerless when preached in an ordinary way. We take as an instance, to prove this, a missionary, to whom we will give the credit of refraining at first from any attack on his opponent's creed, and of confining himself to Evangelical subjects. He introduces a discussion on the essence and attributes of the Deity. What more imposing truth can he produce than this, "God is a Spirit?" and how do better than clothe it in these our Saviour's words? But this very statement a Bráhmaṇ can bring from his own works, and in corresponding words. Or he refers to God's unity. He meets with assent, and perhaps the quotation of a very beautiful passage from the Ramáyana, in which is shown, by an appropriate metaphor, how God is one, and yet takes up His abode in many hearts; how, to use His own blessed words, He is "the high and lofty one, who inhabits eternity," and yet dwells "with him that is of a contrite and humble spirit." The missionary announces that God is of uncorporeal essence, and not like unto wood and stone. "Yes," answers his friend, "the great Manu has indeed said, 'that He is the being whom the mind alone can perceive, whose essence eludes the external organs, who has no visible parts, who exists from eternity.'" "All these things are passing away," says the

preacher; "all is vanity; God is the only reality." "Ah!" says the Bráhma, evidently interested here, "all that we see is mere illusion; all that our bodily organs apprehend is that which is not." "Sublime," says the missionary, "is the morality which we teach; it requires us even to love our enemies." "Yes," improves the Bráhma, "'as the sandal sheds its fragrance on the axe which cuts it.'" Nor does the Christian preacher make any better progress if he denounces the Hindu's creed. If he expresses his abhorrence of idolatry, his learned and supple friend admits that it is improper, that it can only impose on gross and carnal minds, and that it is simply designed to please the "profanum vulgus," but is not the religion of the védas. This, and many other subjects, are dwelt upon until the follower of Bráhma is weary of hearing his creed abused, and withdraws with a strong sense that justice has not been done it by men who are incapable of appreciating its beauties.

If we urge our doctrines with kindness and civility on their notice, the learned natives are often indisposed to deny them: they fully assent to them, and only wonder that we should labour under such wrong impressions as to suppose that they were not previously acquainted with them. And it is to be remembered, that the great truths which have been mentioned as contained in Brahminical writings, and which appear so diametrically opposed to their practices, are not found in the works of authors whom they consider heretical; for the fact is, that almost all truth and all falsehood is to be found in their varied and extensive literature; and any native is perfectly at liberty to hold all, or any part, so long as he continues to honour Bráhmans. Let him question *their* authority, and withhold respect from *them*, he becomes, in their eyes, a flagitious sectarian; but, until he takes that rash step, he may hold and teach any opinions he pleases,—atheistical, deistical, pantheistical, material, idolatrous, iconoclastic,—for these, and a thousand other tenets, find a niche in the temple of their comprehensive faith.

But it may be said, that men who hold a creed which is like a net let down in the sea, and which includes both good and bad doctrines—that such men are not likely to be impressed by any preaching; and that if we have failed in converting latitudinarian pedants, we must not consider this the result of any defects in our arrangements, but rather of their demoralized condition. And, certainly, they who are ready to believe every thing believe nothing; and persons who assent to all propositions, whether true or false, are indifferent to all alike. That the Hindus are apathetic and indifferent, with regard to truth, we readily admit;



but, at the same time, we hope to show that their hearts are not altogether imperturbable, nor need their faith be unchangeable.

For let us look to the past. Is it a fact that oriental customs and opinions are of an unvarying character, as is commonly supposed? Have the Bráhmínical tenets undergone no great and important changes? We reply, that the religion is so different from what it *was*, that if they were now to profess their conversion to any other religion, they would not change more decidedly than they already have changed from the religion of their ancestors. The gods, the rites, the theories, the cosmogony of their védas have almost, without exception, no place in their modern system. Real Hinduism is as much an obsolete myth as the religion of ancient Greece or of Rome. It exists not. An unexplored abyss of centuries divides it from the religion which at present frowns upon Hindustan. And when a creed is thus so far developed as to be almost replaced by another, there is an *à priori* reason for hoping that both may give way to a third. But there is more in this circumstance. A missionary who can appeal to original works finds in this development a basis of operations. He can stand before a learned audience of natives, and with the utmost candour preach up to a certain point Hinduism. "There is one God," he may say, "the Creator and Preserver of the world, who is a pure and immaterial Spirit, whose glory the heavens and the elements declare. To know Him must be the object, to study Him the employment, of the holy man's existence. No idols must dishonour His temples, no pretended representations of Him insult the Invisible and the Infinite. The degraded beings, whom some adore as gods, possess none of His attributes. Ráma and Krishna, the objects of your popular worship, have not proceeded from Him. Renounce, then, a system which must raise a blush of shame on wisdom's cheek, and disown a faith which is abhorrent to the dignified simplicity of your Scriptures." This is language which a Christian might use, and which a Bráhman must acknowledge could be confirmed by the authority of the védas. And surely it is no trifling matter to be able to produce on our side an authority which our opponents are bound to respect. We have here placed within our reach a weapon, which, in skilful hands, might be turned to the best advantage. And we feel confident that an appeal to these venerable records will have a prepossessing influence upon the Hindu; provided that it is made not in the pride of conscious superiority, or the pert satire of antagonism, but with a just appreciation of truth wherever found; whether it

is polished and sparkling in the light of revelation, or buried and obscured in the gloomy mines of heathenism.

But we have not only evidence of progressive changes; we have facts, which prove that attempts have been made to unsettle the Bráhmaṇ's faith, and to convert him to new opinions, and that they have met with signal success. There is now not a shadow of doubt, that Buddhism was an introduction of this kind; that at a certain period it was preached as a new faith, and that it established a novel worship and a rival priesthood. Its converts were numerous; its influence and power amply sufficient to arouse the jealousy and active rivalry of the professors of Hinduism; and it was only after a prolonged struggle, that it finally yielded to force, and was expatriated to China, Thibet, and Ceylon. Another innovation was the Jain worship, which still flourishes in the west of India.

Christianity, too, was not vainly preached in ancient days; and on the coast of Malabar a church was established, which, whatever its present position, was once highly respected by its own, and the surrounding states. So that Buddhism, Jainism, and Christianity, have been preached and become naturalized. And can we be satisfied to continue a system under which the Gospel fails to make any impression on men of learning, whose ancestors, the worshippers of Buddha's Tooth, and of the numerous and frivolous Jain incarnations, succeeded in converting by their arguments and metaphysical subtleties?

When a European, unacquainted with Sanscrit literature, attacks a Bráhmaṇ's opinions, he is met in one of three ways; either first, by a flat denial of his facts; or secondly, by an assertion that his facts are drawn from garbled statements, and that they are partly true and partly false; or thirdly, by an admission of the facts, and a denial of the construction placed upon them. The first plan is very commonly adopted, when the Bráhmaṇ is either himself ignorant of the facts, or is acquainted with them, but supposes that his opponent is unable to substantiate them; the second, when he sees that his opponent can only refer to the authority of European writers, whose works he boldly avers are incorrect, and positively false; the third, when the reference is to such licentious compositions, as the songs of Krishna for instance, which, he says, are not to be taken in their literal signification, but are to be interpreted mystically and spiritually. It seems to us, that the European, under these circumstances, must be fairly at a nonplus; that, whatever he may say afterwards, he will leave to the Bráhmaṇ a consciousness of having obtained the victory, and bring upon himself the reproach of having entered the lists of controversy, without due preparation.

Let it not be supposed that we are finding fault with the present missionary staff. We do not mean to say that *they* ought to be acquainted with the mysteries of Sanscrit literature; nor would we urge missionaries to endeavour hereafter to acquire it. We do not see how they can possibly enter upon their primary duties with activity, and at the same time follow such a course of study, as would be requisite for this acquisition. They can, moreover, be eminently useful without it; by the aid of a vernacular, they can make their appeal to the masses; and there is always a danger that they may be led to exchange the stern annoyances of itinerary labour, for the comparative ease of a study. But our aim is to show the absolute need of some additional provision. Let us not discourage one of those self-denying men who are acting upon the masses; but why should we neglect *the sages* of Hindustan?

That great man, the first Bishop of Calcutta, saw the necessity of learning, and, in establishing Bishops' College, gave an impetus in the right direction. The late principal of that institution is one of the first Sanscrit scholars of the day; and the result of his labours is singularly confirmatory of what we are now advancing, for he informs us, that he has seen in a temple, Bráhmans seize with eagerness, and chaunt to each other a religious work which he has composed and adapted to their style. There is little doubt but that these same men would have treated an ordinary tract with the greatest contempt. One evidence of the success of such learned labours, is to be found in the Rev. Krishna Banerji, a presbyter, who, in an admirably written article in the Calcutta Review, has given an account of his own peculiar caste, called Kulin Bráhmans, who have long been celebrated for their exclusiveness and bigotry. After Bishops' College, the next step in this direction was the foundation, by an officer in the Company's service, of a professorship and scholarship at Oxford<sup>4</sup>. The present Boden professor is the first Sanscrit scholar in Europe; but he has few opportunities of communicating his knowledge; and the objects of the founder appear for the present defeated. The scholarships of 50*l. per annum*, seem to have been the chief attraction to those who *have commenced* these studies; we do not hear of any members of the universities who have carried them so far as to obtain distinction; and consequently the labour of bringing one of the védas through the University Press, is

<sup>4</sup> His belief is stated by himself to have been, that a more general and critical knowledge of the Sanscrit language will be a means of enabling his countrymen to proceed in the conversion of the natives of India to the Christian religion, by disseminating a knowledge of the Sacred Scriptures amongst them, more effectually than all other means whatsoever.—*Oxford Calendar*.

confided not to an Oxonian, or even to an Englishman, but to a learned German.

It is obvious that some further encouragement is necessary, if we are to send out missionaries who have made any progress in this important branch of knowledge. For it is to be remembered that they must *go out* prepared, or at least grounded, for they cannot possibly study such a language *ab initio*, and also engage in the active exertions of itinerancy. Now there is one Institution which might be admirably adapted for this purpose—St. Augustine's, Canterbury. That is a Missionary Institution—the largest missionary provision as yet made for India. The great means of acquiring a permanent influence over the bulk of the Indian population consists in appealing to the men of learning, and these can only be appealed to hopefully by persons who have been educated in this country for that purpose. The inference is clear, that the attention of the authorities at St. Augustine's, should be directed to Sanscrit literature. For it is not an unimportant object which we set before ourselves; it is not a mere nook of the world in which we would crusade, nor merely a few heathen pedants with whom we would contend. The broad plains of Hindustan have the first claims upon missionary enterprise, and amongst its vast hordes they who, although deluded, and “giving heed to seducing spirits, and doctrines of devils,” have yet searched for truth with the pale light which even idolatry sheds; surely they call forth some admiration, demand some sympathy, and claim more earnest attention than has yet been paid to them. And when we would enlarge our scope—endeavour not only to reclaim a few ignorant heathen, but to plant a Church which shall take root downward and bear fruit upward; when we would enter upon a new era of conversion, or rather return to the deeds of the brave days of old; when we would aim at something beyond sending a few priests, or even a few bishops, to bear spiritual rule over a depressed people; when we would endeavour to qualify that people for the priesthood and the episcopate, and look forward to the time when we may intrust the Holy Gospel to their keeping; when, in fact, we would not merely have the United Church of England and Ireland in India, but have an independent and flourishing branch of the Church Catholic—then surely we shall set in earnest about the work of fighting the good fight of faith with the philosophers of the East.

There are two ways of conveying our ideas to the intellectual classes of India. The one is to give them a European education. This is adopted by the British Government, and we do not think that it is succeeding. A race of natives are springing up, who, with all the pride of knowledge, and pertness of youth, despise the

system in which their forefathers were educated, and the habits in which their forefathers lived, but who have not that high moral tone which opens the highway to virtue and truth, and infallibly rears a people for greatness and a leading position in the world. The fact is, that neither a physical, civil, nor intellectual constitution can be successfully transplanted from one soil to another. The endeavour to impose our national constitution, our liberties, and laws upon other countries has always signally failed, and we fear that the attempt to transfer English education and habits of thought to India will meet with little better success. The religion of Jesus is the only system we know of which is adapted to all ages and all countries. At the same time we admit, that for the purposes of Government, English instruction must be communicated to a certain extent. But there is another way to which we have scarcely yet allowed a fair trial—that of training ourselves by an Oriental education. And there is this to be said in its favour, it is the plan which the Church, whether acting under immediate inspiration or not, has ever adopted. There is scarcely an instance on record of one nation resigning its own language and its own civilization in exchange for a foreign language and an exotic civilization. The rule is, that the less-advanced people have their conditions modified and ameliorated, but not obliterated, by their superior invaders, until the introduction of the new element brings them to a high standard, just as the mixture of races seems destined to bring the human species to perfection. It is thus that our own character as a people has been formed. There was no forcible transportation of Roman or Norman language and civilization; where it was attempted it failed; but there has been a happy blending of antagonistic principles, so that whilst our Saxon origin may be distinctly traced in our language, manners, and dispositions, we have been moulded into symmetrical proportions by the literature of Italy and the daring spirit of Norman chivalry. Now, such a process is not going on in India, for we are at present only attempting to produce an intellectual revolution, and to squeeze Oriental minds into European shapes. Our schools and our missionary exertions all tend to pull down the decaying structure of Hindu civilization, and to establish our own in its stead. We thoroughly discountenance Hindu, whilst we intrude European literature. *All natives of Oriental learning are being gradually reduced to beggary*; on the other hand, the portion of the population which we instruct in English, are quite ignorant of their indigenous literature. We are quite sure, that in consequence of this, we are not making hopeful attempts to civilize. The alms by which the student lived are failing as the

sources become dried up, as the old landholders perish, and our Christian Government displaces those native powers whose superstition enriched him. Shastris and Pandits, exponents of their védas, dramas, systems of metaphysics, logic, and other sciences, all are rapidly disappearing, and a set of men are raising their heads, many of whom are shown as prodigies, but are of course very deficient when compared with European intellects. And when our object is to gain men of moral resolution and powerful understanding to the cause of Gospel truth, we maintain that such are more likely to be found amongst the bigots of the Védanta, than amongst those who with an imperfect English education learn to despise their own idolatry, and have not the courage to embrace the truth. We cannot withhold some admiration from the man who in poverty clings to the faith of his forefathers; who, on the banks of the sacred Ganges find every hill and stream associated with some venerated legend, and believes that his only consolation is to be found in those waters which came down from heaven for the purification of men, and which lave his ancestors in hades<sup>5</sup>; who still pores over his beloved lore, and is content to be involved in the ruins of his religion. Narrow-minded he unquestionably is, vain in his imaginations, darkened in his foolish heart; but there is this to be said of him, which cannot be said of all—*he is capable of believing something*, and he clings to what he does believe with a resolution which is not seduced by the hope of worldly advantage, and which turns with horror from what he deems the poisonous teaching of the stranger and invader. So he remains a hardened bigot; but his subtle countryman hastens to the English school. A situation in some government office, not knowledge for its own sake, is the tempting fruit. He comes in that dreadful spirit which St. Augustine mentions as most rare in his day, but which is very common at present in India, “*aliquod commodum expectans ab hominibus, quibus se aliter placitum non putat.*” Hence, he disregards the portentous warnings which the old men of his caste utter, and in a government school becomes in time a tyro of science, or in a missionary school he reads the Bible, and becomes a proficient in Christian mysteries; soon he obtains a situation as clerk or under-secretary, and in the routine of business, troubles himself as little about the ceremonial purifications of his caste as about the Gospel hope of salvation. They who have mixed with natives, know that this is the language of

<sup>5</sup> This is an allusion to a well-known fable of the Ramáyana, which is also given in the drama of the Uttara Ráma Cheritra.



soberness and truth. With all the shrewdness and worldly wisdom of the pupils, there is no moral resolution, no unbending love for the truth, and the want of these discourages a hope that strong and healthy Christianity will flourish and abound. Now, we ask, may we not more rationally hope to find followers of Jesus amongst such, who live like Saul, according to the strictest sect of their religion, than amongst such trimming, pliable gentlemen as these? All missionaries know that our present converts are weak to an unparalleled degree. If we might expect that any man would speak hopefully of native converts, it would be Mr. Pope, whose mission has been so abundantly blessed; yet, in his report, published in the Propagation of the Gospel Society's last volume, he says, "that he and others almost despair of making real converts of the present adult generation." Let us then, we say, make an addition to our system: depend upon it, there is more to hope from the bigot, than the Anglified sceptic. The unconverted Bráhmaṇ has at least shown that he has a strong determination where he has a conviction. By God's blessing, we may teach him the reasonableness of our faith, and then he will no longer be wedded to superstition; but,

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"on reason build resolve  
That column of true majesty in man."

We have referred to the plan which the Church has ever adopted. What was St. Paul, the chosen vessel "to bear Christ's name before the Gentiles, and kings, and the children of Israel?"—A man who could contend with Jew or Gentile, and give him the choice of weapons. To the one he was ready to quote the law of their fathers, to the others, "certain of their own poets." It is highly interesting to contrast his addresses which were designed for the Jews, and those to the Athenians, and people of Lystra; and it is a singular evidence of the way in which he prepossessed the populace in his favour by such adaptations, that after he had so excited the Ephesians as to cause an *émeute*, the town-clerk could still boldly assert, that Paul and his companions had not spoken evil of their goddess (οὐτε βλασφημοῦντας τὴν θεὸν ἡμῶν). The example which the Apostle set was followed by the early Christians, and hence the wonderful success with which Pantænus and his followers of the catechetical school at Alexandria met. The very charge of Platonism which is brought against them, shows that they had qualified themselves to confute learned heathens with their own writings. The accounts of Origen's spiritual triumphs are surprising. At an humble distance followed Dionysius, once a heathen astrologer,

but afterwards a Christian bishop, who seized the opportunity of an ignominious banishment, to convert the inhabitants of Kefro. St. Patrick, in Ireland, became thoroughly acquainted not only with the language, but also with the customs and superstitions of the people before he preached. And, doubtless, the more we gain an insight into the lives of all the early missionaries, we shall find that to Saxons they became as Saxons, to Celts as Celts, to heathen, in fact, as skilled in heathen lore, that they might bring them to Christ. "Admit," says Daniel, Bishop of Winchester, in writing to the missionary, St. Boniface, "admit whatever they are pleased to assert of the fabulous and carnal genealogy of their gods and goddesses, who are propagated from each other. From this principle deduce their imperfect nature, and human infirmities; the assurance they were born, and the probability that they will die. At what time, by what means, from what cause, were the eldest of the gods or goddesses produced? Do they still continue, or have they ceased to propagate? If they have ceased, summon your antagonists to declare the reason of this strange alteration. If they still continue, the number of the gods must become infinite; and shall we not risk, by the indiscreet worship of some impotent deity, to excite the resentment of his jealous superior? The visible heavens and earth, the whole system of the universe, which may be conceived by the mind, is it created or eternal? If created, how or where could the gods themselves exist before the creation? If eternal, how could they assume the empire of an independent and pre-existing world? Urge these arguments with temper and moderation; insinuate at seasonable intervals, the truth and beauty of the Christian revelation, and endeavour to make the unbelievers ashamed, without making them angry<sup>6</sup>." Such arguments as these must be built upon a profound knowledge of heathen superstitions.

The following is an extract from the most ably conducted periodical in India: "To Christian missionaries it is our settled conviction that Sanscrit is an indispensable acquisition, if ever they would attain a correct and self-effected acquaintance with the original sources of Hindu philosophy, and Hindu faith, or deal intelligently, to any good purpose, with the present race of sophists, who draw from its hidden resources all their armoury of thought, argument, and objection." These words, which are to be found in an early, and are repeated in a late, number of the *Calcutta Review*, in order that their importance may be confirmed, express the opinion of writers who have both the means and the capacity to form a deliberate judgment. Neither they,

<sup>6</sup> Giles' Edition of St. Boniface's Letters. Gibbon, chap. xxxvii.

nor any other sensible person, consider that a Sanscrit education is necessary for the whole company of preachers in India; but it is an indispensable requisite for some—for such as are called upon to contend with the *doctors* of Hindu superstition. And when we ask how this is to be obtained, whether England or India should be the scene of their preliminary labours, we answer, England, and that for several cogent reasons. The main reason is the superiority of our climate; believing, as we do, that a malignity which it does not possess, is attributed to the Indian atmosphere, we must still admit that it is unfavourable to the growth of mental vigour. Now Sanscrit, as a dead language, requires, at least, the same application for its acquisition as do the languages of ancient Europe; it only yields its stores to those who industriously seek them'. When Manu directs his pupils' attention to the *védas*, it is in the severe spirit of the classic author, "*nocturnâ versate manu, versate diurnâ*;" and less than this will scarcely lead to that proficiency which can alone hope for success. "The discipline of a student in the three *védas*," says the lawgiver, "must be continued for thirty-six years, in the house of his preceptor; or for half that time, or for a quarter of it, or until he perfectly comprehend them'." "Each day let him examine those holy books which soon give increase of wisdom, since, as far as a man studies completely the system of sacred literature, so far only can he become eminently learned, and so far may his learning shine brightly'." Clearly the foundations of an education, which is to be opposed to students trained in this manner, should be laid in our own invigorating climate, and not in the enervating East. A missionary should be prepared here, as far as possible, for action, and not for study, in his field of labour. Perfection in modern languages can only be acquired in the countries where they are spoken, but the rudiments both of them and of Sanscrit, might well be mastered at an institution in this country, where a library could be established, and the student thus be provided with opportunities and facilities of gaining information which he would rarely meet with, even in India.

The sum of what we have written is briefly this. There has hitherto been a defect in our missions. It must be feared, that we have not in any single instance as yet established a church amongst heathens which could hopefully vegetate, if the sun of

<sup>7</sup> "To acquire a perfect knowledge," said Mr. Clark, "of the Sanscrit language, requires a longer period of diligence and exertion than to attain a similar degree of proficiency in any vernacular tongue."—*Talbot's Historical Sketch of Sanscrit Literature*.

<sup>8</sup> Manu iii. 1.

<sup>9</sup> lb. § 21.

our empire were obscured, and the United Church of England and Ireland were no longer to extend to it encouragement, government, and protection. A few native congregations scramble along in leading-strings; but is there at present any reasonable ground to hope that they will “put away childish things,” and ripen into that vigour which can only accompany an order of indigenous Bishops, Priests, and Deacons? It is no sufficient reply to this, to allege, that Romish and other missions are very much in the same state. We admit that they are so, but the question for ourselves is—Are we adopting such liberal and extended plans as might lead to such a glorious consummation as we have referred to? Unquestionably we are at present only sending missionaries to contend with rude and illiterate men. We employ no efforts against the hierarchy of superstition, and consequently cannot hope to convert it into a hierarchy of truth, and yet the time is eminently propitious for such projects; the fields are white unto the harvest. The jealousy with which Government viewed all such attempts is rapidly subsiding, and the hostility of natives has merged into indifference. The professors of Hindu learning are daily sinking into poverty as the patronage of our foreign government is withdrawn from them, and profuse devotion no longer lays its offerings at their feet. Ancient institutions are falling into decay; wealth finds its way into the hands of those who pay court to the ruling power, who seek its offices and rewards, and, together with the language, neglect the faith of their fathers. To such the appeals of indignant Bráhmans are—

“Quare

Templa ruunt antiqua deûm? Cur improbe caræ  
Non aliquid patriæ tanto emetiris acervo?”

But in vain. English luxury and display absorb the desires of the Hindu merchant or official; and he cares little to imitate the encouragement of national learning, and the liberality to superstition which distinguished his ancestors. Thus situated, the Bráhmans groan under a sense of wrong, and find a poor consolation in sullen exclusiveness. We seek to show them that we have a place for them in the Christian Church. That is our object. Although not many wise men after the flesh are called, yet no inspired command, no argument from analogy can lead us to believe that we are right in proposing free salvation only to the ignorant, and adhering to a system under which we do not design to exclude any, it is true, and yet really and effectually bar all access to the Gospel against the subtle disputants and powerful understandings of the Bráhminical creeds. We hope to see a

school established in this country which shall train in Oriental lore the minds of missionaries, and thus form a stepping-stone not to desultory efforts, but to an unselfish Christian scheme of establishing the Church of India in the unity of the spirit, and in the bond of peace, but, at the same time, on a solid and independent basis. With such an establishment we may hope to see in India a fulfilment of that prophecy, "I will also take of them for priests and for Levites, saith the Lord. For as the new heavens and the new earth, which I will make shall remain before me, saith the Lord, so shall your seed and your name remain."

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# NOTICES OF RECENT PUBLICATIONS,

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1. Rickard's Sermons for Family Reading. 2. Blackley's Scriptural Teaching.
  3. Cottrell's Religious Movements of Germany in the Nineteenth Century.
  4. Curzon's Visit to Monasteries in the Levant. 5. Cooper's Sermons on Events in Sacred History. 6. Dodsworth's Signs of the Times ; Sermons preached in Advent. 7. Dr. Nitzsch's System of Christian Doctrine ; translated by Montgomery and Hennen. 8. Balmez's Protestantism and Catholicity compared in their effects on the Civilization of Europe. 9. Dr. Biber's Life of St. Paul.
  10. Morgan's Notes on Various Distinctive Verities of the Christian Church.
  11. Hicks's Catechetical Lectures on the Incarnation and Childhood of our Lord Jesus Christ. 12. Franks's Book of Ornamental Glazing Quarries.
  13. Sandford's Vox Cordis ; or, Breathings of the Heart. 14. Farindon's Sermons. 15. Tracts for the Christian Seasons, Vol. I. 16. The Christian Scholar. 17. Chanter's Sermons. 18. Jobert's Ideas ; or, Outlines of a New System of Philosophy. 19. Harper's Steps to the Cross (Sermons). 20. The Daily Services of the Church. 21. Dr. Wordsworth's Apocalypse : the original Greek Text, &c. 22. History of the Life and Death of our Saviour Jesus Christ. Abridged from Jeremy Taylor. 23. Camlan's Lays from the Cimbric Lyre. 24. Harvey's Sea-side Book. 25. Reade's Revelations of Life, and other Poems. 26. Bishop Ken's Prayers. 27. The Christian Servant's Book.
  28. Knox's Ornithological Rambles in Sussex. 29. Neale's Tetralogia Liturgica. 30. Blakey's Temporal Benefits of Christianity. 31. Rev. Charles Wordsworth's Catechesis. 32. Marriage with a Deceased Wife's Sister prohibited. Evidence before the Commission, &c. by Dr. Pusey. 33. Sketches of Canadian Life, Lay and Ecclesiastical. 34. Herbert's Cyclops Christianus. 35. Archdeacon Berens's Life of Bishop Mant. 36. Evans's Statutes of the Fourth General Council of Lateran, recognised by subsequent Councils, &c. 37. Lady Alice ; a Novel. 38. Seven Tales by Seven Authors. 39. Earl Grey's Circular. 40. Wesley's Few Words on Cathedral Music. 41. Dr. Cotton's Lectures on the Lord's Supper. 42. Rock's Church of our Fathers, as seen in St. Osmund's Rite for the Cathedral of Salisbury. 43. Knox's Daniel the Prophet.
  44. Bp. Nicholson's Exposition of the Catechism. 45. Remembrance of Bonchurch, Isle of Wight. 46. The Child's Book of Ballads. 47. Fox's Noble Army of Martyrs. 48. Heurtley's Parochial Sermons. 49. Dr. Wordsworth's Elements of Instruction concerning the Church. 50. Prof. Stuart's History and Defence of the Old Testament Canon. 51. Dr. Mill's Four Sermons before the University of Cambridge. 52. Anderson's History of the Church in the Colonies. 53. Harington's Reformers of the Anglican Church, and Macaulay's History of England. 54. Ranke's Memoirs of the House of Brandenburg, and History of Prussia, during the 17th and 18th centuries. 55. Sir T. Phillips's Wales. 56. Jones's Exposition of the 39 Articles by the Reformers. 57. Evans's Continuous Outline of Sacred History. 58. Dr. Beecher's Baptism, with reference to its Imports and Modes.—Miscellaneous.
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I.—*Short Sermons for Family Reading. By the Rev. SAMUEL RICKARDS, M.A., Rector of Stowlangtoft, &c. London: Mozley and Masters.*

THE Sermons comprised in this volume appear to have been delivered in the course of pastoral ministrations in a rural congregation ; and those who are privileged to hear such discourses may consider themselves more than commonly favoured. For family reading, we should think these Sermons even better adapted than for the pulpit. Their simple diction ; their affectionate tone ; and the calm thoughtfulness which gives sufficient life and interest to their argument, without overstraining the attention,



or pressing intensely on the feelings, seem to render them peculiarly adapted for social religious exercises of a private character. We have no doubt that they will be profitably used in this way.

II.—*Scriptural Teaching; or a Pastor's Offering to his People.*  
By the Rev. W. BLACKLEY, B.A., Domestic Chaplain to  
Viscount Hill, &c. London: Hatchards, &c.

THE author of the work before us is known to our readers as the Editor of the Diplomatic Correspondence of the Right Hon. Richard Hill. We must confess that we are not satisfied with the design, the tone, or the views of the present volume. It consists of a series of short sermons, comprising in many cases instruction on points of so elementary a description, that it would seem adapted rather for a younger class in a National School than for an ordinary congregation. It is true that rural congregations may be found who might require enlightenment on such points, *e. g.*, as that 1839 “means 1839 years;” that

“as this large number of years has only risen to its present amount by the successive addition of a year (as that period of time has passed away) to the previous number of years, there must have been a period when it was the year 1, and a fact or event from which the year 1 took its rise. And what was that fact or event from which, beginning with the year 1, the sum of years has risen up to the year 1839? Was it the creation of the world? No; for since God said, ‘Let us make man in our image after our likeness,’ 5839 years have passed away. The period of years by which we adjust our affairs, and arrange our calculations, as it respects time, takes its origin in the advent or coming of our Lord Jesus Christ into our world: so that when we date our letter, and say, December 1st, 1839, we admit that Christ has been in our world, and that it is 1839 years since He came.”—p. 2.

This is certainly a very useful and desirable piece of information; and we are perfectly aware that there are many persons who are so backward in intelligence, that they do not, and perhaps will never be able to comprehend the difficult problem presented by the number of the current year; but we confess that we do not think Mr. Blackley's mode of teaching on the subject calculated to throw light upon this question, as his language must be in great part unintelligible to such persons. He writes for those who are wholly uneducated, in a style which is full of terms and allusions which can only be understood by the educated. We trace the same fault throughout the volume.

We must also notice what we must consider as a flippancy of tone on very awful subjects. An example of this occurs on page 105, where the author, having in the text stated that “in the great day of God it will be the fate of many ministers to hear the Judge of quick and dead say to them, ‘Depart from me,’” &c.,

a position which is perfectly scriptural, and on which there can be no doubt, proceeds to add in a foot note, without any attempt at proof of their reasonableness, the following expressions :—"It is the full conviction of the author, that there will be more ministers in hell, in proportion, than other people." The author may be correct in his opinion ; but we think that so awful a subject should not be thus thrown as it were fortuitously before the reader, without any authority to sustain it except the author's own opinion. We deem it a duty to notice this kind of flippant and easy way of writing in which too many writers are inclined to indulge—this mode of introducing thoughts and speculations of so serious a character with an "*apropos*," or a "*by-the-by*." There are other instances of the same tone in Mr. Blackley's volume, and (in the case which we are going to point out) in connexion with what we must consider as unsound views of Christian doctrine.

In a Dialogue on Confirmation, referred to at page 153, and which is printed at the end of the volume, one of the speakers informs the other that "the Confirmation Service arises entirely out of the *imperfection* or *deficiency* of infant baptism ;" and on hearing a not unnatural expression of surprise from his companion, repeats, that "if it were not for the *incompleteness* of infant baptism, there would be no necessity for what is called the Confirmation Service. *A baptized infant, when it is confirmed, should be confirmed.*" He further explains his meaning by observing that the Apostles would not have baptized persons, unless they had professed their belief in the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, and their intention of living in obedience to the Christian faith ; that an infant cannot make these professions ; and therefore when it is afterwards convinced that Jesus is the Messiah, it is required to come forward and enter into the engagement which baptism requires ; that it is not necessary for adults to go through the Confirmation Service, they doing at their baptism all that the young person (previously baptized as an infant) does at his confirmation ; that they "*even cannot go to the Confirmation Service*," because they cannot answer the question there put ; and that the whole service of adult baptism supposes that *the adult is confirmed* in the belief of the truth of the Gospel *before he is baptized* ; and that the promises made by sponsors at baptism "*cannot bind an unconscious being.*" So that on the whole, the doctrine of the author appears to be, that infant baptism, being unaccompanied by the profession of faith and obedience, which the Apostles required from the first converts to Christianity, and in the absence of which the promise of the sponsors is of no avail, is defective—"is not complete Christian baptism."—p. 149.

How this teaching is consistent with the Articles and the Prayer Book, we are rather at a loss to conceive. We do not know how it can be reconciled with such passages as the following: "Sacraments are effectual signs of grace, by which He doth work invisibly in us, and doth not only quicken, but also strengthen and confirm our faith in Him." "Baptism is a sign of regeneration or new birth, whereby, as by an instrument, they that receive baptism rightly, are grafted into the Church, the promises of forgiveness of sin, and free adoption to be the sons of God by the Holy Ghost, are visibly signed and sealed; faith is confirmed, and grace increased by virtue of prayer unto God; the baptism of young children is in any wise to be retained in the Church, as most agreeable with the institution of Christ." If the baptism of infants be in accordance with the divine institution, it conveys the privileges which baptism conveys; it makes us "members of Christ, children of God, and inheritors of the kingdom of heaven;" so that we may say of the baptized infant just as much as of the adult, that "it hath pleased God to regenerate him with his Holy Spirit, to receive him for his own child by adoption, and to incorporate him into his Holy Church;" and "it is certain, by God's word, that children which are baptized, dying before they commit actual sin, are undoubtedly saved." When Mr. Blackley then tells us, that the baptism of infants is defective and incomplete; and that confirmation remedies its essential defect, because it is a profession of faith and obedience, the only inference resulting from his views is, that the Church of England has taught unsound doctrine in these points, and that the opponents of infant baptism have followed the more rational and scriptural course. We are inclined to attribute much of Mr. Blackley's mistakes on these subjects to want of reflection, and a careless dealing with serious topics; for we can scarcely conceive that he would positively assert that "confirmation" is needless in the case of persons baptized as adults, and that they even *cannot* be confirmed, when the rubric at the end of the office for adult baptism runs thus:—

"It is expedient that every person thus baptized, *should be confirmed by the Bishop*, so soon after his baptism as conveniently may be; that *so he may be admitted to the Holy Communion.*"

In this rubric the Church actually requires confirmation by the bishop, as a pre-requisite to the reception of the holy communion in such cases: we can scarcely suppose that this rubric could have occurred to Mr. Blackley, when he ventured on such assertions as we have noticed; and yet forgetfulness on such a point appears to indicate a degree of carelessness which is deserving of severe censure.

III.—*Religious Movements of Germany in the Nineteenth Century.*  
*By* CHARLES HERBERT COTTRELL, *Esq., M.A.* London:  
 Petheram.

THE work before us would seem, from its invariable use of the form "we," to have been originally intended for publication in some periodical. The author has, we think, not unjustly described it as a "superficial" attempt to throw light on the religious convulsions of Germany: there is extremely little of novelty in his account; but if he has not succeeded in enlightening us on the subject of German theories, he has been eminently successful in proving his own thorough-going sympathy with German Rationalism. We are thankful to such men as Mr. Cottrell, who openly speak their mind, and tell us what they are aiming at. In his preface we find him stating that "if in the living writers of Germany, no less than in their predecessors, that uncompromising spirit of free inquiry be exhibited; and if it be no less *now* than in earlier times a remarkable feature in their theological discussions not to be deterred from expressing the results of their researches, however they may shock the orthodox, and run counter to prevalent ideas; few at least of the scholars of Germany at the present day can justly be charged with originating an inquiry, either with a view to scoff at the opinions of others, or, like the Voltaire school, to vaunt their learning by setting at defiance common sense and common decorum." This is certainly a great comfort. We have learned and well-bred infidels to deal with, instead of ignorant, arrogant buffoons.

We find (as we *always* do in the writing of those who endeavour to familiarize us with the heresies and infidelities of German Rationalism) Mr. Cottrell reminding his readers "at the onset, that the German mind is not to be judged by a purely English standard. Germans have been long accustomed to a far greater liberty of thought on religious subjects than ourselves—to a freedom of discussion which would shock many of us, simply because the members of the different persuasions in England subscribe much more implicitly and passively to the doctrinal watchwords of their respective leaders, than is the case with any religious party in Germany." We understand the object of these remarks perfectly well. They are designed to prepare the reader not to be shocked when he reads open denials of those tenets which he holds most sacred; and to induce him to look with favour and indulgence on those who are utterly unsound in the first essentials of religion. It was by the same kind of sophistry that some advocates of Romanism, who professed for a time to be members of the Church of England, endeavoured to diminish the repugnance felt by Englishmen to the worship of the Virgin, by representing that we could not be judges of the tone of feeling or the

language in reference to the Virgin used by members of the Church of Rome, because we had not been brought up in their system. And on the same principle it might be argued, that the sale of French books or prints of a licentious character was lawful; and that we should not be *shocked* in reading them or looking at them, because we must remember that ideas on the subject of decency and morality are more free amongst neighbouring nations than amongst ourselves.

We must, however, in candour say, that, as far as the volume before us is concerned, the apology which Mr. Cottrell makes for the German theology, is in reality needed much more for his own expressions of opinion, than for any that he ascribes to other writers. He is professedly a Christian: but his Christianity is a most unsubstantial thing. He has no creed—no theological doctrines—no belief in Scripture as God's word—and his views of Christianity is, that it is simply a code of ethics. Of course he is furious (as all who think with him are) at orthodoxy, priestcraft, creeds, &c.; and he attempts in all ways to vilify and degrade the Christian ministry, and to represent it as a violation of the rights of the laity. In short, he is a worthy compeer of such critics as Arnold, Bunsen, Blanco White, &c. We must extract a few passages from this miserable production.

Mr. Cottrell regards it as a remarkable phenomenon, that at a time when "human reason boasts of having gained the most signal victory over narrowmindedness, prejudice, and superstition," and "at a time when the cry for civil liberty is echoed throughout the length and breadth of the land;" "at this very time we find no inconsiderable body of men in Germany retrograding in their religious ideas and practices, hiding under a bushel the light so hardly acquired, by which a clear and rational view of God and the world has been exhibited, and again voluntarily bending their necks under the yoke of antiquated dogmas, Church articles, and blind and paralyzing belief in the letter of Scripture."—p. 5. This modern pietism is, according to Mr. Cottrell, a wholly different thing from the system of Spener. Modern pietism is, in his opinion, "the *product of different factors*." (We smile at this stilted pedantry, which Mr. Cottrell has borrowed from his German writers.) It is "a strange illegitimate offset of orthodoxy, mysticism, and the later chilling form of the pietism of Spener." And this brings us to the following tirade:—

"Of the first of these, orthodoxy, the essence consists in endeavouring to establish a fixed rule, *norma fidei*, as to the object of belief, from which no deviation is admissible under any circumstances. The orthodox start upon the assumption that Christianity is *a mere doctrine, not a life*, and that the single requisite for salvation is a strict adherence to this doctrine, and consequently that it is the only lesson

a Christian has to learn. . . . Any article of faith once prescribed, he endeavours to confine it within definite formulas, and exerts all his zeal and energies to prevent any infringement of it. The orthodox clings to words, without inquiring whether they convey any clear and definite idea. He fights for words, builds whole systems upon words, and will not suffer any iota to be subtracted from these words. However fatal this may be to sense, and repugnant to the understanding, however impossible it may be to reconcile it with reason—in matters of faith these are allowed no voice. . . .”

“ If we take an historical view of orthodoxy, we meet with the first germ of it very near the apostolic times. The *Apostles’* and *Athanasian Creed* are its first products, and it has been the source of all the theological disputes which have sprung up in the bosom of the Church during so many ages. It was orthodoxy which led to those multifarious persecutions, that fanatical cruelty at which humanity shudders. . . .”

“ It requires indeed no proof that orthodoxy is a sentiment utterly repugnant to and incompatible with the spirit of Christianity. Equally so is it with freedom of conscience, and the unfettered study of Scripture, which the Evangelical Church claims as her unalienable privilege. ‘ God,’ says Luther, ‘ neither can nor will suffer any man to exercise dominion over the soul ;’ and whoever asserts that any formula of faith stereotyped in symbolic writings is binding upon the conscience, *except the Scriptures*, that man sets up a ‘ Paper Pope,’ dams up the living stream of the waters of Christianity in the human breast, and offers every impediment to the development of Christian life.”—pp. 11, 12.

This is pretty well. Mr. Cottrell has advanced further than the Unitarians, who do not look upon the *Apostles’* Creed as an invention of “ orthodoxy.” He will have nothing but the *Scriptures*; and so far we might suppose him a believer in the *Scriptures* as the word of God; but his reference to the Scripture is not with any sincere view. It is made simply with the design of shaking off all other authority, in order that he may in the end deny the authority of Scripture itself more effectually, after having rejected all that upholds the authenticity of Scripture. His views on these subjects appear in the following extracts:—

“ The excellent Founder of Christianity himself was the first *Friend of Light*. It is notorious, that among the earliest acts of His ministration which gave a new aspect to the world at large, was the establishment of a system in opposition to the religious prejudices of the time, the antiquated, spiritless, narrowminded precepts of the Scribes and Pharisees.—A Divine rule of life and doctrine conformable to reason, and diametrically opposed to the love of darkness exhibited by hypocritical and domineering priests.”

“ Had the religion which He taught been transmitted to us in the form of a simple code of doctrine, as it issued from the mouth of its Founder, theological disputes and religious schisms could never have sprung up to disturb the peace of the Church. . . . It has not however



caused diversities in this shape. In order, perhaps, not to elevate the dead letter above the living spirit, He did not see fit to leave us any *Written Record* of the new law He came into the world to promulgate. The history therefore of His life, His actions, and His precepts, transmitted to us by His first followers in the Gospel, naturally bears the impress of their own views, their own notions, and their own personal individuality. The style and language of their narrative, and the interspersions of preternatural occurrences, were, we cannot doubt, more especially suitable to the ideas of those for whose instruction they were *primarily* and *immediately* designed. It is to this circumstance, and the unimportant discrepancies which naturally exist in documents emanating from different hands, that the difficulty, which many have at all times experienced, of submitting to them a literal and unqualified acceptance, is mainly attributable. It is not intended by this to assert, that the authors of these records made any additions to the original words of their Master with the consciousness of their not being genuine, but that they have transmitted to us the picture of His life, death, and teaching, as *they*, in their childlike views of the world, understood it, or as it was reflected in their own minds.

“ Had the heads of the Church regarded this collection of the earliest traditions in such a point of view—had they considered them as a book ‘written by man and for man,’ and left the belief in its contents to be freely exercised—Christianity would have found much warmer friends and adherents [amongst such as Mr. Cottrell?], and its records more sincere supporters. Instead of this they made of them—what their unpretending and modest authors never meditated—a binding rule, a sort of strait-waistcoat for the faith of Christendom, and an apple of discord for theologians. Out of the unpretending Gospels and letters of the Apostles to their newly-established congregations were made ‘books of Divine authority,’ directly inspired by the third Person of the Trinity, and specially dictated, indeed, to the pen of their authors by the Holy Spirit himself—word for word, and letter for letter. This collection of books was formed into a canon of Christian doctrine by different synods, especially that of Laodicea, in the year 364, in which, exclusively, is contained the whole compass of all the truths of salvation, and the standard of Christian faith. At the same time, not only were all the true and reasonable doctrines of the New Testament, but as those which were based upon antiquity, all the myths and miraculous narrations out of the religious records of the Jews, from the Creation and the Fall in Paradise, down to the dragon of Babylon, formally and solemnly sanctioned as universally binding and inviolate articles of faith for all ages, all nations, and stages of moral cultivation through which mankind may pass. It was almost made an indispensable condition of salvation to subscribe unqualified acquiescence in the contents of the *whole* Bible—and human reason, conscious of its freedom, was cruelly and barbarously summoned to believe, word for word, and to the very letter, palpable impossibilities and contradictions, and to live and die by them.”—pp. 33—35.

It is almost superfluous to offer comment on the above passages from Mr. Cottrell's work. The excessive weakness and absurdity of many of his statements will be evident to any well-informed person; but the assurance with which they are put forth, shows pretty plainly, that their author has not pursued his studies in German literature without imbibing its spirit and tone in reference to Christianity. Mr. Cottrell talks of the "subtle poison" of a Froude, as if he himself had some object of faith beyond the writer whom he censures; but it is, in our opinion, a matter of very little consequence, whether a man denies the inspiration of Scripture and the authority of all Christian doctrine along with it; or whether he goes further, and rejects the very idea of God. The former we believe to be as great a sin as the latter, and more mischievous in its effects. The appearance of such openly infidel books as that of Mr. Cottrell is a sign of the times which should not be neglected. We are much surprised that any publisher laying claim to the slightest respectability, and more especially one who publishes for Clergymen of the Church of England, could have been induced to publish such a work as that of Mr. Cottrell.

IV.—*Visit to Monasteries in the Levant.* By the Hon. ROBERT CURZON, Jun. London: Murray.

WE have seldom met with a more entertaining narrative than that which Mr. Curzon has given of his adventures in the Levant in the pursuit of his literary objects. His visit to the monasteries of Egypt, Syria, and Greece, appears to have arisen from no peculiar interest in the present pursuits, tenets, or studies of their inhabitants, but from a desire to possess himself of some of the literary and antiquarian treasures which they retain; and no small portion of the interest of his story attaches to the ingenuity with which he contrived to purchase manuscripts from superiors of monasteries who were wholly ignorant of their value. Mr. Curzon seems to have formed no very high estimate of these poor monks, if we may judge from his usual system of commencing negotiations with them, by inducing them to discuss a bottle of Rosoglio. We have no doubt that Mr. Curzon's mode of proceeding was that which promised most success; and we suppose that any little artifices of this kind are considered allowable by book-fanciers just as they are by jockies; but we must confess that our amusement at the adventures related by Mr. Curzon, is frequently interrupted by doubts as to the strict propriety of the courses taken in dealing with the monks. To us, we must say, that the jocose tone in which the practices and tenets of communions differing from our own are very commonly spoken of, is

painful, conscious, as we are, that there is much in those practices which is deserving of censure, and which may readily present matter for ridicule to a stranger. Mr. Curzon's talent for humorous description is a dangerous one: in one tale, which is full of drollery, he relates "the Legend of King Solomon and the Hoopoes:" the story throughout appears to imitate the language of Holy Scripture; and in one part the sacred words, so familiar to us in connexion with the work of creation, are introduced without scruple to point a sentence. We must just quote a few words, underlining the scriptural quotations and phraseology.

"Now the king of the hoopoes was confused with the great honour of standing before the feet of the king; and making his obeisance, and laying his right claw upon his heart, he said, '*O king, live for ever! Let a day be given to thy servant, to consider with his queen and his councillors what it shall be that the king shall give unto us for a reward.*' And king Solomon said, '*Be it so.*' *And it was so.*"—p. 154.

We do not accuse Mr. Curzon of any intentional irreverence; but we do feel that this sort of thing is really most disrespectful to the Word of God; and we think that Mr. Curzon's rank and abilities furnish no kind of justification for his participation in a practice which is becoming far too frequent, of using scriptural or other sacred allusions to add point or zest to a joke. We must protest against this degrading mixture of the most sacred and awful things with what is ludicrous or ridiculous. It is, if it be rightly considered, a species of profaneness.

There are many passages in Mr. Curzon's book which satisfy us that he is not without religious impressions, and that he would not voluntarily offend those of others; so that we shall only add to our preceding cautionary remarks, that, bating the defects to which we have referred, we have seldom perused so delightful a volume in its way. Its sketches of oriental life and manners are in the highest degree vivid, and by a few masterly touches, convey to us a distinct idea of the whole.

We extract a single passage in illustration of the style of the work. It refers to a nocturnal excursion which the author made, in company with a Coptic carpenter, to examine some manuscripts which the latter had concealed in a tomb of one of the Egyptian kings. We must introduce the reader to the scene in the tomb.

"Having found these ancient books we proceeded to examine their contents; and, to accomplish this at our ease, we stuck the candles on the ground, and the carpenter and I sat down before them, while his son brought us the volumes from the steps of the altar, one by one.

"The first which came to hand was a dusty quarto, smelling of

incense, and well spotted with yellow wax, with all its leaves dogs-eared or worn round with constant use: this was a manuscript of the lesser festivals. Another appeared to be of the same kind; a third was also a book for the Church Service. We puzzled over the next two or three, which seemed to be martyrologies or lives of the saints; but while we were poring over them we thought we heard a noise: 'O! father of hammers,' said I to the carpenter, I think I heard a noise: what could it be? I thought I heard something move.' 'Did you hawaja?' (O merchant) said the carpenter; 'it must have been my son moving the books, for what else could there be here? No one knows of this tomb or of the holy manuscripts which it contains. Surely there can be nothing here to make a noise; for are we not here alone, a hundred feet under the earth, in a place where no one comes. It is nothing: certainly it is nothing;' and so saying, he lifted up one of the candles and peered about in the darkness; but as there was nothing to be seen, and all was silent as the grave, he sat down again, and at our leisure we completed our examination of all the books which lay upon the steps.

"They proved to be all Church books, liturgies for different seasons, or homilies; and not historical, nor of any particular interest, either from their age or subject. There now remained only the great book upon the altar, a ponderous quarto, bound either in brown leather or wooden boards; and this the carpenter's son with difficulty lifted from its place, and laid it down before us on the ground; but as he did so, we heard the noise again. The carpenter and I looked at each other: he turned pale—perhaps I did so too; and we looked over our shoulders in a sort of anxious nervous kind of way, expecting to see something—we did not know what. However, we saw nothing; and, feeling a little ashamed, I again settled myself before the three candle ends, and opened the book, which was written in large black characters of unusual size. As I bent over the huge volume, to see what it was about, suddenly there arose a sound some where in the cavern, but from whence it came I could not comprehend; it seemed all round us at the same moment. There was no room for doubt now: it was a fearful howling, like the roar of a hundred wild beasts. The carpenter looked aghast: the tall and grisly figures of the Egyptian gods seemed to stare at us from the walls. I thought of Cornelius Agrippa, and felt a gentle perspiration coming on which would have betokened a favourable crisis in a fever. Suddenly the dreadful roar ceased, and as its echoes died away in the tomb, we felt considerably relieved, and were beginning to try and put a new face upon the matter, when, to our unutterable horror, it began again, and waxed louder and louder, as if legions of infernal spirits were let loose upon us. We could stand this no longer: the carpenter and I jumped up from the ground, and his son, in his terror, stumbled over the great Coptic manuscript, and fell upon the candles, which were all put out in a moment; his screams were now added to the uproar which resounded in the cave: seeing the twinkling

of a star through the vista of the two upper chambers, we all set off as hard as we could run, our feelings of alarm being increased to desperation when we perceived that something was chasing us in the darkness, while the roar seemed to increase every moment. How we did tear along! 'The devil take the hindmost' seemed about to be literally fulfilled; and we raised stifling clouds of dust, as we scrambled up the steep slope which led to the outer door. 'So then,' thought I, 'the stories of gins, and ghosts, and goblins, that I have read of and never believed, must be true after all, and in this city of the dead it has been our evil lot to fall upon a haunted tomb.'

"Breathless and bewildered, the carpenter and I bolted out of this infernal palace into the open air, mightily relieved at our escape from the darkness and the terrors of the subterranean vaults. We had not been out a moment, and had by no means collected our ideas, before our alarm was again excited to its utmost pitch.

"The evil one came forward in bodily shape, and stood revealed to our eyes distinctly in the pale light of the moon.

"While we were gazing upon the appearance, the carpenter's son, whom we had quite forgotten in our hurry, came creeping out of the doorway of the tomb upon his hands and knees.

" 'Why, father!' said he, after a moment's silence, 'if that is not old Fatima's donkey.'"—pp. 123—127.

v.—*Sermons on Events in Sacred History.* By JAMES COOPER, M.A., *Perpetual Curate of St. Jude's, Bradford.* London: Hatchard.

THERE is nothing calling for any particular remark in this volume of Sermons. They do not appear to exhibit talents or attainments above the average. They are addressed evidently to a congregation in some degree educated.

vi.—*The Signs of the Times. Sermons preached in Advent, 1848.* By WILLIAM DODSWORTH, M.A., *Perpetual Curate of Christ-Church, St. Pancras.* London: Masters.

THIS series of Sermons preached in Advent connects the events of the days in which we are living with the signs of the second Advent of our Lord. They are written in a very solemn and awakening tone, and are calculated to turn the thoughts which naturally occur to man in the present times to the best possible account.

VII.—*System of Christian Doctrine.* By Dr. CARL IMMANUEL NITZSCH. Translated from the German, by the Rev. ROBERT MONTGOMERY, M.A., Oxon., and JOHN HENNEN, M.D., &c., Edinburgh: T. and T. Clark. London: Hamilton, Adams, and Co.

THE translators of this volume “do not hold themselves responsible for, or identify themselves with, any peculiarities of opinion contained in the work;” and they add, that “the work is intensely German in *manner*”—that is, it is dry, often extremely obscure and repulsive, and cast throughout in a mode of thought so totally different from our own, as to bid defiance to any attempts to render it, in this respect, different from what it is in the original. Indeed, the author himself, in the preface to a volume of his sermons, candidly admits the almost invincible obscurity and hardness of his style. If the original, then, be obscure, how much more must even the best translation partake of this blemish! The translators “are painfully conscious of the many imperfections of their labours, nor can they flatter themselves that they have always been successful in penetrating into the entire meaning of their author.” We have recognized the force and justice of these remarks in endeavouring to peruse a portion of the volume before us. The style is excessively obscure, and in many places wholly unintelligible; and it seems to us, that this is not to be accounted for by the mere difficulty of the subjects, but by the defective expressions of the author or his translators. The work before us is a compendium of Christian theology, in which the doctrine of the author on all the leading points of doctrine is stated in a dogmatical form, in the shape of propositions. He recognizes the fact of a revelation proceeding from a personal deity, and acknowledges the doctrine of the Trinity. We can very well understand that the original treatise may be very useful in Germany; but we do not foresee any material benefit as likely to arise from its publication in this country. We quote a specimen of the style:—

“The evidence of prophecy, of which Christ and the Apostles availed themselves, consists less in an historical characteristic of the Redeemer’s person, (which, to a certain extent, is an assemblage of Old Testament prophecies; for with the exception of His descent from David, there is an almost total deficiency of the kind of proof required,) than in the fact of the Old Testament conducting from the beginning, on the ground of the revelation of the true God, and of His covenant sovereignty, to a holy definitive history, and this, under increasing development, leading to the expectation of a personal Redeemer.”—p. 86.

We fear that we may be liable to the charge of extreme



obtuseness; but we must frankly acknowledge that this passage is above our comprehension. In the first place, we do not exactly understand what is meant by the assertion, that the "Redeemer's person" is, in any way, "an assemblage of Old Testament prophecies." What, again, is the meaning of the "Old Testament conducting from the beginning" "to a holy definitive history?" What "holy definitive history" is here intended? If it be the history of Christ's life in the Gospel, how can such history lead to the "expectation" of a personal Redeemer's first advent? And, again, what is the especial force of the words "*on the ground of the revelation of the true God, and of His covenant sovereignty?*" Are they introduced for any object at all? What, again, is the meaning of "covenant sovereignty?" Such are the questions which arise from every page of this volume. We have no doubt that it is all very fine; but we protest that we are unable to catch the author's meaning.

Nitzsch ranks high amongst the (comparatively) orthodox theologians of Germany, and his book has become a manual for the use of the not absolutely rationalistic Teutonic youth. Dr. Nitzsch, we may further observe, appears to hold substantially the main dogmas of the Christian faith, though his views of sacraments and ordinances are of course more or less defective. Some idea of his general tone of mind may be gathered from the conclusion of his preface, which is exceedingly well rendered, and which we accordingly extract:—

"I am desirous, even within the limits of the present work, of connecting myself with that absolute *Biblical realism*, such as for the most part is fairly represented in Germany by Beck and Stier; for this tendency is valuable and dear to me, because it discovers such a multitude of Biblical facts, their connexion and unity, for which exegetical proof is actually possible, and which in others (other systems) is wanting:—and by means of such discoveries how does all confidence in Scripture, and all love for its study increase, and how is the shallowness of so many a learned tradition abashed and subdued! We can acknowledge this, be thankful for it, and profit by it, and yet not be in a condition to abridge the history of religious science to the extent required in order to commence anew at the very letter of revelation: and this, especially, when such procedure relates to physical, empirical, and cosmical questions, in a manner altogether different from ethical and metaphysical ones. To me the relations of faith to natural science is a matter of indifference, for the blessing of revelation, as the renewer and sanctifier of self-consciousness, is independent thereof. Undoubtedly the *idea* of religion receives its determinations, realizations, and immunities from *religion* as a *fact*: it indicates itself primarily through this *realization*, but as an organ of science and appropriation it does not lose thereby the right of its own independency. Science is not

without its history. The present work has not escaped the charge from many quarters of eclecticism. Eclecticism, in the sense of indiscriminate selection, deserves, beyond a doubt, to be condemned on the part of science : but when we behold an example before us, that in one and the same *criticism* of Christianity, Böhme, Spinoza, Edelmann, Reimarus, Wegscheider, Schleiermacher, and Hegel, have organically grown up together into one body, and thus accomplished their *analytical* process,—well indeed, upon the *conservative* and *restorative* side, ought an eclecticism, comprehending many elements which have appeared in succession and in contrast, to accomplish that which is appropriate to its character."

Dr. Nitzsch, then, regards himself as a species of transcendental orthodox Christian eclectic, and in maintaining this character has probably advanced the cause of orthodoxy among our Teutonic brethren.

VIII.—*Protestantism and Catholicity compared in their effects on the Civilization of Europe. Written in Spanish, by the Rev. J. BALMEZ. Translated from the French Version, by C. J. HANSFORD and R. KERSHAW. London: Burns.*

THE author of the volume before us was a Spanish ecclesiastic of considerable ability and attainments, who, after a short but distinguished literary career, expired about a year since. The translation is made from a French version of the Spanish original ; but it conveys a very sufficient idea of the author's acuteness and general ability. The object of the work was evidently to avert the probable danger of the Romish faith in Spain, from the expected introduction of Protestantism, by pointing out to the adherents of the revolutionary and liberal governments of Spain, that Romanism alone is favourable to the progress of civilization, the expansion of the intellect, and the democratic principle ; while the Reformation has done nothing but check the march of improvement, and fasten the chains of civil and religious slavery on the necks of men. This is, at least, somewhat a novel view of the subject ; and to do Mr. Balmez justice, he labours diligently in his self-imposed task. If Spain is not held the most enlightened country in the world as regards its dealings with Protestantism in the "holy office" of the Inquisition, it is not the fault of Mr. Balmez, for he holds this institution up to admiration, as the very salvation of Spain and of its civilization. Philip II. is, in his eyes, a saint ; and the Abbé Lacordaire, who ventured to evade, on behalf of the Inquisition, the responsibility of the modes of torment introduced by that enlightened prince, is well set down. The "bull-fights" are somewhat of a *crux* to our

worthy ecclesiastic, and he even gives way, for a moment, to the charge of barbarism, which is made against them, but he finds abundance of reasons, in the sequel, to justify them. We should have thought this work better suited to the state of opinion in Spain than in England: but we suppose that the highly liberal views of the author in politics are thought likely to be acceptable. We should have thought that the position of *Ireland*, or even of Spain, or of Italy, or of France itself, as contrasted with *England*, would not have been very favourable to the argument which makes civilization the especial office of the Church of Rome; but we suppose our Romish brethren have some different way of looking at facts from what the rest of the world have. We must, therefore, leave them to enjoy the lucubrations of Mr. Balmez. This writer's views on politics are apparently well suited to the popular theories in Spain, and, indeed, in all parts of Roman Catholic Christendom. He discusses the lawfulness of insurrection against constituted authorities, and remarks that it is in some respects an undecided question in the Church of Rome; but that, as it is plainly contrary to the doctrines of the Church to rise in rebellion merely on account of personal faults in the ruler, so, on the other hand, it has been maintained, by most grave and approved divines, that there are certain extreme cases, in which insurrection is lawful, provided the person of the sovereign be held inviolate. It is doubtless, on principles like this, that the monks and clergy in Italy have of late been so effective in the discharge of their—muskets; and so diligent in the building up of—barricades!

1X.—*The Life of St. Paul, the Apostle of the Gentiles. Designed chiefly for the use of young persons. By the Rev. G. E. BIBER, LL.D.* London: Cleaver.

WE learn from the preface to this work, that it is the first of a proposed series of biographies of leading characters in the Church, in which the principal events of ecclesiastical history shall be narrated in a popular and easy style. The notion is an excellent one, and, judging from the specimen before us, we should think Dr. Biber fully qualified to carry out the design in a very excellent way. In writing the life of St. Paul, a question of course will arise, whether an author is strictly to limit himself to the facts presented to him by Holy Scripture, or whether he may call in subsidiary facts and illustrations from profane history, and the traditions or histories of the Jewish or the Christian Church. It is unquestionable that much light may be derived

from such sources, and, to a certain extent, every one, perhaps, will admit the propriety of referring to them, *i. e.* in illustration of the sacred narrative by the explanation of terms, customs, &c. The principle then must be conceded, and the only difficulty arises in point of detail. Dr. Biber has very assiduously referred to all the subsidiary sources alluded to, and has interwoven the information they supply in his *Life of the Apostle*; and most assuredly, the biography is materially enriched, and rendered far more intelligible by his labours. He expresses a regret, which will be shared by some of his readers, that space, and the object of his volume, have prevented the addition of annotations comprising the grounds of his statements and views, and references to authorities in support of them. It is obviously impossible, however, to combine in the same volume the qualities of cheapness, and a popular form, with the exhibition of learned research; and, therefore, Dr. Biber must stand excused for not attempting to accomplish impossibilities. The work itself is deserving not only of the attention of the young, but of persons of riper years; and there are, perhaps, few who may not learn something from it. The style is popular and easy, and the whole narrative is full without redundancy.

x.—*Notes on Various Distinctive Verities of the Christian Church.*  
By the Rev. R. W. MORGAN, *Perpetual Curate of Tregynon, Montgomeryshire.* London: Rivingtons.

WE have perused a considerable part of Mr. Morgan's work, and with the highest satisfaction. It is the production of a vigorous and thoughtful mind, which contemplates the great principles of our faith, not merely as abstract verities, but as they stand related to our social existence, and to the fate and fortunes of our Church and nation. It is our trust, that sentiments like those, which Mr. Morgan has so ably and so fearlessly put forth in this volume, are, in the main, the sentiments of the great majority of Churchmen. He is not one of those who can look upon the Christian Church as the creature or the born slave of the temporal powers; neither, on the other hand, is he amongst those who would divorce religion from politics, and release the State from its obligations to promote the cause of true religion; and he even contends, that the Sovereign violates the first of his duties, when he withholds that protection and support which is due to Christianity. He argues, with great force and justice, that the State is acting in the way most destructive of its own true interests, when it impairs the effectiveness of the Church by injudicious appointments to bishoprics, and by refusing liberty to

the Church to carry out its own discipline in ecclesiastical synods. The following extract is deserving of notice :—

“ The substance of the following observations was addressed to me some years ago by an acute and comprehensive politician. ‘ The Church of England possesses no organization ; her bishops and authorities cannot combine, and without combination nothing great or permanent is ever effected ; her archbishops are nominees of the State, not the elected of the Church, and are specially singled out by the State, not to work the Church in her spiritual sovereignty, but singly in her establishment capacity. She is a vast unity, with immense passive strength and unquestionable rights ; but she has no talent to concentrate that strength, no spirit to assert and defend her rights. Dissent, on the other hand, has become turbulent and offensive. The statesmen that use it fear its tendencies, and disavow its creations ; but the Church is only beginning to recover her energies. She can do nothing for a determined constitutional government until she shall have regained the affections of the poor. This she cannot effect under one generation. Meanwhile, the spirit of revolution in religion and politics is coming *too home* to the established laws and property of the kingdom. They must act. They have decided that, for some years to come, *Tendamus in Latium* is the safest watchword for the country, Romanism is wanted to stand on the left side of the throne : with the Anglo-Catholic Church on the right, revolution will be chronically paralyzed. The dissenters, instead of subverting one establishment, will have set up two.’ ”—p. 73.

We believe this politician greatly to have underrated the popularity of the Church ; but it is certainly a curious and instructive remark from a politician, that the Church has “ no organization,” no power of “ combining,” that her archbishops are “ nominees ” of the State, and that she has no “ talent ” or “ spirit ” to assert her unquestionable rights. We must deeply feel that these remarks have had far too much truth in them. The State has, with a view of making the Church work more effectually for State ends, clogged its functions, and deprived it of the organization and influence which were essential to the satisfactory exercise of its powers even as a State engine. Almost all the evils of every kind under which we labour, may be ascribed to the abuse of ecclesiastical patronage by the ministers of the Crown for the last 150 years. Had that sacred trust been rightly discharged, England would be in all respects a different country from what it is.

XI.—*Catechetical Lectures on the Incarnation and Childhood of our Lord Jesus Christ. By the Rev. JAMES HICKS, Vicar of Piddle Trenthide, &c. London : Masters.*

THIS little volume is one of the most pleasing amongst the

various manuals of catechetical instruction which it has been our fortune to see of late. Though the apparent range of subjects is limited, the amount of instruction in the principal articles of Christian doctrine, and also on the Sacraments, and other essentials of the Church, is very considerable; and the whole is accompanied by a series of questions printed in the margin, in a mode which affords perfect facility to the examiner. We cannot speak too highly of the devotional and Christian tone of this publication.

**xii.**—*A Book of Ornamental Glazing Quarries, collected and arranged from ancient examples.* By AUGUSTUS WOLLASTON FRANKS, B.A., Trinity College, Cambridge. London: J. H. Parker.

THE use of ornamental quarries in glazing the windows of Churches has of late years been extensively revived, and in many cases with very good effect. The comparative cheapness of this mode of decorating windows is, of course, a very important consideration with many persons: the difference between 4s. 6d. by the square foot, and one, two, or three guineas, is rather serious; and therefore on economical grounds it is gratifying to find, that where funds cannot be commanded for painted glass, the naked appearance of windows of common glass may be superseded by a mode of ornament which has the full sanction of ancient precedent in our cathedrals and parish churches. Mr. Franks has brought a valuable contribution to our knowledge on this subject, and also to the aid of the artist, by collecting so large a number of drawings from ancient quarries, arranged under different heads. It has been recommended elsewhere, and we may here renew the caution, that persons desirous of glazing their church windows with quarries, should not judge of the probable effect from inspecting a drawing or even a single quarry, but should see a specimen of some size glazed. The specimens of quarries in the volume before us, range in date from A.D. 1200 to A.D. 1530.

**xiii.**—*Vox Cordis; or, Breathings of the Heart; Prayers and a Litany for the Closet.* By JOHN SANDFORD, B.D., Vicar of Dunchurch. Oxford and London: J. H. Parker.

WE cannot speak in too high terms of commendation of this manual of devotions. It breathes more of the spirit of real prayer than any collection that we have seen for a considerable time. We commend it to the especial notice of those who are desirous of recommending to educated persons a manual of de-



votions which is free from any tendencies or expressions which might excite doubt or misgivings, while it is calculated to meet the wants of the most affectionate and humble-minded Christians. It includes directions for prayer, hymns, morning and evening prayers, forms of self-examination, intercessions, prayers to Jesus and to the Holy Spirit, a litany of Jesus, prayers to be used by married persons and by parents. On the whole we must express our warmest gratitude for this accession to our works of practical devotion. May it obtain the extended circulation which it deserves!

XIV.—*The Sermons of the Rev. ANTHONY FARINDON, B.D., Divinity Reader of His Majesty's Chapel Royal, Windsor; with Life of the Author. By the Rev. THOMAS JACKSON, &c.* 4 vols. 8vo. London: Tegg. 1849.

FARINDON, says Ant. à Wood, was "a noted preacher, an eminent tutor, and a worthy example to be imitated by all." He was the friend and companion of the "ever memorable John Hall," of Bishop Pearson, Chillingworth, Sheldon, and other distinguished churchmen and learned contemporaries. Among his hearers, too, were sometimes to be seen Bishop Sanderson and Dr. Henry Hammond. Encircled by these venerable associates, the name of Farindon at once arrests the minds of all who cultivate a theological intimacy with the stormy period of polemics in which this impressive writer lived. Owing to some private rebuke administered by Farindon to Cromwell's son-in-law, Ireton, when both were at Trinity College, Oxford, that regicidal schismatic did not cease to persecute the preacher, till he procured his expulsion from his church, St. Mary Magdalene, Milk-street, London.

We consider the reprint of Farindon's sermons a precious addition to our sacred literature. These four volumes contain 130 Sermons, varied in length, character, and lore, but all deeply imbued with scriptural theology, and practical fulness of statement. Like most of the divines of his period, Farindon's mind was rich, even to overflow, in patristic learning; and in harmony with what was then a very prevailing habit, his discourses abounded in classic allusion, and quotations from the fathers of the Church. He was sternly opposed to that iron-hearted Calvinism which infected so wide a portion of the Puritans and Non-conformists. We have said that Hammond was often one of his hearers; we may add that as regards his veneration for the *practical bearing* of doctrine on the personal life of man, he may be compared with that illustrious divine; but

it must be stated on the other hand, that Farindon's love for episcopacy, and his view of sacramental efficacies in the Church, were of a much lower cast than those held and maintained by Hammond.

Those, too, who love to trace the history of mental coincidences and spiritual resemblances, will find many passages in these volumes which forcibly recall the pure and lofty idealism of Cudworth, Henry More, and John Smith of Cambridge. Among the Fathers, Tertullian seems to have been Farindon's ruling favourite. Like Origen, he might have said, "Give me my master." His reading, however, was as varied as it was vast; and although his discourses are not so logically developed as the masterly ones of Sanderson, they are scarcely less learned; while in point of eloquent richness of diction and beautiful flow of natural illustrations, they are sometimes successful approximations to the golden utterances of Jeremy Taylor himself. On the whole, we consider this reprint a highly valuable one, and calculated to increase the permanent wealth of our theological literature.

xv.—*Tracts for the Christian Seasons. Vol. I. Advent, to the Sunday next before Easter.* Oxford: J. H. Parker.

THIS series of tracts may, on the whole, be recommended with confidence. They are far more interesting than such publications usually are, and they are chiefly devoted to the promotion of practical piety. Many of them are written with very considerable force and eloquence, and in the form of addresses or exhortations. Others are in the shape of tales, some of which are very beautifully and simply told. They are certainly well adapted to please and to edify persons of cultivated minds; but we rather doubt whether their authors have, as yet, fully acquired the power of writing for the *very* poor, who are, perhaps, but just able to read. It is perfectly astonishing how little the lower orders understand of their own language. We should suppose such passages as the following quite unintelligible to the poorer classes:—

"Turn your eyes towards the so-called world of SCIENCE; for here, if any where, is Satan transformed into an angel of light. Yes, it is truly incredible the amount of unbelief which new discoveries in the natural world have wrought in the hearts of man: not indeed that they openly avow it, but take them by surprise in an argument and you are startled by the ungrounded confession. I speak not only of one class of scientific men; there is, I say, an intoxicating power in all new discoveries, in all triumphs over nature; they lead us not indeed as they ought, through nature to nature's God, but to man the discoverer; hence

the idea that there is no limit to human investigation, that the voice of reason is supreme, that all things must be brought to her light, that faith in the unseen is but the weakness of an unenlightened mind."—*Third Sunday in Lent.*

This is all most true ; but has any attempt been made to state it in such terms as the poor are likely to comprehend ? We think not. The language of educated persons is not suited to those who are uneducated.

xvi.—*The Christian Scholar. By the Author of the "Cathedral."*  
Oxford: J. H. Parker.

UNLESS we are greatly mistaken, this will not be the least popular of Mr. Williams's poetical works. The object of the volume is to point out the way in which the study of classical literature and philosophy may be made conducive to the religious benefit of the student. The notion takes its rise in the deepest and most comprehensive views of the relation of natural religion to revelation ; and under the guidance of the author of the work before us, the scholar is taught to elicit from his classical studies evidences of the truth of his own religion. Mr. Williams describes his work as mainly suggestive—as "intended to furnish hints rather than any formed adaptation or system." The plan adopted, is that of selecting the more interesting sentences or passages from the poets, historians, and philosophers of antiquity, bearing on moral and religious subjects, and making them the themes of meditation in connexion with those characters or circumstances in Christianity to which they stand in contrast or in any other relation. These meditations are in verse ; and the result is one of the most beautiful volumes of poetry that we have seen. Space forbids us to attempt even a condensed classification of the varied contents of this volume ; but we cannot refuse ourselves the pleasure of quoting one piece :—

ORPHEUS AND EURYDICE.

*Georg. b. iv.*

" All chances 'scaped, from shades below  
He back retraced his steps, and now  
He near'd the realms of light, and she,  
The lost and loved Eurydice,  
Follow'd his upward steps behind.  
So Proserpine's stern law assign'd.  
Day's threshold now was scarcely won,  
When, ah, unmindful and undone,  
He stood, and with love-tranced eye  
Look'd back on his Eurydice !

Then all was lost, the word was spoken—  
 His treaty with the dead was broken,  
 For ever ! thrice with crash profound  
 The Avernian lakes gave back the sound.  
 ‘ Orpheus,’ she cried, ‘ O misery !  
 Who hath destroy’d both me and thee ?  
 What madness ! cruel fates advance  
 O’er me again, and death’s dark trance.  
 Fare thee—farewell—born from thy sight,  
 Surrounded by the mighty night,  
 I stretch to thee from death’s dark shore  
 These powerless hands—but thine no more.’ ”

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“ He in whose soul is born from high  
 The music of heaven’s harmony,—  
 Which soothes dark passions into peace,  
 And from their kingdom gives release ;—  
 He with him draws to realms above  
 The objects of his earthly love,  
 And leads them onward, while his face  
 Is upward turn’d :—with faltering pace  
 Should he on them turn back and gaze,  
 He then lets go the harmonious maze ;  
 The music of that love divine,  
 That bears all heavenward, must decline,  
 The backward tide no power can stem :  
 He loses both himself and them.”—pp. 277, 278.

xvii.—*Sermons.* By JOHN MILL CHANTER, M.A., Vicar of *Ilfracombe*. London : Masters.

THIS volume of discourses is recommended by its reverential and earnest tone, and conveys a favourable notion of the pulpit ministrations of its author. There is nothing in the mode of treating the subjects which seems to call for any particular remark. The sermons are, we trust, such as the generality of our clergy usually deliver.

xviii.—*Ideas ; or, Outlines of a New System of Philosophy.* By ANTOINE CLAUDE GABRIEL JOBERT, Author of “ *The Philosophy of Geology*.” London : Simpkin, Marshall, and Co.

THIS volume is in continuation of Mr. Jobert’s former publication on the same subject, and is chiefly occupied by an argument against the system of spiritualism as advocated by Berkely and the German philosophers, and by Sir W. Hamilton and others in this country. The doctrines of Fichte, Schelling, and Cousin, are

criticized ; and the fact of an organic creation is argued in opposition to the author of the *Vestiges of Creation*.

xix.—*Steps to the Cross. Nine Sermons preached at St. Mary's, Bideford. By THOMAS NORTON HARPER, Evening Lecturer.* London: Cleaver.

THE dedication of this volume to Dr. Pusey evinces the cordial and affectionate reverence which the author feels for that distinguished writer ; and, as far as we can judge, the general tone of the Sermons before us exhibits the decided impress of such feelings, in the humbling and penitential character which is so familiar to us in Dr. Pusey's writings. There is occasionally considerable eloquence in these discourses, and the style is pointed and abounds in antithesis.

xx.—*The Daily Services of the United Church of England and Ireland.* Oxford and London: J. H. Parker.

THIS publication contains in the compass of a single volume of moderate size, and very well printed, the series of lessons from the Old and New Testament for every day in the year, together with the services of the Church. It is published at a reasonable price, and will be found altogether a most convenient and useful volume, either in the church or in the private oratory.

xxi.—*The Apocalypse ; or, Book of Revelation : the original Greek Text, with MSS. Collations ; an English Translation and Harmony, with Notes ; and an Appendix to the Hulsean Lectures for 1848 on the Apocalypse.* By CHR. WORDSWORTH, D.D., Canon of Westminster, &c. London: Rivingtons.

THE volume before us contains the second part of Dr. Wordsworth's learned labours on the Apocalypse, and will be doubtless most acceptable even to those who may not entirely concur in his system of interpretation. The critical apparatus for the study of this most profound and awful portion of Holy Scripture are supplied in this volume on an ample scale. The facts stated in the Preface certainly go to establish the probability that the received text may in some places be capable of emendation. The Elzevir text of 1624, which has been received generally as the standard text, was copied chiefly from that of Beza, who in his turn had chiefly copied that of Stephens. And Stephens in his text of the Revelation followed sometimes Erasmus and some-

times the Complutensian edition. But it appears that Erasmus had only one Greek MS. of the Apocalypse, and that not quite perfect. The Complutensian editors had also only one MS. of this book. On the whole it would seem, that not more than four MSS. had furnished the basis of the Elzevir Edition. Since the publication of that text, about one hundred MSS. of the Apocalypse have been collated by the industry of critics, amongst which are the Alexandrine MS., probably of the fourth century, a palimpsest of the same date, published by Tischendorf in 1843, and the Basilian MS., in the Vatican, of the sixth or seventh century. From these collations and the existing critical materials the learned editor has prepared the present edition, which comprises the Preface of Scholz, and his Greek text of the Apocalypse and critical apparatus, with a supplement containing various readings supplied by Matthæi, Wetstein, Alter, Birch, and others, but omitted by Scholz. In addition to this, the present editor has formed a new text on the basis of the three most ancient manuscripts, the Alexandrine, the Vatican, and the Ephraem palimpsest published by Tischendorf, and corrected this text with the aid of more modern MSS. The third part of the volume consists of a new translation in the form of a Harmony grounded on the above texts; and the remainder of the volume comprises a collection of important treatises on the interpretation of the Apocalypse by various ancient authors.

XXII.—*The History of the Life and Death of our Blessed Saviour Jesus Christ, &c. Abridged from JEREMY TAYLOR, D.D.* London: Mozley, Masters, Parker.

ONE of those very cheap and useful publications of a devotional character which we rejoice to find supplied to the members of the Church by the spirited exertions of the publishers of this work. This little volume contains a treasure of pious meditation and sound divinity.

XXIII.—*Lays from the Cimbric Lyre, with various Verses.* By GORONVA CAMLAN. London: Pickering.

WE do not see why the author of these verses should have concealed his name under the mysterious appellation which greets us in the title-page. He is a most ardent patriot, and combats most earnestly those disparaging ideas of Welsh ability and learning which appear to exist in some quarters. He retorts pretty sharply on the Anglo-Saxon race the contempt which some of them have shown for the Celtic. The volume contains a



number of short pieces, many of them historical, which breathe a spirit of something like defiance to the Saxon; and if they had been published at the other side of the Channel, and with a little alteration in names and places, might have played their part in stirring up the flames of civil war. Our author has, however, no such desperate design, his only object being to assert and maintain in all possible ways the dignity, grandeur, and glory of the descendants of the ancient Britons. We hope that we may not be deemed under the influence of Anglo-Saxon prejudice, when we candidly confess that we do not see any great power in the poetical parts of the volume. The author, however, is certainly not without abilities, and his poetry is readable. We applaud his recommendation to his countrymen to discontinue the eternal names of Jones, Williams, &c., and to take names from the localities. He justly observes that "Tremaine, Bodówen, Glanávon, Broncinon, Caereinion, Mabívon, would be no bad substitutes for Hughes and Jones." On the whole we have perused the volume with interest, and to the inhabitants of the Principality it will be of some value.

XXIV.—*The Sea-side Book; being an Introduction to the Natural History of the British Coasts.* By W. H. HARVEY, M.D., M.R.I.A. London: Van Voorst.

WE have no doubt that this little volume will be a most acceptable companion in the sea-side excursions of educated persons. It is really a charming book, exactly suited to its object, and combining instruction with amusement in no ordinary degree. No one who has any taste for natural history should leave town for the sea-side without possessing himself of a copy.

XXV.—*Revelations of Life; and other Poems.* By JOHN EDMUND READE. London: J. W. Parker.

THE author of these poems occupies a distinguished place amongst the poets of the present age, and there is, we think, evidence of very high power in the volume before us. The principal poem, "Revelations of Life," introduces us to minds of different classes, and their views of human life, and its objects and tendencies. The scene is laid chiefly in Dartmoor, and the poem opens in the following manner:—

"Ancestral England! filial is our love,  
And reverential is our trust in thee,  
Mindful of all thou hast been, all thou art.

Among thy vales with watching trees o'erhung,  
 Thy brooks' deep chorus swelling at our feet,  
 Filling the temple of our life with sound ;  
 Thy cottages grey faces peering seen  
 Through branches aged as their brows, the sky,  
 Hallowing untrodden sanctuaries of shade ;  
 The purple heather, *like the breath of God*,  
 Hovering impalpable along the ground :  
 There, while the eye feeds on the beautiful  
 It half creates : while we drink in the air,  
 Feeling its spirit in our hearts instill'd :  
 The sense of a pervading moral truth,  
 The consciousness of honourable freedom :  
 Thus do we murmur, from our heart of hearts,  
 ' How beautiful is England !'

Such the thought,

Moving unconscious numbers, as I near'd  
 The pastor's cottage on Holne-lea. It crown'd  
 A steep ravine amidst engirding woods.  
 The setting sun upon the valley fell,  
 Tinging the loftier trees with mellow light :  
 The spirit of joy presided o'er the spot,  
 Felt in the trees, heard in the rushing stream,  
 The DART, that, buried among shadowing depths,  
 Clove there its flashing course. The devious path  
 Open'd on a broad avenue of limes,  
 Closing upon the distant vicarage."—pp. 1, 2.

An author who can pen such lines as these is certainly guilty of no presumption in publishing his works. We must, however, say, that while we recognize in Mr. Reade the possession of reflective powers of no ordinary stamp, and a very great felicity of description and of imagery, we are of opinion that a more strict and rigid revision of his poems would be of very material advantage in removing the needless obscurity which too frequently hangs over their expressions, and in occasionally exercising some influence in the way of caution in the use of imagery. For instance, in the passage just cited, we should say that the Sacred Name is unnecessarily and even irreverently employed in these lines,

" The purple heather, *like the breath of God*,  
 Hovering impalpable along the ground."

Nor indeed are we exactly aware if we understand the author's meaning in these expressions ; for surely we can scarcely say that " the heather " itself "*hovers impalpable* along the ground." The

*smell* of the heather does so ; and we suppose that the author meant this ; but his words do not express that meaning.

We must also notice somewhat of mannerism in Mr. Reade's poetry. The same expressions derived from the German schools of poetry and philosophy recur too frequently, and give somewhat of a peculiar character to the style, which is not always pleasing. It conveys the notion of a too great subjugation to a peculiar school of thought. There is much in the general style and execution of the "*Revelations of Life*" which seem to have been suggested by the "*Excursion*," while we would not of course be understood as intimating any opinion as to the resemblance of the poems in any respect. The view taken is, on the whole, a melancholy one. We have brought before us a fatalist, an enthusiast, and a victim of passion ; and we have nothing to give a more cheerful view. The consolations of the *Gospel* seem to us to be omitted altogether : and this does seem almost an intentional omission, for the tendency of the Poem plainly calls for the production of that remedy for human woe.

Amongst the miscellaneous Poems appended we would mention, as exhibiting great power of fancy and imagination, the "*Vision of the Ancient Kings*." The following lines, entitled "*THE BIRD'S-NEST. A RECORD*," are full of pleasing imagery :—

“ With a step as soft as dew,  
 Shed o'er violets' eyelids, she  
 Stole with finger raised to me,  
 And an interdicting eye!—  
 As if some fine mystery  
 She had look'd on, which she knew  
 Breath, or movement might dispel.  
 Spirit-like she led the way  
 To a deep and tangled dell,  
 Where in precincts now forbidden  
 Lay the secret treasure hidden !  
 From the boughs of softest grey  
 Tints of an ethereal hue  
 I saw faintly glimmering through :  
 Then a nest of mossy green,  
 Deep blue eggs within it seen,  
 Rich as sapphires they had been  
 Caved within the hollow sea !  
 So we stood in luxury  
 Of the rare discovery,  
 Treasure that our own might be !  
 An important look was fix'd  
 On each forehead : gladness mix'd  
 With distrustful consciousness

Felt, which neither did confess :  
 Guardianship that doth belong  
 To the weaker from the strong :  
 To the beautiful there lying  
 Unprotected and remote,  
 None but us its haunt espying !

So we stood—a sudden note  
 Rising plaintively, withheld  
 Secret joy that in us swell'd.  
 The light twig above us stirr'd :  
 On it perch'd the parent-bird,  
 Watching with considerate look  
 The intruders on her nook !  
 With the stealthful step she brought  
 Mary, shadow-like, withdrew  
 As one in her trespass caught !  
 A regretful feeling wrought  
 In her, softening, as she knew  
 On each step retreating, grew  
 Joy in her that o'er us flew.  
 While recoiling from that nest,  
 She told not her thought suppress'd,  
 Own'd in either conscious breast !  
 That the weakest thing that lives,  
 Claims the freedom Nature gives."

The greater part of this is exquisitely beautiful: we are inclined to think the few concluding lines scarcely equal to the remainder.

xxvi.—*Prayers for the Use of all Persons who come to the Waters of Bath for Cure.* By THOMAS KEN, D.D., Lord Bishop of Bath and Wells. With a brief Life of the Author, by J. H. MARKLAND, F.R.S., S.A. Second Edition, revised and enlarged. London: Masters.

WE are happy to find a second edition of this excellent publication already called for. The interesting Memoir by Mr. Markland has doubtless contributed largely to this result.

xxvii.—*The Christian Servant's Book.* London: Masters.

THIS little work contains a series of short and simple devotions adapted to the special use of servants in every day in the week, with forms of self-examination, instructions for the sacrament, hymns, and other aids to devotion. From what we have seen, the book appears very well adapted for its purpose.

XXVIII.—*Ornithological Rambles in Sussex; with a Systematic Catalogue of the Birds of that County, and Remarks on their local distribution.* By A. E. KNOX, M.A., F.L.S., F.Z.S.  
London: Van Voorst.

THE work before us contains the observations of an acute and intelligent mind on the habits of birds within a limited district of the country; and although many species must in this way be omitted in the survey, there is the great advantage of recording personal impressions of circumstances and habits which a lengthened residence have made familiar. There is perhaps scarcely any branch of human knowledge which is more replete with interest than that which relates to the habits of animals. It is this, which in combination with kindly and benevolent feeling, has created for such books as White's *Selborne*, and Waterton's *Wanderings*, the popularity which they have attained; and Mr. Knox is evidently a disciple of the school of White, possessing much of the same kind of knowledge and the same benevolence of disposition. The work is comprised in a series of letters addressed to a friend, which owe their publication to a subsequent suggestion that they might, in a collective form, become a popular contribution to the *Fauna of Sussex*; and might have some interest not merely for the ornithologist but for the sportsman.

The first letter contains an able survey of the natural features of the county of *Sussex* in connexion with the science of ornithology. The peninsula extending to the south-west of *Bognor* and terminating in the headland of *Selsey Bill*, is, it seems, the chosen retreat of our feathered visitors during the inclement season of the year.

"Here," says our author, "have I watched the oyster-catcher, as he flew from point to point, and cautiously waded into the shallow water; and the patient heron, that pattern of a fisherman, as with retracted neck, and eyes fixed on vacancy, he has stood for hours without a single snap, motionless as a statue. Here, too, have I pursued the guillemot, or craftily endeavoured to cut off the retreat of the diver, by mooring my boat across the narrow passage through which alone he could return to the open sea without having recourse to his reluctant wings. Nor can I forget how often, during the *Siberian winter* of 1838, when a 'whole gale,' as the sailors have it, has been blowing from the north-east, I used to take up my position on the long and narrow ridge of shingle which separated this paradise from the raging waves without, and, sheltered behind a hillock of seaweed, with my long duck gun, and a trusty double, or half buried in a hole in the sand, I used to watch the legions of water birds as they neared the

shore, and dropped distrustfully among the breakers, at a distance from the desired haven, until, gaining confidence from accession of numbers, some of the bolder spirits—the pioneers of the army—would flap their wings, rise from the white waves, and make for the calm water. Here they come! Already is the pied golden-eye pre-eminent among the advancing party; now the pochard, with his copper-coloured head and neck, may be distinguished from the darker scaup-duck; already the finger is on the trigger, when, perhaps, they suddenly verge to the right and left, far beyond the reach of my longest barrel, or it may be, come swishing over head, and leave a companion or two struggling in the shingle or floating on the shallow waters of the harbour.”—pp. 9, 10.

It seems that one of the few heronries remaining in England at the present day is at Parham in Sussex, the seat of the Hon. Robert Curzon; and our author gives us an account of one of his visits to this heronry during the breeding season, which is amusing enough. He remarks on the value of a good spy-glass to an ornithologist, in enabling him to investigate the habits of many of the less accessible tribes during the breeding season, or in observing the birds which haunt the summits of the Down, or the great congregations of wading birds on the shores. With the aid of his pocket Dollond the author had “a capital view of one splendid fellow as he stood, like a guardian angel, over his nest, upright as a falcon, his long graceful neck extended to the utmost, and his keen glance directed all around.”

We now proceed to our author's adventure, which had nearly been a very awkward one indeed.

“Being anxious to examine the young birds, I selected one of the spruce firs, on the summit of which was a heron's nest, and which appeared to command a view over many other lower trees immediately adjoining, which were similarly occupied. The only danger—if such it could be called—was in preserving a firm footing on the brittle branches near the nest, nor can I say that I experienced a pleasing sensation when the tall and narrow stem, already well loaded with the enormous, wide-spreading fabric at the top, began to sway to and fro from my additional weight, as I endeavoured by walking out on one of the boughs immediately underneath, to outflank it so far, as to enable me to reach the edge, and while supporting myself with one hand, partially explore its contents with the other. Having, however, succeeded in this, I soon felt the decomposing and flattened bodies of two young herons, and above them the warm plumage of a living bird, which did not appear to avoid the touch of my hand. An effort with both arms now brought my face to a level with the nest, but I had scarcely time to perceive that it contained a healthy and perfectly fledged young bird, sitting complacently on the bodies of his defunct



brethren, before he darted violently at my eyes, although he had previously evinced no displeasure at the introduction of my hand, and I was only able to protect them by bobbing my head suddenly, and receiving the attack in a less vulnerable quarter. As if roused by the sudden exertion, he then scrambled out of the nest to the extremity of an adjoining bough, from whence—being unable to follow him—I endeavoured to shake him off, but for a long time in vain. The obstinacy with which he maintained his hold was extraordinary, and even after losing his equilibrium, and hanging, head downwards, for a few moments, just as I fancied he was about to drop, he suddenly clutched the branch more firmly than ever, and writhing his elastic head upward, he seized a twig with his beak, which he held with all the tenacity of a parrot. I therefore continued to shake the bough, and after persevering in this operation for some minutes, he gradually relaxed his hold, and half fluttering, half tumbling through the horizontal branches of the tree beneath me, at last reached the ground in safety.” —pp. 23, 24.

Having safely lodged the young heron on the ground, from whence he was speedily transferred to the pocket of our author’s shooting jacket, we must take our leave of Parham heronry, and accompany Mr. Knox on a snipe-shooting excursion in Ireland, in which the following curious circumstance took place :—

“ Some years ago, when snipe-shooting on a range of strictly-preserved bogs in the West of Ireland, the merlin [a species of falcon] was, I may say, my daily companion. I find, by reference to memoranda of that date, that I commenced operations in the beginning of November, generally taking the field about eleven o’clock in the morning, and bagging, on an average, from ten to twenty couple of snipes during the day, besides a few hares, woodcocks, and wild ducks. I well remember the first time the merlin made his appearance with the obvious intention of sharing my sport. I had just entered one of these wet moors—surrounded by partially cultivated land—which, in favourable weather, are much more productive of sport than the extensive ‘red bogs,’ when a couple of snipe rose near the margin. Bang! bang! went both my barrels; and while one bird fell dead, the other, slightly but perceptibly wounded, ascended to a considerable height, and, from the direction of its flight, was evidently preparing to drop in a marsh which I had just left. While my eyes were fixed upon its movements, I perceived a merlin advancing rapidly towards it, and struggling through the air, as if afraid that, in spite of its exertions, it would still be too late. The snipe, although wounded, yet attempted to ascend higher, but, finding itself unequal to the task, yielded, as it were, to the breeze that was blowing freshly at the moment, and, contrary to its usual habit, flying *down* wind with extraordinary rapidity, seemed to trust to speed for its escape: but swift as it was, its enemy was swifter still, and when, after the lapse of a few seconds, the two birds had become like

specks in the distant sky, I could perceive that one of them gradually gained on the other, touched it, and then both melted into a larger dot, which slowly descended to the ground."—pp. 119, 120.

This merlin subsequently became a regular attendant on shooting parties, and whenever a bird was wounded, and had some chance of escaping, the merlin pursued and made a prey of it. Space forbids us to give any further extracts from this amusing and well-written book. The frontispiece represents a heron descending to his nest, and certainly the weapons with which nature has furnished the young ones, who are represented as sitting in the nest, give one a very sufficient notion of the unpleasant position of our author when assailed by the heron's beak.

XXIX.—*Tetralogia Liturgica: sive S. Chrysostomi, S. Jacobi, S. Marci Divinæ Missæ: quibus accedit Ordo Mozarabicus. Recon-suit, parallelo ordine digessit, notasque addidit JOANNES M. NEALE, A.M., Collegii Sackvillensis apud East Grinstead Custos. Londini: impensis Joannis Leslie.*

THIS work is, on the whole, very creditable to the learning and research of its editor. It contains a harmony of the ancient Liturgies of St. Chrysostom, St. Mark, St. James, and the Mozarabic. These Liturgies represent respectively the rites of Constantinople, Alexandria, Jerusalem, and Spain. The Roman rite is omitted, having been already published by Daniel in connexion with other Western Liturgies. The Liturgies contained in the work before us, are taken from the best modern-printed editions without any attempt to collate MSS. Had the latter course been adopted, the Liturgy of Chrysostom, at least, would probably be shorter than as represented by Mr. Neale. This writer states, in his Preface, that he is of opinion that the Nestorian Liturgies represent a fifth Apostolic rite, distinct from the four Apostolic forms of Jerusalem, Alexandria, Ephesus, and Rome, to which Mr. Palmer and all subsequent writers on Liturgies have traced existing Liturgies. There is, unquestionably, a very peculiar type in the Nestorian Liturgies, and a question may fairly arise whether they do not represent an independent Apostolical rite: from such imperfect means of judgment as are within our reach, we are at present of opinion that they are not of Apostolic antiquity even in their order and substance. But we shall look with much interest to the discussion which Mr. Neale promises us on this subject. It is one of considerable importance, though of great difficulty from the apparent deficiency of the means of forming a judgment, in the very vague and im-

perfect accounts we have on the subject ; and the absence of references to the early Fathers who might aid us. The Liturgies are succeeded by copious notes, chiefly selected from previous commentators.

xxx.—*The Temporal Benefits of Christianity exemplified in its influence on the Social, Intellectual, Civil, and Political Condition of Mankind, from its first promulgation to the present day.* By ROBERT BLAKEY, Author of "*The History of the Philosophy of Mind, &c.*" London : Longmans.

THE author of this work appears to be an amiable and well-disposed person, and he has taken some pains in collecting materials for his work. The composition, however, in our opinion, does not rise beyond mediocrity. It is avowedly composed on the principle of "looking at the Bible apart from all *denominational* feelings and prepossessions ;" and the author hopes thus to avoid giving offence to any one. From what we have seen, he certainly *does* hold the balance very evenly, and it would be hard to guess of what complexion his own religious tenets may be. We find some odd specimens of spelling here and there. Amongst the rest Suarez is (in pp. 353 and 361) spelt Saurez ; while in pp. 396—398, we have the following curious enumeration of Synods, "Epaneuse"—"Aurelianeuse"—"Emeriteuse"—"Wormatieuse"—"Matisconeuse"—"Pansieuse"—"Agatheuse"—"Rheneuse"—"Lugduneuse"—"Verneuse"—"Londineuse"—"Cabiloneuse," &c.—St. Ambrose (ibid.) is "St. Ambroise." Benedict XIV. is "Benoit XIV." In p. 329 we find a reference to "Tertulliani Apoligetius." On the whole we are rather inclined to doubt whether our author's knowledge of languages extends beyond his mother tongue.

xxxI.—*Catechesis ; or, Christian Instruction preparatory to Confirmation and First Communion.* By the Rev. CHARLES WORDSWORTH, M.A., Warden of Trinity College, Glenalmond. London : Rivingtons.

THIS will be found a work of very great value and utility to those who are engaged in preparing young persons for Confirmation, and for their first reception of the Holy Communion. It is altogether designed to aid in the work of *catechizing* ; supplying the teacher with ample materials. On the whole the volume appears to be every thing that could be wished for such a purpose. Suitable devotions are introduced at the close of each chapter.

XXXII.—*Marriage with a Deceased Wife's Sister prohibited by Holy Scripture, as understood by the Church for 1500 Years. Evidence given before the Commission, &c. By E. B. PUSEY, D.D., Regius Professor of Hebrew, &c. To which is added, a Speech by E. BADELEY, Esq., M.A., Barrister-at-Law. Oxford: J. H. Parker.*

THIS publication ought to be in the hands of every one who is desirous of making himself master of the Marriage question. The pamphlets of Messrs. Bennett and Keble contain the best and briefest statements of the scriptural arguments. The Church has reason to be deeply grateful to the many witnesses to her principles who have written on this most deeply important subject. We earnestly trust their efforts will be crowned with success. It is pretty evident that Mr. Wortley's Bill cannot pass in this session of Parliament; and so far we may feel thankful for the amount of success which has been gained; but it is understood that every possible effort will be made to push on the Bill in the next session, and we trust that all friends of morality, and all advocates for the Scripture Law of Marriage, will be ready at the proper time to offer a far more extended and well-organized opposition to this monstrous attempt, than they have yet done.

XXXIII.—*Sketches of Canadian Life, Lay and Ecclesiastical. Illustrative of Canada and the Canadian Church. By a PRESBYTER OF THE DIOCESE OF TORONTO. London: Bogue.*

THE object of this work is to furnish to emigrants of the higher classes some suggestions as to the most profitable channels of investment and employment in the Canadas. The generality of books written for the use of emigrants are only calculated for the commercial and labouring classes; but there is a great want of instruction for that important class on which the civilization and religion of the Colonies so much depends—we refer to those professional persons, and those junior branches of our gentry, who sometimes seek to recruit their diminished means by a removal to the Colonies. The Canadian Presbyterian paints in very gloomy colours the life of a person of education seeking in a settlement in the Back-woods to improve his fortunes. His statements bear out what we have heard from competent judges, that a gentleman is still less likely to find pecuniary benefit from locating himself in a Canadian forest, and clearing ground for cultivation, than he would be in managing an English farm. His habits, and views, and feelings, unfit him in either case for the kind of life which enables a Canadian or an English farmer to gain his livelihood.

from the ground ; and the result is, that his produce is consumed in the expenses of his undertaking, and he has to support himself and his family out of his capital. To labouring men and to farmers, the occupation of land for the purpose of clearing, brings far more extensive and certain advantages. The wages of the former are high, and soon raise him to independence ; the frugal habits and previous employments of the latter enable him to realize the profits of his labour.

The volume before us, however, points out to emigrants of the higher classes the certain advantages which a residence in Canada holds out, without any of the evils of the Back-woods. It states that a person possessing an income of 250*l.* may, provided the capital can be transferred to Canada, at once possess an income of 600*l.* or 700*l.* by investments in landed property, or by lending on good security ; and that on the latter income he may keep his carriage, live in comfort and ease, and give his children a good education. If this be so, we should think any person possessing such a small property would act very unwisely in emigrating to the Back-woods, instead of settling in or near some of the principal towns of Canada, where he might have the advantages of civilized society.

The views of the author on the subject of emigration are conveyed in the shape of a story, which records the adventures of a young man of good family, who emigrates to Canada, lives for a time in the Bush, then becomes a clergyman of the Canadian Church, and passes through the perils of the Insurrection, and concludes with giving the results of his experience. The style is light and playful, and the book reads very well, independently of the instruction which it conveys. We select a few passages as illustrative of the author's mode of treating his subjects.

The hero of the tale (Vernon) has just made a purchase of uncleared ground on the banks of a lake, and having secured the services of a respectable labourer and his wife, he proceeds in a skiff with them to his settlement ; and, after some discussion, operations begin in the following manner :—

“ Seizing one of the axes, Smith proceeded to cut down some small saplings, leaving a fork or ‘crotch’ at the upper end of one or two of them. They were some twelve or fifteen feet long, and were arranged in a conical form, like a marquee or an Indian wigwam, each pole being about a foot distant from each other, where they rested on the ground, and all running to a point at the top, where they were kept from falling by the forks that had been left at the upper extremities of some of them. When this framework had been completed to his satisfaction, Smith felled a large hemlock tree that stood close by, and as he cut off

the branches, with their dark-green feathery foliage, his wife, aided by Harry, dragged them to the spot required. When a considerable quantity had been accumulated, Smith came with his axe, and having cut off the heaviest parts of the branches, left those only that were most thickly covered with leaves. These, with Harry's assistance, he spread thickly over the framework, and ere long, when the former entered the wigwam, he found himself separated from the outer air by a dense and verdant covering, sufficient to turn aside an ordinary shower of rain, and to protect them from the chilliness of the night, which was now considerable, as the season was advancing. While Harry and his man had been thus employed, the wife of the latter had been busily engaged in pulling off the small upper twigs of the hemlock boughs. These she carried into the wigwam or tent, and arranged on one side as a bed for Harry, spreading them so thickly, as effectually to protect him both from the hardness and the humidity of the ground. By the time all this was effected night was falling fast upon them, and the gloom of the forest made it appear later than it really was. A roaring fire was kindled opposite the door of the wigwam, and the whole party went down to the boat to carry up their provisions, together with their household goods and chattels, consisting principally of a fryingpan (beyond all controversy the most essential article in the culinary department of the backwoodsman's life), a tin kettle, a tin teapot, two or three tin cups, and a large tin dish. The next operation of interest was the preparation for supper. Smith filled the kettle, and set it on the fire; while his wife, putting some flour into the largest tin dish aforesaid, made a couple of most substantial cakes, each of which exactly covered the bottom of the fryingpan. One after the other they were placed in this most useful utensil, and set up at a very acute angle before the fire, a quantity of live charcoal being placed behind it. In a short time they were beautifully baked. The fryingpan, having done duty as an oven, next appeared in a new character as a pot, for some slices of salt pork being put into it, it was immediately filled to the brim with water, and the pork boiled therein, until a certain proportion of the superabundant salt was extracted. The water being then poured off, it resumed its legitimate office as a fryingpan, and the rashers kept hissing and crackling away in a most enlivening manner, until they were 'done brown.' Tea having been previously made, the fryingpan was lifted off the fire, and with a versatility of character that can surely only belong to Canadian fryingpans, it now discharged the functions of a gravy-dish. Resorting to their pocket-knives, and using a piece of the new-made bread instead of a plate, they managed to do ample justice to their evening meal."

This is a curious specimen of the mode of living in the "Bush." Well as it may look on paper, we think that this is not exactly the sort of thing which is likely to suit a person accustomed to the habits of English civilization. It seems that salt pork is the usual provision in remote districts, when it can be got: at times,



however, there is no barrel of pork, or of flour at the store, and then the emigrants must be content to pay exorbitant prices to petty dealers.

We extract the following passage, detailing the mode of travelling towards remote settlements in Canada :—

“ Not many days after the conversation detailed in the last chapter, Harry packed up a few necessary articles in a small cabin, and, taking with him his fowlingpiece, started in light marching order for ‘ the Bush.’ Putting himself into one of those strange-looking vehicles—a Canadian stage, it was not long before he became more intimately conversant with the pleasures of travelling in Canada than he had previously been. Proceeding to the north, they soon left the light sandy road that marked the neighbourhood of the lake, and found themselves in the deep and heavy clay soil that lies to the rear ; and now began such pitching, and plunging, and rolling, as Harry, in his innocence, had hitherto deemed to be the peculiar characteristic of the dominions of Neptune. The space between the zigzag rail-fences that bounded the road on either side was abundantly wide and roomy, along which a well-worn wagon-track, hard and *comparatively* smooth, wound its devious way, now on this side, to avoid a perilous mud-hole, and now on the other, to escape a broken corduroy bridge. The appearance of the remainder of the road on either side of the single-travelled track showed that during the spring rains it had been cut up to a most fearful extent ; for as all the passing conveyances seemed to adhere most carefully to the ‘ follow my leader’ principle, it had been left unmolested, and had been permanently baked by the hot summer sun in the exact state in which the spring had left it. And a pretty state it was : ruts of the most alarming depth were every where visible ; mud-holes which, though now dry, were of such dimensions as must, when full, have required no small amount of nerve to have crossed ; while the innumerable irregularities produced by the poaching of the horses’ feet in the deep mud, which had now been hardened by the heat, produced a state of roughness to which a ploughed field converted into cast iron would have been a bowling-green. We have said that the travelled track was smooth, but we spoke of it in comparison with the road at the side. It certainly was smooth with reference to the small irregularities ; but it was, at the same time, fearfully uneven as regarded the larger ups and downs. On the country roads in Canada they have a method of making a cross drain or culvert, by laying down two logs parallel with and at about a foot or eighteen inches from each other ; while a third large round log is laid upon them, to form a covering for the drain. This latter log usually runs considerably above the level of the road ; and though, when first made, the earth is sloped up to it on either side, so as to make a somewhat gradual rise, yet the earth soon sinks or is worn away, and leaves the aforesaid log, among other excellent uses, to prove, to the satisfaction of all who may feel interested, the strength of the coach’s springs and the passenger’s spines. These, varied by

frequent corduroy bridges (which might be almost defined as a continual series of such culverts), and enlivened by dried-up mud-holes, the descent into which almost caused your breath to go from you, as when a vessel plunges into the trough of the sea, were by no means unfrequent characteristics, *at that time*, of the road which Harry and his fellow-passengers were travelling."

Such being, we presume, the state of things even now in the remoter districts, we certainly see much to approve in the suggestion of the author, that a person who has a small independence (say 250*l.* income), should purchase a small quantity of land in the neighbourhood of one of the larger towns; for instance, on one of the main roads leading into Toronto, where he can build according to his taste, keep his horses and carriage, live in comfortable style, save money, and give his children a first-rate education—such being the advantages which the above-mentioned income brings with it in Canada. The author states that the mere fact of taking 250*l.* to that country, converts it into 300*l.*; and if this income arises from money in the funds, it may be raised to 600*l.* by safe investments yielding seven and eight per cent. The freedom from rates and taxes is also an important consideration on which our author dwells.

XXXIV.—*Cyclops Christianus; or, an Argument to disprove the supposed Antiquity of the Stonehenge and other Megalithic Erections in England and Brittany.* By A. HERBERT, late of Merton College, and of the Inner Temple. London: Petheram.

THIS is a very learned and curious book, in which the author endeavours to substantiate his position, that Stonehenge is an erection of the fifth century after Christ, and that it was the seat of the British sovereignty after the departure of the Romans, and before the Saxon dominion became finally established in England. We are bound to say, that although we find it difficult to embrace such a notion, Mr. Herbert has brought a very great mass of learning and research to bear on the question, and has certainly answered (apparently satisfactorily) such objections as we might have had *primâ facie* to his views. To pass any opinion, however, on the main question is beyond our power.

XXXV.—*A Memoir of the Life of Bishop Mant.* By his sometime Brother-Fellow, Archdeacon BERENS. London: Rivingtons.

THIS little Memoir is written in a very pleasing and unaffected style, and narrates the various and useful occupations through

which the respected subject of the biography rose from the position of an humble curate to the episcopal bench. To the many friends of this excellent prelate, the volume before us will be a most gratifying memorial; while to those who may be unfamiliar with his name, the picture of quiet pastoral usefulness, and of unexceptionable conduct in all respects, here presented, will have a soothing and tranquillizing effect, and will lead to the assurance, that earnestness and godly sincerity are not limited merely to the present day. No one is better qualified to do justice to the subject than Archdeacon Berens, and he has executed his part admirably.

xxxvi.—*The Statutes of the Fourth General Council of Lateran, recognized and established by subsequent Councils and Synods, down to the Council of Trent. By the Rev. JOHN EVANS, M.A., London: Seeleys, Fleet Street.*

It is well known that the decrees of the Fourth General Council of Lateran were so peculiarly intolerent and even savage in their tone, as to excite the shame of Romish controversialists—a result of which we might perhaps have questioned the *possibility*, were not the *fact* so patent. Advantage has been taken of an error of Collier's to reject the authority of this Council altogether, and treat as apocryphal, the famous (or infamous) Statutes, which have excited so much Protestant wrath, and so much Romish confusion of spirit. Mr. Evans has made it his task to demonstrate the validity, within and for the papal branches of the church Catholic, not only of the canons generally of this Fourth Council, but also of the *third* canon in particular, which has been mainly questioned. We may quote an observation of Mr. Percival's, with reference to this canon, also cited by Mr. Evans, which places the importance of the question in a right point of view. "This canon, like the twenty-seventh of the third Lateran, is beyond comment;" he says, "this was the acme of papal presumption; in fact, it was not possible to carry the perversion of apostolical authority further. Let it be considered that neither of these has ever been set aside by any competent authority in the Church of Rome. They are ready to be enforced whenever the rulers of that Church shall have the power and inclination to do so." Mr. Evans has most satisfactorily proved his point: in fact, we have rarely read an inquiry of this nature, conducted with more truthful moderation and wisely tempered zeal.

xxxvii.—*Lady Alice ; or, The New Una. A Novel.* In 3 vols. Colburns. 1849.

A most extraordinary book is this, and one to which we desire to pay all due honour. Such ultra-Catholic refinement as is exhibited in this production we do not ever remember to have met before—such altars, such incense, such thuribles, such flowers, such robes, such anthems, and such canticles ! Rome herself has nothing to equal the very *sensuous* pictures of religious rites herein presented to the mental eye. “Lady Alice” is really a marvellous compound of Rosa-Matildaism and Ultra-Highchurch-womanship. The heroine who gives her name to the work holds all Romish doctrine within the Anglican Church, and consequently regards herself as in full communion with all foreign Roman Catholic communities; while at the same time she considers English Roman Catholics to be schismatics, whose loyal adherence is due to our Anglican Mother. We will not dispute the correctness of much of this. Both the Anglican and Roman Churches are undoubtedly branches of the One Church Catholic; though we hold the latter to be attainted by idolatrous practices and various corruptions of the “faith once delivered to the saints.” Nevertheless, as those national Churches, which have recognized the supremacy and adopted the errors of Rome, have not forfeited their ecclesiastical or spiritual *existence*, it is, indeed, a question, whether sincere Anglicans in a foreign land, where the Romish faith is established, and where *their own communion exists not*, might not be justified in communicating with the Roman Catholic Church. Yet idolatry is so interwoven with the Romish services that it is practically most difficult, if not impossible, to join in the good, without rendering apparent *homage* to the evil: thus, to receive the bread alone, without the cup, in the blessed Eucharist, is to recognize a mutilated ordinance equally condemned by Catholic antiquity and the pure canon of Scripture. This is, consequently a very difficult question, as regards the conduct of Churchmen; and in our opinion the objections to any act of communion outweigh the arguments in favour of it, even in this view of the case; but, of course, when we should be required to renounce the Church of our baptism, the difficulty becomes insurmountable. The authoress of “Lady Alice” (for a lady alone can have written this extraordinary book) has, however, no doubts upon the subject, and maintains with no little audacity the extreme position so resolutely upheld by Ward, in his very scandalous book on the Ideal of the Christian Church. But we may seem to be waxing too grave for the nonce, inasmuch as this “Lady Alice” closely resembles an opera ballet, transmuted into

a novel in three volumes ! Yet this extraordinary production is suggestive of many grave reflections, and might well furnish the subject-matter for a careful essay. It is a “prononciamento” of fashionable “ultraism” (if we may use the term) :—the externals alone of true Catholicism are aimed at ; of its stern realities we see nothing whatever. Religion, according to individuals of this class, is the essence of lavender-water. Of discipline, of obedience, of remorse for sin, of charity, of duty, we have no glimpse afforded us. The only question these people would seem to address to themselves, concerning any point of doctrine or of practice, is this : Is it pretty ?—is it picturesque ?—is it *effective* ? It is all *playing at* Christianity, even where the most *devotional* feelings are exhibited ! And there is something in all this calculated to demoralize, and even to debase. The beauty of the Church’s services, the visible external beauty may no doubt be a desideratum, but it is only one of a secondary nature ; and when exalted to this unnatural pre-eminence it becomes pre-eminently offensive to religious minds. At the same time, we own such a book as “Lady Alice” to be a fair sample of the wishes of a certain portion of the educated community, who desiderate greater external order and beauty in our services ; and we do not think the desires of this class should be altogether neglected, though we might recommend other means than they would approve of for the attainment of the wished-for end. Thus, it is very questionable, whether a dead and monotonous delivery of the Church’s prayers be likely to excite the attention and awaken the sympathies of the poor. If the clergy would render it manifest to the people that they were really praying, and not simply reading, in their desks or at their lecterns ; if the chants employed for praise were simple and devotional without being contrary to the first principles of thorough-bass ; if, above all, the people were encouraged, instructed, and even intreated, where needful, to join in the Church’s services ; if, finally, hymns of a devotional and popular character were provided for all the Church’s high days and festivals, which should be at once affirmatory and explanatory, not vague and many-worded ;—were all this effected, we do believe indeed that “the beauty of holiness” would be more widely manifested than it is at the present day ; and this is no doubt “a consummation devoutly to be wished for.” We need not allude in particular to the various Romanising puerilities advocated by the authoress of “Lady Alice,” which even include the chanting, *in Latin*, of the Te Deum, Benedictus, Creed, Lord’s Prayer, and Litany, by a party of English people celebrating the morning service of their

Church in a private room in a Swiss hotel; nor will we further catalogue the various external extravagancies set forth as models for our imitation in these volumes. We must not, however, dismiss the "*Lady Alice*," without a passing comment on the frequent "*improprieties*" to be discovered throughout, and on the general tone of false sentimentality, which renders the novel rather dangerous reading for young ladies. Nevertheless there is an elegance in the style, artificial indeed, and yet not without a charm of its own; and though the monstrous improbability of every incident narrated, and the utter unreality of every character depicted must be patent to the most careless reader, we should conceive that "*Lady Alice*" was a book likely to be much sought after by the young, and not altogether neglected even by the grave and the wise.

xxxviii.—*Seven Tales by Seven Authors. Edited by the Author of "Frank Fairleigh."* London: George Hoby (Rice's Library), 123, Mount-street, Berkeley-square. 1849.

WE are really sorry on Mr. James's own account that he should favour the public with so poor a "*rechauffé*" of his former doings as the so-called tale of "*Norfolk and Hereford*," which makes one in the volume under our consideration. It is utterly meaningless, utterly purposeless, utterly dead; vague common-place without form or interest or reality, and this from the author of "*The Gipsy*" and "*Morley Ernstein*;" one, take him all in all, of the most eminent novelists of our country. Nevertheless, even "*Norfolk and Hereford*" will, we presume, find its admirers; and to these we leave it, content to have entered our protest against this descent to the level of dulness of a man of real and high abilities. Mr. James does not do himself justice: he has no right to scribble, when it is in his power to compose: he has no right, in fact, to set about any literary undertaking, without some definite purpose! Wherever he has secured this, he has written well, sometimes beautifully; but random spoiling of good paper and using up of good pens is altogether inexcusable. This much of censure dismissed, little remains but to praise this volume. Miss Pardoe's "*Will*" is by no means devoid of interest or of power, if not altogether untinctured by vulgarity; and Mr. Tupper's "*King Verie*" is fresh and genuine, and displays no little antiquarian lore. Mrs. Hall's "*Last in the Leap*" will probably find many admirers, though this lady is no great favourite of ours. S. M.'s "*A Very Woman*" has much of that peculiar analytic power, which "*The Maiden Aunt*"



has so often displayed in the pages of "Sharpe's Magazine." It is quiet, earnest, and rather grave, but psychologically truthful; a study in fact of a very superior order. E. J. B. contributed a rather pretty tale entitled "The Trust;" and the editor has given us a rattling, spirited, harum-scarum version of "The Mysteries of Redgrave Court," in which a race betwixt a phaeton and a chaise is to be especially noted, which really rivals Turpin's ride to York in Ainsworth's first and best romance. On the whole the collection can fairly be recommended, as a very pretty gift-book, containing nothing objectionable and much that is clever and amusing, and therefore an appropriate ornament for drawing-room tables.

xxxix.—*Earl Grey's Circular. (A Memento.)* London: Rivingtons.

THE circular of Earl Grey on the subject of the official titles of Romish bishops, was a very remarkable instance of the desire of statesmen in the present day, to concede every demand which may be made by Romanism. It was only to be expected, that they who suppressed ten of *our* bishoprics in Ireland, for the purpose of gratifying the Romish party, should take the first available opportunity for acknowledging the authority of *their* bishops. Lord Grey, however, was in so much haste to pay this tribute, that he was far from scrupulous in seeking precedents to justify him, and accordingly he referred to authorities to justify the recognition of Romish ecclesiastics in the Colonies as "archbishops" and "bishops," which, on examination proved to be wholly incapable of justifying his proceeding, as he was himself obliged to admit. The author of the pamphlet before us has ably pointed out the inexcusableness of such conduct, and entered on a very interesting discussion of the whole question of the titles and spiritual position of such bishops as schismatics. But really, what can we say, after the deplorable exhibition which has just been made in the public papers, where we find a correspondence between Lord Palmerston, Lord Normanby, and Prince Castelfidardo, Cardinal Antonelli, "R. Archbishop of Nicæa" Apostolic Nuncio, Pius IX., and Queen Victoria, in which England appears as the *friend* of the papal power? The Sovereign is made to address a letter to the "Holy Father," who is "much affected by the interest and sympathy which her Majesty the Queen of England has been pleased to express for him." Application is made to England to co-operate in the restoration of the Pope to his temporal authority, on the ground that this authority is requisite for

the exercise of his spiritual supremacy, which the English Government is supposed to be anxious to maintain; and in fine, though England is too far off from the scene of action to take any active part, and will content herself under all circumstances with "observation," while the Roman Catholic powers proceed to overthrow the Roman Republic, and replace Pius IX. on his throne, yet it is distinctly explained that the Pope has the best wishes of the English Government for the undisturbed exercise of all his powers temporal and spiritual! And yet these are the kind of men who nominate our bishops!

XL.—*A few Words on Cathedral Music and the Musical System of the Church, with a plan of Reform.* By SAMUEL SEBASTIAN WESLEY, Mus. Doc. London: Rivingtons.

ANY suggestions on the subject of cathedral music from one so well qualified by practical experience to express an opinion as Dr. Wesley, must be of very great value, and will, we have no doubt, command attention. The state of our cathedral and choral music generally is certainly not what it ought to be, and we fear, that as men are constituted in the present day, it will be impossible to expect any very decided improvement, unless larger funds are expended in the maintenance of choirs.

Dr. Wesley begins by laying down as first principles, that in order to have even a moderately correct and impressive performance of cathedral service, there must be competent performers or ministers—the guidance of an able precentor—and musical compositions of the higher order of talent. The music of the Church is antiphonal: it must be sung by two choirs; now, as Dr. Wesley remarks:—

"The least number of men which can constitute a cathedral choir capable of performing the service is twelve; because each choir must have *three* for the solo or verse parts, and an extra *three* (one to a part) to form the chorus; six on a side, that is: now so far from this, the least amount of necessary strength, being what is found in anything like constant attendance at our cathedrals generally, there is *not one* where such is the case: not one which has the requisite number of singers in daily attendance.

"Whether music be performed in the church, concert-room, theatre, or elsewhere, the requisite details of action are all one, and as they ever existed, so will they remain. A fact, which renders inexplicable the recent proceedings of the ecclesiastical commissioners, who certainly did not purpose what their acts were sure to bring about, namely, the extinction, or at least the further deterioration, of cathedral worship.

By the musical system of the Church, the daily services are dependent on the clergy, the minor canons being now, as in early times when choirs were first formed, as well as when subsequently reformed, responsible for a share of the musical duty; constituting, in fact, *the* choir; for without their attendance (the whole of them) at *every* service, the number prescribed is not made up.

“The Church commissioners reduced the number of minor canons to six, or four, in all cases; and seem to have contemplated their abstaining from all participation in the choral duties, and this without substituting the requisite lay singers in their stead, or making any provision whatever for the due performance of the choral worship.

“The minor canons (chanting excepted) have ceased to be efficient, in a musical sense, so that the choirs are not the worse off on this account; but in one diocese (Hereford) the members of the choir were *all* in holy orders. Therefore, when the exquisite restoration of Hereford cathedral, now in progress, is complete, (a restoration, be it said, which entitles its projectors to general obligations,) those who imagine that the choral service will be again open to them, in the same condition as formerly, will find things to be as is here stated; for, as the late Church Bill restricts the filling up of vacancies, all recent deaths in the college of vicars are irremediable losses, and the number essential to the performance of daily service will be found no longer to exist.

“It will be seen that the arrangement above referred to gives a chorus of *one* to a part. Now, this is in itself a thing ridiculous enough, we must confess. What, for instance, can any one who has visited the opera houses, the theatres, Exeter hall, or any well-conducted musical performances, think of a chorus of *one* to a part? Ask the men working the mills of Yorkshire and Lancashire what they would think of it? And yet, this amount of chorus would be a vast *improvement* on the present state of things at cathedrals; for there may be sometimes seen *one* man singing *chorus*! This is the way in which God is worshipped in England in the noblest of her temples, and this desecration has been sanctioned by the ecclesiastical commissioners! No wonder that men of sense should be found to cry, ‘Cut in down: why cumbereth it the ground?’ And why is it what it is? Simply for this reason, that it is conducted by those who understand not the subject. The clergy are the irresponsible directors of cathedral music. The views of the highest order of musical professors are never brought to bear on the subject.”

Dr. Wesley is of opinion that much of the ineffectiveness of choirs arises from their being under the management of clergy, who know very little about music. There may be reason in this, certainly; but it is, after all, a choice of the lesser of two evils in many cases; for though the clergy may not know very much of music, the organist frequently is so little imbued with the right tone of feeling and taste in such matters; so little disposed to adopt really good models, and so inclined to introduce paltry

compositions of his own or his friends, that it is difficult to place implicit confidence in him. Most cordially do we concur in the truth of the following remarks of Dr. Wesley :—

“ Music, as it is now performed in our cathedrals, when compared with well-regulated performances elsewhere, bears to them about the proportion of life and order which an expiring rushlight does to a summer’s sun. The higher order of musical composition belonging to the Church is now lost sight of. No new efforts by men of commanding talent are perceptible. Nor is this to be wondered at, seeing that the choirs have long been reduced below a state in which such compositions could be sung with effect. Thus it is, that the choral service of the Church presents not one feature in its present mode of performance which can interest or affect the well-informed auditor ; except so far as it may remind him of a grandeur that exists no longer, and of a great school of musical composition, which, as far as the Church is concerned, seems almost to have passed away.

“ The musician cannot but be impressed with the importance of the connexion which his art has ever maintained with the ceremonial of religion ; and the Church must claim his gratitude for the careful and systematic nurture and support which, until recent times, it has invariably received at her hands : and never can it be forgotten by him, that the Church school of music is the foundation of every good musical education, inasmuch as it affords the means of producing the most grand and solemn effects by a process of composition at once the simplest and the purest. This simplicity and purity of style result from the efforts of ages devoted to the advancement of counterpoint ; which advancement was, no doubt, hastened by the but too well-founded clamour of the people in religious matters, both here and abroad, about the time when music first assumed a finish and perfection which might entitle it to the admiration of ‘all time ;’ notwithstanding the fact that music itself, at the period in remark, became a just object of aversion, from its numerous abuses, not the least of which was, its being sung invariably to Latin words.

“ The claims of singers, too, as regards performance, may have had weight in exacting from the composer clearness and simplicity in the contexture of his score ; the discredit attending error in public performance falling to their door, not his ; and the difficulties of that performance being greatly enhanced by the absence of all instrumental accompaniment, as was the frequent case.

“ That the Church has been the originator of all improvement in the art of music, and has, from the earliest periods, availed herself of every excellence which the advance of time supplied, is demonstrably a fact. Specimens in composition by the precentors of early times show that the clergy, to whose management the music of Divine worship was confided, held the same position in the highest departments of composition which Bach, Handel, and other great men have done in recent times. They were, in fact, capable not merely of writing up to the standard fur-

nished by their predecessors, but of improving upon it, and carrying forward the art."

We cannot afford space to follow Dr. Wesley through his interesting sketch of the state of things in our choirs at and after the Reformation, including some notice of the provisions made for the efficient performance of Divine service. It is a curious fact, that the musical force at the Chapel Royal in the time of King Edward VI., extended to the large number of 114 persons. The choir of St. Paul's, London, it appears, had originally forty-two choirmen: it has now six! (p. 35.) Surely there is some great fault here, when the great revenues of the chapter of St. Paul's are remembered. How comes it pass that the canons of St. Paul's have been in the receipt of 2,500*l.* a-year, and have let down their choir to *one-seventh* of its proper number? And how comes it that the deans of St. Paul's have been receiving 4,000*l.* and 5,000*l.* per annum, and starving their choir? The following remarks of Dr. Wesley reflect most painfully on the cathedral bodies since the Reformation:—

"The Chapters had taken the Choir property into their hands at the Reformation, and given the Choirs what might have been equivalent, but which, from the altered value of money, now forms but a miserable pittance. They must also have much reduced the number of lay singers. In the old, as well as the new foundations, the Choir Clergy were assigned livings by way of compensation, and permitted to neglect their daily and statutely-prescribed duty in the Quire. But for expedients, the service might have ceased. At Exeter, not long ago, the tithes of a parish had to be devoted this way. At St. Paul's, London, the Dean and Chapter apportioned the Choir a share of the pence paid by the people for viewing the fabric. St. Paul's, originally, had forty-two Choirmen. It has now six. Six people singing chorus in St. Paul's! The pious founders of Cathedrals never contemplated the ludicrous and profane state of things we now witness. Their music, like their architecture, was the best they could give. Modern Chapters cannot be wholly free from blame, for the superiority of the secular performances of music over those of Cathedrals, and the Church generally, must strike every one. Whilst viewing these matters, the very natural reflection must arise, that to confide funds to the clergy, for the joint support of religion and *something else*, must be wrong, because religion being of paramount importance, the clergy may, on an emergency, be tempted to deprive the *something else* of its due portion for the benefit of the object in which they are professionally concerned, and with very good motives for so doing."

It is to be lamented that such virtual misapplication of funds was not pointed along out ago; for we have no doubt that very many members of Chapters have not been aware that there has

been any deficiency in the amount of their contributions to the Choral services; and now we fear that it would be difficult to obtain from cathedral property the means of increasing the efficiency of choirs, in consequence of the reduced scale of those establishments; but should Cathedral property be increased in value by new arrangements, we do think that a portion of it might and ought to be applied to make more effectual provision for Cathedral service, more especially in such conspicuous positions as St. Paul's and Westminster Abbey. As it is, we may hear in some parish churches and chapels in London a superior style of music, and more carefully and better performed than in the Metropolitan Cathedral and the Abbey. We have often felt, in leaving these splendid churches after divine service, that if such were to be held fair representations of the English Cathedral Service, the sooner it were abolished the better. We have been shocked by the irreverence, carelessness, and coldness which characterized it. At Westminster, however, we believe that there has been a marked improvement of late; and we may hope for still further improvements where a member of the Society has evinced such attainments and such zeal in the cause of sacred music, as the Rev. W. H. Cope, whose useful exertions in connexion with the "Parish Choir" are deserving of all possible praise.

We must not lose sight of Dr. Wesley's plans for the improvement of our Cathedral Services. His proposal is as follows:—

"The number of lay Choirmen in daily attendance should never be less than *twelve*, this being the *least* number by which the choral service can be properly performed.

"To ensure the constant attendance of *twelve* it would be necessary to retain at least three *additional* voices (one of each kind) to meet the frequent deficiencies arising from illness or other unavoidable causes. The stipend of the former might be 85*l.* per annum; of the latter 52*l.*

"These lay singers should be required to give the degree of attention to *rehearsals* and every other musical duty exacted of all such persons at ordinary performances of music, and, like others, they should be subject to an early removal in cases of wilful inattention.

"Should it not be deemed desirable for them to occupy themselves in trade, or other pursuits (and that it is *not* desirable cannot be a question, their Cathedral duty, if properly followed, being the work of a life), the salaries should be higher, and not less than from 100*l.* to 150*l.* per annum.

"The election to the office of lay Choirmen should rest with the organists or musical conductors of three Cathedrals, namely the one in which the vacancy occurs, and the two nearest to it, the Dean and Chapter of the former exercising their judgment as to the religious fit-



ness of the candidate. In fixing, as is here proposed, the number of the lay singers at the *minimum* number, twelve, it may be added, that in any Cathedral town where the musical services of the Cathedral were conducted in a meritorious manner, they would undoubtedly enjoy great popularity, and enlist the voluntary aid of many competent persons. An addition of *six* such might probably be relied on; and this—although inadequate—the requirements of such large buildings as our Cathedrals being considered—would be a great advance upon present things.

“ A MUSICAL COLLEGE, in connexion with one of the Cathedrals, and under the government of its Dean and Chapter, seems indispensably necessary for the tuition of lay singers; and, what is more important, for the complete education of the higher order of musical officer employed as the Organist, Composer, or Director of the Choir. Lay singers for Cathedrals are not easily procured; and the above arrangement would greatly facilitate the object of providing every Cathedral with the required number for its Choir, and for imparting a thorough and complete musical education to the musical professors employed by the Church. A School of this kind might not be self-supporting, possibly; every Cathedral, therefore, should be required to contribute something to its maintenance.

“ THE CATHEDRAL ORGANIST should, in every instance, be a professor of the highest ability,—a master in the most elevated departments of composition,—and efficient in the conducting and superintendence of a Choral body.

“ The Art of Music is indeed a different affair to what it was four centuries ago. It might not be very rash to assert that it has now reached perfection, humanly speaking. Nothing can exceed the fugues of Bach, the melody of Mozart, or the orchestral arrangement of Spohr. The Science is now the study of one man's life: and how few attain excellence!

“ To provide each Cathedral with a Professor who should be excellent in every department of his art, and who had made the Church school the foundation of *all*, is a desideratum. In aid of this *the College* would do much. Elections need not, however, be made exclusively from thence. Great talent should ever find its market; but in all vacancies the elective body might be the seven Professors of the seven Cathedrals nearest the vacancy. In this, as in the case of the lay singers, there should be given to the clergy a veto in respect to the moral and religious fitness of the candidate, and no more. This would assuredly be an unexceptionable mode of election; and, indeed, it were useless to endow offices, were not the most unexceptionable means, in all cases, adopted for filling them.”

The salaries suggested for the musical directors of cathedrals are from 500*l.* to 800*l.* per annum. These salaries may appear to be rather large; but we refer the reader to Dr. Wesley's reasons for proposing such incomes, which have much weight.

On the whole, we regard the publication of this pamphlet as extremely valuable and timely; and we feel assured that all who are interested in the important subject to which it refers, will be grateful to Dr. Wesley for the amount of information which he has placed before them, and for the details of his practical experience.

**XLI.**—*Lectures on the Holy Sacrament of the Lord's Supper.* By the Rev. R. L. COTTON, D.D., Provost of Worcester College, Oxford. Oxford: Vincent. London: Hatchards.

THIS volume contains a series of twenty-one Lectures on the Lord's Supper. Its contents cannot, perhaps, be better described than in the following extract from the Preface:—

“The Lectures may admit of some classification. The first is introductory. The three next in order pertain to the remembrance of Christ. The fifth dwells upon the renewal of the Evangelical Covenant, as the medium through which the soul is brought to renewed enjoyment of the privileges of the Gospel. The four next comprehend the treatment of the great subject of the participation of the body and blood of Christ. Then follow successively an exposition of the relation in which sacrifice stands to the Lord's Supper, a disquisition on the grant of the Holy Spirit in this Sacrament, an explanation of the Communion with Christ, and with all united with him, experienced in its celebration, and a review of its Eucharistic nature. The moral results of the Sacrament are then considered in four Lectures. The eighteenth and nineteenth speak respectively of the comfort to be found in this heavenly feast, and the mode in which it trains and prepares the soul for its passage from its temporal to its eternal state. The twentieth Lecture suggests to candidates for access to the Lord's table a plain and practical mode of ascertaining whether they are worthy of enjoying that high privilege. The last Lecture presents a summary view of the whole treatise.”

This extract shows sufficiently the comprehensive nature of Dr. Cotton's work. In doctrinal views he follows Hooker and many other of our eminent divines about the time of the Reformation. The simple and unaffected piety which pervades the entire treatise is most edifying and impressive. We are persuaded that even those who may not agree in every point with the excellent author of this work, will derive pleasure and improvement from very much they will find there.

XLII.—*The Church of our Fathers, as seen in St. Osmund's Rite for the Cathedral of Salisbury: with Dissertations on the Belief and Ritual in England before and after the coming of the Normans.* By DANIEL ROCK, D.D., Canon of the English Chapter. In 3 vols. London: Dolman.

AN exceedingly curious antiquarian book, chiefly consisting of elaborate disquisitions on the dresses of the clergy, the ornaments of the altar and church generally, and enlivened with arguments in behalf of transubstantiation, purgatory, the worship of images, &c. The first two volumes (all we have as yet seen) are entirely occupied in preliminary dissertations on all these kinds of ritual topics; and we presume that the third volume is to comprise the rites of Saint Osmund. The book is, of course, controversial; but its author is at least as much at home in the discussion of the most minute points of ecclesiastical attire, down to the right position of a *pin* (which in one instance is the subject of grave and lengthened discussion), as in more serious subjects. He writes with energy and zeal on the right cut of the chasuble; and is powerful about the surplice. He dilates with enthusiasm on the rich frontals of ancient times; and other beautiful needlework of our ladies. The work is illustrated by a number of engravings and woodcuts, chiefly copied from old MSS., and very well executed. Though we confess that we have often been highly amused by our author's antiquarian enthusiasm; and, of course, do not attach much value to his controversial disquisitions, which are lugged in rather too frequently, and are more remarkable for bitterness than for argument, still we must in candour say, that Dr. Rock has displayed a very creditable degree of research, and has produced a very curious book, full of motley and various information.

XLIII.—*Daniel the Prophet: Reflections on his Life and Character.* By the Rev. THOS. KNOX, A.B., M.R.I.A., Prebendary of Tullybracky, &c. Dublin: Hodges and Smith.

AN unaffected and pleasing work, comprising a series of lectures on those parts of the Book of Daniel, which narrate the life and actions of that great prophet. The book is altogether of a devotional and practical character; and though without pretensions to the highest order of literary composition, it is very creditably and well executed.

**XLIV.**—*An Exposition of the Catechism of the Church of England. By the Right Rev. Father in God, WILLIAM NICHOLSON, sometime Lord Bishop of Gloucester. A New Edition.* Oxford: J. H. Parker; and 377, Strand, London.

THIS is a cheap and portable reprint of one of our best standard works on catechizing, which ought to be in the hands of every clergyman.

**XLV.**—*A Remembrance of Bonchurch, Isle of Wight, the Burial place of the Rev. W. ADAMS, M.A., &c.* London: Longmans. Ryde: Holloway.

A VERY interesting and affecting little volume, containing a brief sketch of the life of the late Rev. W. Adams, whose beautiful and pious allegories have brought instruction and pleasure to so many minds. The reflections which are suggested by a visit to the burial place of this lamented and excellent clergyman, afford ample evidence of affection for the deceased, and of the influence of pious and devotional feelings worthy of the occasion.

**XLVI.**—*The Child's Book of Ballads. By the Author of "Hymns and Scenes of Childhood," &c.* London: Masters.

FROM all we have seen of this collection, we anticipate a great treat for our little ones, into whose hands we shall forthwith put the volume. It is just what it ought to be, and enriched with woodcuts, too, of smiling and happy children.

**XLVII.**—*The Noble Army of Martyrs. By the Rev. SAMUEL Fox, M.A., F.S.A., Rector of Morley.* London: Masters.

JUST the book for circulation amongst children, or for a parochial lending-library. Such a book as this is what we want in the upper classes of National Schools. The narratives of the sufferings of the principal martyrs of the first two centuries—Stephen, James, Barnabas, Timothy, Polycarp, Ignatius, Clement, Irenæus, Dionysius, and Justin, are here simply and well told.

**XLVIII.**—*Parochial Sermons, preached in a Village Church. By the Rev. O. A. HEURTLEY, B.D., Rector of Fenny Compton, and Hon. Canon of Worcester Cathedral.* Oxford: J. H. Parker; and 377, Strand, London.

THE reputation of the respected author of these Sermons as a

sound divine and an excellent parish priest, will doubtless draw attention to the volume now before us, which for plain and practical piety, good sense, and devotional feeling, may be placed high amongst works of its class. It is exactly what it professes to be—a volume of Parochial Sermons, and adapted to the comprehension of a village congregation. We should be happy to hear such sermons every Sunday.

XLIX.—*Elements of Instruction concerning the Church, and the Anglican Branch of it; for the use of young persons.* By CHR. WORDSWORTH, D.D., Canon of Westminster, &c. London: Rivingtons.

WE are glad to see Dr. Wordsworth's "Theophilus Anglicanus" reproduced in this little volume, in which the text of that excellent work is retained, but all the learned annotations and quotations are omitted. In its present shape it is calculated to be of great use for circulation amongst young persons.

L.—*Critical History and Defence of the Old Testament Canon.* By MOSES STUART, Professor of Sacred Literature in the Theological Seminary, Andover, Massachusetts. Edited by the Rev. PETER LORIMER, &c. Edinburgh: Clark.

THIS work by Mr. Moses Stuart is intended as a reply to the attacks of a Mr. Norton—a Unitarian teacher in America—on the Old Testament. Mr. Stuart is one of that class who have been for a series of years cultivating a taste for German theology, and he now finds that there are persons who will not employ the writings and arguments of Germans exactly in the way which he himself approves—that is, they will not retain their belief in the inspiration of Scripture, and merely make use of German criticism in its interpretation; but, having acquired a taste for such studies, they will carry the spirit of criticism to the full length which it has attained in Germany, and deny the obligation of Holy Scripture altogether, and the facts of Revelation. Mr. Stuart, having been all his life long engaged in cultivating this taste for an infidel theology, now finds, at the close of his days, that it has actually opened the door to Infidelity; and he now calls on those who have been protesting against the introduction of such studies, to come forward and contend with the enemies of Revelation, to whom he, and such as he, have given influence. We do not think that such a call comes well from persons who have been assiduous in creating the evil which they now deplore. Mr. Stuart,

has, however, done his duty ably and well in his reply to Mr. Norton in the volume before us; and we heartily wish success to his labours.

LI.—*Four Sermons preached before the University of Cambridge.*  
By W. H. MILL, D.D., *Regius Professor of Hebrew, &c.*  
Cambridge: Deightons.

WE know no writer of the present day who can be compared to Dr. Mill for the solidity and thoughtfulness of his compositions. There is about them a weight and gravity of expression, a maturity of conception, and a range of scholarship which reminds us rather of the elder worthies of the Church than of men in these our degenerate days. The Sermons before us are, 1. on the relations of the Temporal and Spiritual Power; 2. on the Divine Injunction to hold fast that which we have; 3. on the Divine Injunction to transmit what we have received; 4. on the Divine Injunction to enquire after the old paths, and adhere to them. These subjects, treated as Dr. Mill has treated them, are exactly those which it is of most importance to keep before the mind, in the present time, when an insane thirst for novelty of doctrine is pervading all classes, and when the powers of this world are endeavouring to gain dominion over the heritage of the Lord, and to make it the instrument of their irreligious policy.

The following remarks, in correction of prevalent errors, are most valuable:—

“ If from the passions of individual princes, or from the looseness of popular judgment, we have recourse to the declarations of our Church, on the judgment of her best divines and expositors, we shall find the royal supremacy asserted among us to be no new creation of our Eighth Henry; but the resumption, on the part of our kings, of what was asserted as an integral portion of the ancient rights of their sovereignty; but which the process of things in the mediæval times had caused to be gradually transferred from them to the Papacy. Nothing can be more explicit than the declaration of Elizabeth (whom none will suspect of an inclination to understate or to weaken the royal pretensions in such matters), when, referring to statements then studiously put forth both from the Papal and the Puritan side, she protested, in one of her injunctions on Church matters, that neither herself, nor her father and brother, who preceded her in the claim, had challenged or intended to challenge any other authority than what ‘ is, and was, of ancient times,’ due to the imperial crown of the realm; that is, under God, to have the sovereignty and rule *over all manner of persons* born within these her realms, dominions, and countries, of whatsoever estate, either ecclesiastical or temporal, soever they be, so as no other foreign powers shall or ought to have any superiority over them.’ ”—pp. 16, 17.



It is curious to contrast these claims of the Sovereigns of England in those days, with the present recognition by the State of the full jurisdiction of the Roman Pontiff over a portion of the people of this country; and the acquiescence of the Sovereign in the open denial by that class, and by all the Dissenters, of that very supremacy in religious matters, on which alone the authority of the State over the Church of England is defensible. If, *as the State now admits*, it has not by Divine right any supremacy over the people of this land, on what ground does it claim supremacy over the Church of England? It seems to us, we confess, that the present position of the State, with regard to all sects, reduces its rights over the Church of England to depend merely on Acts of Parliament, which might be repealed. The State, by its system of indifferentism, has cut away the only *principle* on which its authority over the Church can be preserved.

The following remarks of Dr. Mill, on the heresies of the Bunsen and Arnold school, in regard to the Christian ministry, are very well timed:—

“There are those, and of far higher note, by whom, in order to remove all obstructions to the imagined lay-polity and canons of an imagined Church of the future, the whole Church of the past, from the Ante-Nicene to the mediæval and later, is set aside as a mere ‘clergy-church.’ Strange accusation to prefer against that society in which the very highest distinctions of sanctity,—both with and without that inexpressible dignity which the name of confessor, and still more of martyr, confers,—have been in every age assigned to lay persons indifferently with clergy: to persons of every rank, or profession, or sex, who have signally honoured God in their generation, and contributed by their example, often more powerful than any precept, to diffuse and extend the grace and power of Christ’s religion in the world! Most clear and evident is it, that whether there were or were not an excess in the eminency assigned to the clergy, the only *kind* of distinction which was accounted theirs by the ancient Church,—the only one which such a name as this can be reasonably regarded as impugning,—is that of being the exclusively appointed stewards and dispensers of the grace annexed to the positive ordinances of Christ’s religion, and that unless it be rational and just to speak of all past civil governments in the world as ‘Magistrate States,’ as it were in opposition to States composed of all orders,—then, and then only, can it be just or rational to denounce the Church of the earliest, or even the middle ages, as a ‘clergy-church.’”—pp. 111, 112.

We could wish that space permitted us to continue our extracts from this volume, which will enhance the justly-deserved reputation of its distinguished author.

- LII.—*The History of the Church of England in the Colonies and Foreign Dependencies of the British Empire. By the Rev. J. S. M. ANDERSON, M.A., Chaplain in Ordinary to the Queen, &c. Vol. II. London: Rivingtons.*

MR. ANDERSON'S History of the Colonial Churches, of which the second volume now lies before us, is characterized by a painstaking accuracy, and a fulness of detail, which must ensure for it a permanent place in our literature. The history of religion in the Colonies comprised in this volume extends from the beginning of the reign of Charles I., to the end of the reign of King William III., and ranges from Hudson's Bay to the Levant, and from the Levant to Hindostan. It comprises such outlines of the contemporary history of the Church of England, as are essential to the full comprehension of the position of the colonial Churches. In a brief notice like this, it is impossible to present even an outline of the extended range over which Mr. Anderson takes his reader; but we highly appreciate his labours in this very interesting field; and we are happy to think that his researches will rescue from oblivion many facts with regard to the early history of religious communities, which are each year increasing in importance.

- LIII.—*The Reformers of the Anglican Church, and Mr. Macaulay's History of England. By E. C. HARRINGTON, A.M., Chancellor of the Cathedral Church of Exeter. London: Rivingtons.*

THE Church is greatly indebted to Chancellor Harrington for his exposure of the inaccuracy and gross unfairness of Macaulay in his dealing with the history of the English Church. His onslaught is, in our opinion, most triumphant, and with other criticisms of the same tendency, will, we trust, have the effect of neutralizing the poisonous qualities of Mr. Macaulay's very able book. A more brilliant work we have never perused; but its infidelities, and its monstrous unfairness, must exclude it from perusal in the families of churchmen except in the character of a romance. We heartily thank Mr. Harrington for his able execution of the very necessary work of dissecting Mr. Macaulay's History, and showing his enmity to the Church of England.

- LIII.—*Memoirs of the House of Brandenburg, and History of Prussia, during the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries. By*

LEOPOLD RANKE. *Translated from the German by SIR ALEX. and LADY DUFF GORDON.* In 3 vols. London: Murray.

THE work before us is of far too much importance to attempt more than a passing notice of it in this place. Although the work is a history of the Prussian power in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, it is preceded by an introductory account of the rise of the house of Brandenburg; and it is carried down to the latter years of the reign of Frederick the Great. We hope to have an opportunity hereafter for a more extended notice of the contents of this work.

LV.—*Wales: the Language, Social Condition, Moral Character, and Religious Opinions of the People, considered in their relation to Education, &c.* By SIR THOMAS PHILLIPS. London: J. W. Parker.

THE bulky and elaborate volume before us is designed chiefly to point out the injustice of certain allegations which have been made against the lower classes in Wales by recent inquirers, and to detail the present state and condition of the population, with a view to the more successful application of educational exertions. Sir T. Phillips remarks with justice on the impropriety of appointing bishops and clergy in Wales who are unacquainted with the Welsh language; and he points out the injustice of general accusations of immorality against the dissenters of Wales.

LVI.—*An Exposition of the Thirty-nine Articles by the Reformers.* By the Rev. THOMAS R. JONES, Incumbent of St. Mary's Welbrook, Yorkshire. London: Hamilton, Adams, and Co.

MR. JONES has employed great care and diligence in perusing the works of Latimer, Ridley, Cranmer, Hooper, Jewell, Philpot, Pilkington, Coverdale, Becon, Bradford, Sandys, Grindal, Whitgift, &c., and has made extracts from them bearing on the Articles. We have no doubt that his exertions will be extensively appreciated.

LVII.—*A Continuous Outline of Sacred History: intended as a help to the Study of the Scriptures.* By the Rev. W. SLOANE EVANS, B.A. (Soc. Com.) Trinity College, Cambridge, &c. London: Masters.

THIS volume contains an outline of the Bible, i. e. the contents of each chapter are stated. We have no doubt that such a series of

memoranda were useful to the author in his studies, but we do not distinctly see how they are to be made useful to others.

**L.VIII.—*Baptism, with Reference to its Import and Modes.* By EDWARD BEECHER, D.D. New York: John Wiley, and 13, Paternoster-row, London.**

THIS appears to be a learned and argumentative treatise, in which the author refutes the opinions of the Baptists, and contends that the meaning of the word βαπτίζω is to “purify” and not to “immerse.”

#### MISCELLANEOUS.

- WE have to acknowledge the receipt of a number of works which our limits forbid us to notice at present, except by their titles. Amongst these we may mention, Maitland's *Essays* on subjects connected with the Reformation in England, Cureton's *Corpus Ignatianum*, the *Songs of Israel*, by one of the Laity, Aitcheson's *Strictures on the Duke of Argyll's Essay*, Ford's *Gospel of St. Mark*, Kidd on the *Thirty-Nine Articles*, *Hand-Book of Ancient Geography and History* by Pütz, Fraser on *Holy Confirmation*, Lowe's *Sermon on the Doom of Murder*, Lyon's *Letters on the Duke of Argyll's Work*, Ross's *Letters on Diocesan Theological Colleges*, Oakeley on the *Teaching of the Catholic Church*, and others, which we are obliged for the present to leave unnoticed.
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## Foreign and Colonial Intelligence.

**AUSTRALIA.**—*Educational Grants at Sydney.*—From a statement in the Sydney Government Gazette, it appears that the sum voted by the Legislative Council for the support of schools in Sydney district, during the year 1848, was distributed as follows :—Church of England schools, 4120*l.*; Presbyterian, 1900*l.*; Wesleyan Methodist, 570*l.*; Roman Catholic, 1860*l.* Total, 8450*l.*

**BORNEO.**—*Prospects of the Mission.*—An interesting account of the state of the Mission sent a year ago to Borneo, appears in the *Colonial Church Chronicle*. The principal difficulty against which the Mission has to contend is the Mohammedan population, consisting partly of Malays, who are described as greatly superior to the natives in intelligence, education, and moral habits, and partly of English emigrants who have embraced Mohammedanism, and that, it is stated, in hundreds of instances. The present prospects of the Mission are thus described :—

“ Among the Kyans, Dyaks, and other native tribes, there is, already opened to us, a much larger sphere of action than I imagined was the case on my first arrival here. On this river alone we have thirty-three tribes (each tribe varying in number from thirty to two hundred families) of tributary Dyaks, the nearest tribes being a good day's journey distant; who, now they are obliged to live at peace with each other, are rapidly increasing in numbers and improving in condition: besides these, the people of the Samarahan, the Sadong, and the Serekei rivers, are now under the control and protection of this Government (Sadong and Serekei are much larger rivers than this), but I have not been able to ascertain the numbers of their tribes; they are, however, numerous and quite accessible to Missionary efforts. Next spring, when it is expected that the Sarebus and Sakarran rivers, inhabited by swarms of piratical Dyaks, will be thrown open and brought perfectly under our control by means of a powerful expedition, which the Rajah and Captain Keppel have planned against them, these two rivers, together with the Serekei, will form a high road into the very interior of Borneo, and traverse the regions inhabited by the Kyans: who, from the little I have seen and heard of them, seem to be more civilized than our hill Dyaks, and are a brave and intelligent people, far more numerous than the Dyaks, and are to be estimated by tens and hundreds of thousands. They are, I am told, very anxious to have communication with us, and desirous of acquiring knowledge from the Orang Putih (*white people*).

“ For these reasons, and on account of the Dyak language of which the various tribes speak different dialects, which it will be necessary for any one who would teach them to learn (their knowledge of Malay

being very limited, it will appear how necessary it is that our strength should be increased for the effectual working of the Mission. We want at first several devoted young *single* men, Clergymen or Catechists, to place at different stations among the larger tribes, where they can associate with them and learn their dialect, and then instruct them in some of the useful arts, at the same time that they impart religious knowledge; for the Dyak, in common with other savages, will always value his teacher's instruction the more, and have more faith in him, when he finds that it adds to his present comfort, while it opens to his view a glorious and happy future. It would only be necessary for these men to remain at the stations for about eight months in the year, for at the rice-growing seasons the Dyaks leave their towns and villages for their paddy-grounds, which are scattered all over their respective territories; during these seasons it would be advantageous for them to return to the Mission House at Kuching, and assist their brethren here in the schools and ministrations of the Church, leading a kind of collegiate life with leisure and opportunity for study, which they would never have while residing among the inquisitive natives. There would not be the smallest difficulty in placing such labourers at once; all the Orang Kayas, head or *rich* men of the tribes I have spoken to, would gladly receive them; the Orang Kaya of Lundu, our most civilized and influential tribe, was most earnest in his request to me that a teacher should be sent to his people, and promised to build him a house and do all he could to assist him, and this *should* certainly be the first station occupied, as the tribe is fast Malayizing in dress, manners, and even, in some instances, religion. It would also be highly desirable that, in addition to these Dyak teachers, the Mission should be strengthened with another *efficient* Clergyman, in full orders, who would either assist the head of the Mission in visiting several stations, or take his place at Kuching when he should be absent on such journeys. This or some similar plan could be carried out at a very moderate expense, if *single* men were employed, as they live better with 80*l.* or 100*l.* a year than married men could do on 300*l.*, owing to the great expense an establishment of servants, &c., necessary for a family, involves; but unless some such measure be adopted, and that speedily, the objects of the Mission, as regards the native tribes, cannot be accomplished, and it will become more and more difficult to do so every year, as Mahomedanism gains ground among them."

CANADA.—*Proposed Secularization of King's College, Toronto.*—A Bill has been introduced into the Canadian Legislature, which repeals the Royal Charter of Incorporation granted to Toronto College, and substitutes in the place of that foundation, a provincial University from which all religious teaching and discipline is expressly excluded. Against this measure, so vitally affecting the interests of the Church in Canada, the Bishop of Toronto has presented the following petition:—

"*To the Honourable the Legislative Assembly of Canada.*

"The Petition of JOHN, by Divine Permission, BISHOP OF TORONTO,



“ Most respectfully sheweth :—

“ That a Bill has been introduced for the adoption of your Honourable House, entitled ‘ An Act to amend the Charter of the University established at Toronto by His late Majesty King George the Fourth; to provide for the more satisfactory Government of the said University; and for other purposes connected with the same, and with the College and Grammar School, forming an appendage thereof.’

“ That this Bill contains enactments which are, in the humble opinion of your Memorialist, of the most blighting character, and by no means in accordance with the title; for instead of being confined to some modification of the Government, they go to deprive King’s College of all the privileges conferred upon it by its Royal Charter, and apply the endowment granted for its support by the Crown to the establishment of an institution wholly different, to be created by the passing of this bill.

“ That King’s College, thus sought to be destroyed with the avowed intention of taking for other purposes the property and estates which it holds under a Royal grant, has been for six years in successful operation under its Charter,—that it is legally incorporated by Letters Patent, under the Great Seal of England,—that no ground of forfeiture has been shewn, such as might subject a Corporation upon a proper legal proceeding to the loss of its privileges, nor is it even pretended to be in fault; but it is assumed that your Honourable House is at liberty to deal at your pleasure with the Constitution and property of King’s College, as if neither the Corporation nor the one-fourth at least of the inhabitants of Upper Canada, interested in the objects it was intended to promote, had any rights under it to claim or protect.

“ That your Petitioner has observed with extreme regret that this measure has been introduced into your Honourable House with the sanction of the Colonial Government, but your Petitioner will not yet abandon the hope that they will not persevere in urging enactments to which he believes a large majority of the population of Upper Canada are in principle opposed, and which they not only consider unwise, but would feel to be unjust.

“ That the pretences upon which some persons profess to rely for justifying such an interference with corporate privileges and vested rights, which is in its nature and degree unprecedented, are wholly groundless, and can be in the plainest manner disproved by the public official acts and communications of the Imperial and Colonial Governments; that the power wholly to subvert a Royal Charter granted for such a purpose, and to take from a Corporation its property, in the absence of any alleged abuse, has never been assumed by the Imperial Parliament, and that the exercise of such a power by the Colonial Legislature, in this instance, would be inconsistent with that measure of protection which similar institutions, founded in British Colonies by the same authority, have received from the ruling power, even after the countries in which they were founded had become foreign to the British Crown. That it is entirely without reason that the

despatches of the Secretary of State for the Colonies to a former Lieutenant-Governor in Upper Canada (of the 2nd November, 1831, and 17th June, 1835), have been advanced as a foundation for this farther interference with King's College, because, since those despatches were written, the College has been placed, and is now actually conducted, on the very footing which His late Majesty was pleased to recommend in his Royal communication of 2nd November, 1831, in which his Majesty stipulated in the most earnest terms for the permanent establishment in the College of a Professor of Divinity, upon a secure footing, of the Church of England, declaring it to be a matter of great importance to those of his Majesty's subjects in Upper Canada, who belong to the Church of England; and that his Majesty, as head of that Church, could not be insensible to the duty which belonged to him of protecting it in all parts of his dominions.

"The scheme embodied in the Bill introduced to your Honourable House is cumbersome, expensive, and unwieldy, and has never yet been tried in any part of the world, and must in practice create jealousies and distrust, and destroy every thing like harmony in the working of the Institution.

"Your Petitioner farther represents that the leading feature of the Bill is the express exclusion of all religious instruction and worship, and so jealous do its whole tone and provisions appear on this important point, that they admit not of the slightest reference to this, the basis of all true education, and even proscribe Clergymen or Ecclesiastics from any share in its government. And thus the men best qualified to gain a living influence over the hearts and minds of the youth, are prevented from communicating with them on the most important of all subjects.

"That such an utter interdiction of every thing religious as this bill seeks to establish by legislative enactment, is without precedent among Christian nations, and can never be submitted to by men really serious and in earnest. An institution which drives away all those who, from their living faith, warmth of disposition, and sincerity of purpose, are best qualified to train the young to all that is pure, lovely, and sublime in religion, and noble in science, must become the abhorrence of Christian parents, who can look upon it in no other light than as an Infidel College, dead to all sense of religious truth, and unworthy of the blessing of Heaven.

"That this Bill in its enactment not only exhibits a striking opposition to religious truth, but also implies peculiar enmity to the United Church of England and Ireland, while at the same time the rights and privileges of the colleges of other denominations, which are far more exclusive than the Charter of King's College has ever been, are scrupulously maintained.

"Your Petitioner farther submits that should this measure become law, the noble endowment granted by our late Sovereign for the support of King's College, will be wasted in the vain attempt to sustain a University upon a system which enlightened reason and conscience must ever condemn, which is not sanctioned by experience in any age or

country, nor, as your Petitioner believes, by the feelings and opinions of any considerable number of those (of whatever religious denomination) who can best appreciate the objects of a University education, and who alone are likely to avail themselves of its advantages for the instruction of their children.

“ That your Petitioner need scarcely declare to your Honourable House that the United Church of England and Ireland can have no connexion with such an institution ; for she is bound by her interpretation of Christian truth, as embodied in her articles and formularies, to repudiate and reject a system of education not founded on religious principles, and he, therefore, most earnestly entreats your Honourable House not to sanction a measure which tends wholly to separate the Members of the Church of England from the Provincial University, and to deprive their youth of all the advantages of a collegiate education, for which the endowment bestowed by the Crown was intended to provide.

“ That your Petitioner would deplore this sacrifice the more, because he is aware that while King’s College might be preserved in all its integrity, there are most ample means within the power of the Government of endowing Colleges in connexion with other denominations, upon principles which they have all shewn themselves to prefer ; or King’s College might surrender part of its endowment for the support of a Medical College, and being restored to the position in which it was placed by its original Charter, with such modifications only as would separate it entirely from any thing like political influence or agitation, might serve, though less efficiently than was at first intended, for the Education of the Members of the United Church of England and Ireland.

“ Your Petitioner further represents that whatever may be the motive for bringing forward this measure, it will not settle the question, but, on the contrary, furnish new sources of irritation ; for its provisions do violence to the plainest constitutional principles, and by indirectly confining the granting of degrees to the proposed Institution, the Queen is restrained in the exercise of one of the most unquestionable prerogatives of her Crown, a prerogative of the Sovereign, as the fountain of honour, which has never been meddled with by Parliament, nor has a Minister ever been found in England capable of proposing any thing so disrespectful to Royalty as what is contemplated by this Bill.

“ Your Petitioner submits that this measure attempts to reverse some of the most approved and cherished principles of the present age, for it desires to establish a most rigid and oppressive monopoly over mind, which of all things ought to be the most free, and to impose on the deluded public a mutilated sort of education, far inferior in quality and character to what may be easily attained, had we in this Province, as in England and Scotland, rival institutions.

“ Your Petitioner farther represents that this Bill attempts to legislate for a very small fraction of the population of Upper Canada, to the virtual exclusion of the great majority from a collegiate education—a fraction noisy from ignorance, but altogether disqualified from appre-

ciating the value of sound knowledge, and which has seldom the means, or inclination, to avail itself of the respectable seminaries of instruction.

“ That not only will the members of the Church of England be virtually excluded from all participation in the proposed College, but the Roman Catholics also ; from the utter proscription of religion, the substance and marrow of all education, as is declared in their Petition for aid to their College at Kingston, now before your Hon. House. Nor is there any good ground for assuming that either the Presbyterians or Methodists, or any of the other numerous and respectable denominations, will patronize an institution where the name of the Saviour is never heard. And those who have Colleges of their own will cling to them more closely than ever, for the Government can offer them nothing so valuable as that which they are requested to give up. Their Charters place them, in honour, by the side of the British Universities ; but were they so regardless of their honour and interests as to listen to the invitations of this Bill, they would sink into deserved contempt. Fortunately they have no power to make a surrender of such rights and privileges, for they are not confined to the officers or trustees of their respective colleges, but belong to all their people. Hence your Petitioner infers, that if the Methodists and Presbyterians retain the power of conferring degrees, the Church of England cannot be long deprived of the same privilege.

“ Your Petitioner most respectfully submits that the operation of this measure reverses the received axiom, that legislation should be for the benefit of the greater number. By the last census the population of Upper Canada is . . . . . 721,000

The Church of England, which cannot connect itself with the proposed College, gives . . . . .	171,751
The Church of Rome, ditto . . . . .	123,707
The Wesleyan Methodists, who do not require it, having a College of their own . . . . .	90,363
The Kirk of Scotland, ditto . . . . .	67,900

Those who will not profit by the proposed College . . . . . 453,721

Leaving to profit by this measure . . . . . 267,279

“ Even this is too much in favour of the measure, for the Scottish Free Church, and your Petitioner believes the Congregationalists, disapprove of the principle of excluding religion from education, in which case they will soon have Colleges of their own.

Scottish Free Church . . . . .	64,729
Congregationalists . . . . .	20,372

To be farther deducted . . . . . 85,101

Leaving to profit by the proposed College . . . . . 182,178

“ But even from this must be deducted many denominations who disregard universities, and such knowledge as they impart. Hence the Bill legislates for less than one-fourth; and as half of these will not use the privilege, the legislature will, by passing the measure, sacrifice the feelings and interests of the great majority of the inhabitants of Upper Canada to a small and clamorous fraction.

“ Your Petitioner further submits that a still more perfect test of the classes which more especially employ colleges and seats of learning, would be found by ordering a return of the Students attending such Institutions, and of the denomination to which their parents respectively belong. This beyond every other argument would show the impolicy of this Bill, and the great injustice which it inflicts.

“ Your Petitioner further represents that the argument used by some to defend this measure, on the ground that it is similar to that which was adopted in the Parent State for the foundation of certain Secular Colleges in Ireland, is altogether fallacious, since whatever may be thought of the principle there adopted, it did not sacrifice the interests of the National Church as this measure does. No class could complain of injustice, however much they might deplore the avowed indifference manifested to the Christian religion. But the Bill before your Honourable House not only adopts all that is evil in the Irish measure, but farther deprives the members of the Church of England of their rights and College endowment, and gives to the Bill a revolutionary character.

“ Your Petitioner begs permission, in all due respect, to request your Honourable House to consider how the Government and people of England will reason, when they learn that the Legislative Assembly in Canada, a great portion being Roman Catholics and Dissenters, gave Presbyterians and Methodists Charters establishing colleges, and also pecuniary assistance to a considerable amount, while the same legislative body not only deprived the Church of England of the Charter of King's College, granted to her by our late Sovereign King George the Fourth, but despoiled her of the whole of the endowment, the gift of the same Sovereign, and refused to allow her to retain even the smallest portion of her own property, to enable her to educate the youth of her Communion for the different professions, and the continuance of her Ministry, and to supply vacancies continually happening in that Ministry, and extend her blessed ordinances to the destitute settlements of the Province. In fine, from the injustice of this measure, which seeks to crush the National Church, and peril her existence, may be seen her imminent danger, and that the most cruel of all oppressions, that of shackling the mind, and withdrawing the means of acquiring a liberal education for their children, is impending upon more than one-fourth of the inhabitants of Upper Canada: this, it would appear, from no other reason than that they belong to the established Church of the empire, which the Sovereign has sworn to maintain inviolate.

“ From all which your Petitioner, with all due respect to your Honourable House, enters his most solemn protest in behalf of the

Church of England against this Bill, and the provisions thereof, as most injurious to her interests, and subversive of her just rights and privileges—as unconstitutional, and pregnant with future evils both to Upper and Lower Canada.

“All which is most humbly submitted, and your Petitioner, as in duty bound, will ever pray. “JOHN TORONTO.”

We regret to add, from intelligence received while these pages have been passing through the press, that the third reading of the Bill has been carried in the House of Assembly by a majority of 43 against 10.

*Destruction of the Cathedral.*—A serious calamity has befallen the Diocese of Toronto, in the destruction, during the conflagration of the 7th of April last, of St. James's Church, used as the Cathedral. It was insured to the amount of 8,500*l.*, but there is a debt upon it of 3,000*l.* The organ, library, and every thing moveable were rescued.

*CAPE.—Increase of the Clergy.*—It appears by letters recently received from the Bishop of Capetown, that in the course of a single year fourteen additional clergymen and ten additional catechists have been appointed in that diocese. Several more are expected from England; and when all those that have been written for shall have arrived, and the candidates for orders have been ordained, the number of the clergy will be increased from fifteen to forty, that of the catechists from one to eight. Efforts for the erection of churches are being made in at least twenty different localities. A Collegiate School is about to be commenced, intended to be transformed hereafter into a Theological College, with a Grammar School attached to it. Several addresses, acknowledging the spiritual benefit bestowed upon the colony by the foundation of an episcopal see, have been transmitted to Miss Burdett Coutts.

*Distribution of the Government Grant.*—The following are the proportions in which the Government grant is distributed at the Cape, according to an official return:—

	Ministers.	Congregation.	
London Missionary Society .	17	4,640	no salary.
Foreign ditto ditto .	29	3,935	no salary.
Lutheran Church . . .	1	600	£ 13 4 6
Wesleyans . . . . .	18	3,680	300 0 0
Scotch Presbyterians . .	6	1,350	500 0 0
Roman Catholic . . . .	2	700	300 0 0
Dutch Church . . . . .	33	9,457	6,950 0 0
English ditto . . . . .	15	3,009	3,025 0 0
	<hr/> 121 <hr/>	<hr/> 27,371 <hr/>	<hr/> £11,088 4 6 <hr/>

The Wesleyans have presented a memorial to the Governor, in which they complain that they are not receiving such a share of the grant, as they consider themselves entitled to in proportion to their numbers.

*The Romish Church at the Cape.*—In compliance with the request of Dr. Devereux, vicar-apostolic of the eastern district of Cape Colony,



the cardinal prefect of the propaganda has issued a brief, stating that "the Holy Father, in virtue of his prerogative of universal pastor, to whom in a special manner belongs the care of all the churches," has commanded him to exhort all patriarchs, primates, archbishops, and bishops, and all the faithful, that "acting in the spirit and under the influence of that holy Catholic faith which they prize so highly and love so ardently, they would assist the right reverend the bishop of Paneas—a missionary full of self-devotedness, and of zeal for the diffusion of religion, with such pious alms and offerings as will enable them to transplant the faith of Christ into those distant regions."

FRANCE.—*The Doctrine of the Immaculate Conception. The Doctrine of Development.*—The Encyclic of Pius IX., on the subject of the Immaculate Conception of the Virgin<sup>1</sup>, has already been responded to by a number of the French Bishops in their *mandements*. In order to convey to our readers an idea of the tone in which the subject is treated in France, we shall transcribe a passage or two from an article contained in the *Ami de la Religion*, from the pen of the Jesuit Ravignan.

"Mary is, next to God, the most august and the most touching object of the faith and piety of Christians. One of the most glorious privileges of that faith, that to which the heart seems disposed to give the preference over every other privilege, is, albeit certain in the eyes of the Catholic populations, still placed in a kind of secondary rank, not sharing the infallible dignity of the revealed and defined doctrines of the faith. This privilege is celebrated and believed in throughout the whole world; it now awaits a solemn definition; and all the wishes of the pastors and the flocks call for that definition. The divine and sovereign sanction stamped upon the belief in the Immaculate Conception of Mary by the hand of the successor of Peter, would be the crowning achievement of the gravest labours of sacred science, an abundant fountain of joy opened to Christian souls in these days of sadness and of horror; an additional act of homage rendered to heaven by the earth; a further tribute of praise to the honour of the Mother of God, the spotless Virgin. We ask for it, we sue for it, we hope for it; and our Fathers in the faith, the bishops, convey the eloquent and lively expression of their thoughts on this subject to the very heart of the exiled Pontiff."

After this burst of rhetoric Father Ravignan proceeds to examine the question, whether the promulgation of a new article of the faith be admissible; a question which he answers in the affirmative, upon the strength of the following fundamental principles of his Church.

"The Church has received from her Divine Founder the power of defining and fixing for ever, by a sovereign and infallible sanction, the dogmas of the faith, the revealed verities.

"Of this authority of definition there cannot be a shadow of doubt in the mind of any one who bears a Catholic heart in his bosom.

<sup>1</sup> See the Intelligence in our last number, pp. 238—241 of the present volume.

" But it is no less indisputable that this Divine power to define the faith is subject, from its very institution and its infallible nature, to no limits either of time or doctrine.

" The Christian ages have broken in upon the world like a perpetual day without night and without cloud, which infallibility will illuminate to the last. No intermission, no eclipse is perceivable here ; this sun of truth, once risen, knows of no decline and no setting ; it shines and rules perpetually over the world in all the brightness of its strength....

" Here is a doctrine, the Immaculate Conception of Mary : without a doubt it is universally believed in the Church. It has not yet been defined as a dogma of the faith ; why should it not be so defined now ? What is there wanting to the infallible authority for its definition ? Is it light, or power ? Certainly not. And if the whole body of pastors supplicate the vicar of Jesus Christ solemnly to proclaim this dogma, if the august and venerated Pius IX., deeming the wishes of the Catholic world in accordance with those of his own heart, and with the inspirations of divine help of which he has the promise, accomplish this great act of his reign, which so many pontiffs before him have desired and prepared, what faithful Catholic would not rejoice with the angels in heaven, what man of sense even could object to this majestic exercise of the supreme power of definition, which is ever abiding and present in the Church till the consummation of all the ages ?

" The Church can therefore, if she sees fit, define the spotless Conception of Mary, or any other point of revealed faith."

In reply to the doubts and fears of "timid consciences" who might think this a dangerous stretch of authority on the part of the Church, Father Ravignan appeals not only to his own arguments, but to certain weighty testimonies :—

" Far weightier authorities, our most learned Bishops, among others, their lordships the Archbishops of Cambrai and Rheims, and the Bishop of Mans, have eloquently determined in what sense a development of the faith, and dogmas newly defined are possible in the Church, without any addition to, or alteration of, the primitive deposit of revelation. It is well, also, to remember what the illustrious Doctor Newman has written, at the moment of his conversion, touching this power of expansion and development of the faith. What appears at first sight daring in this theological theory, is, when properly understood, nothing more than a most simple truth which every body must of necessity admit."

GERMANY.—*Separation of Church and State.*—We have, on a former occasion<sup>2</sup>, drawn attention to the state of utter confusion to which the Protestant Communion of Germany have been reduced by the recent political events in that country. All that has since transpired being in fearful keeping with the picture then presented to our readers, we deem it superfluous to enter into any of the details of a kindred nature which

<sup>2</sup> English Review, vol. x. pp. 477—484.

have since then accumulated under our hands<sup>3</sup>, but shall confine ourselves to the one great practical question which is at this moment under discussion among the Protestants of Prussia, and which, in its further progress, will be decisive of the fate of the Protestant establishments, not only in Prussia, but indirectly throughout Germany. The twelfth article of the Constitution granted by the King in December of last year, having made the separation of the Church from the State one of the fundamental principles of the new order of things, it became absolutely necessary to take measures for the reorganization of the Church in a manner adapted to her new position. Accordingly, the Minister of Ecclesiastical Affairs invited the consistories, and the theological faculties of the different universities, in January last, to report on the steps most advisable, in their opinion, to be taken under existing circumstances. The replies to this invitation are both numerous and voluminous, and while they are being printed *in extenso* for official use, copious extracts and abstracts, and, in some instances, even copies of them, have found their way into the public prints. Meanwhile, the importance of the questions involved in this inquiry was not lost sight of by the rationalistic and democratic party; their veteran leader, Uhlich of Magdeburg, who has been reinstated in his parochial cure of St. Catherine's, convened a meeting in that city, on the 18th of April last, at which the best mode of bringing about a General Representative Assembly of the Church was debated; and steps were taken to organize a general movement on the principles agreed upon by the meeting. As the proceedings of this body represent the extreme democratic and rationalistic view of Church matters, and the report of the theological faculty at Berlin, on the contrary, the opposite—conservative, and (in the German sense of the word) orthodox side, we shall place the two in juxta-position, beginning with the former, as tending to explain and to justify much of what is contained in the latter.

In the first place, it was unanimously affirmed by the meeting at Magdeburg, that a General National Representative Assembly of Protestants should be convened with as little delay as possible. The convocation of such an assembly requiring, as an indispensable preliminary, a law of election, that subject was next taken into consideration; and it was agreed that this law must originate with the people themselves,

<sup>3</sup> We must make an exception from this rule in favour of an extract from one of the last epistles of John Ronge. After detailing the formation of several new congregations, among them one of female German Catholics, presided over by a Jewess, the writer proceeds to give the following account of his liturgic reforms:—"I have simplified the ritual, or rather I have laid aside the rags and crutches derived from the Protestant and Catholic Churches, which are still retained in many of our congregations, so as to make the externals of worship tally entirely with the theory. In baptism, for instance, I have introduced by way of symbol a nosegay, which is handed to the child by the congregation. With a view to give to our Church a more national character, confirmation is combined with a popular festival, for which several neighbouring congregations assemble together, and at which the national colours are publicly delivered to the newly confirmed."

and be drawn up at once, without giving the authorities time to impose a law of their own framing. These two points being settled, it was further determined, that electors should be chosen, one from every congregation under five hundred souls, two from every congregation above five hundred and below one thousand, and one more for every additional thousand; the electors of each district or town to meet together, and elect between them one clerical and two lay representatives for the General Assembly, which is to act as a constituent assembly, negotiating the terms of separation from the State on the one hand, and on the other hand framing a new ecclesiastical constitution. The next question was as to the qualifications which should confer the power of voting, and render the party eligible as a Church representative. Here various points arose, which were successively disposed of as follows:—The voters and the parties to be elected shall be subject to the same qualifications. These, as settled by the meeting, are—citizenship and full age (twenty-four years); the only religious test, the declaration of the party himself that he considers himself a member of the Evangelic Church, in the widest acceptation of the term, without distinction of existing communions. The proposal to restrict the right of voting, and of representing the Church, to communicants was unanimously rejected, on the ground that all external tests were objectionable. The question whether an unblemished moral character should be required, was, after some discussion, likewise decided in the negative, on the ground that it was impossible to draw the line of moral disqualification; that an immoral character, whom the law could not reach, was, in reality, no better than a convicted felon, and that, as the Church does not refuse the Sacrament to penitent criminals, it would be inconsistent to draw the line more strictly in the matter of Church representatives. The result is that, according to the views of the party represented at this meeting, any man who has the right of Prussian citizenship, and has completed his twenty-fourth year, be his creed or his moral character what it may, is qualified not only to give a vote in the choice of representatives, but to be himself elected as a representative of the “Church of the future” in her constituent assembly, which is to have full and sovereign authority of deciding all questions, both of faith and of discipline.

After this summary of the views of the democratic party of the Church, the following report from the theological faculty of Berlin will both be better understood and read with greater interest, as an exposition of the actual state of religion in Germany. The report sets out by stating that many of the questions proposed to the faculty are not discussed in it as they related to the mode of convening a constituent assembly of the Church; and the faculty had come to a decidedly negative conclusion upon the preliminary question, whether such an assembly should be convened at all. The reasons for this conclusion, which constitute the most interesting part of the report, are thus stated:—“Considering the spirit which is abroad, the convocation of a general assembly would raise a mighty tempest, unless, indeed, it were constituted upon a democratic basis. If it were so constituted, the

Church would receive from it the most vital injury. A true representation of the Church can only consist of such members as are powerfully imbued with her spirit. But how should such real and worthy representatives be obtained by the election of a constituency consisting of a disorganized multitude, whose relation to the Church is of a purely external character? Our Church has possession of rich and precious treasures. She has as yet preserved the jewels of pure doctrine and of faith in God's Word. To make the preservation of these treasures dependent on the decision of the majority of an assembly constituted by universal suffrage, would be a most unjustifiable proceeding. The notion of securing the Church's profession of faith by reserving it, as not subject to the cognizance of the general assembly, would soon be exploded by the event. The general synod being once recognized as the true representation of the Church, it would be impossible to circumscribe its powers. It would in that case be subject to no limits, except those which arise out of the nature of things; and if it chose to overstep those, nothing could arrest the progress of destruction. Besides, the Church is not called upon to frame a constitution for herself; she already has a constitution; she is not a chaos, but, however great may be her defects, a living organization. This organization would be destroyed by the convocation of an assembly chosen by universal suffrage. The ecclesiastical authorities would lose all their influence, and a process of dissolution would ensue, all the more pernicious, since it may with certainty be predicted that the new edifice to be substituted, in an age far more expert in pulling down than in building up, would not be of a permanent character. Our Church is rent by parties, whose antagonistic principles are not merely such as have at all times been held in the Church, and are inseparable from her very existence, but relate for the most part to the substance matter of faith. We cannot but express our earnest desire that these antagonistic principles may not lead to external schisms, in the hope that the spirit of religion, combined with theological learning, inspired by faith, grounded and exclusively dependent on the Word of God, may yet at some future time penetrate the masses and reunite the discordant elements. But the first condition of such a consummation is that no general assembly be convened for the present, and until a return to the faith shall have taken place. The only bond which has hitherto kept these discordant elements together, is reverence for existing institutions. Let these be once shaken to their foundation, let the erection of a new edifice be taken in hand, and the Church will be scattered to the four winds of heaven. It is wholly impossible for the different parties to agree in the construction of the new edifice. Those who shall find themselves in a minority in the Constituent Assembly, cannot be expected to do otherwise than separate, and attempt to form Church communions of their own. Considering the prevalence of the spirit of individualism, which would in that event exhibit itself in its worst features, the principle of separation, once brought into action, would not rest till it had

produced an universal dissolution, and blown the Church to atoms. In the midst of the confusion which would ensue, the property of the Church could not be protected from the grasp of avarice. The consequence of separation would be far more fatal with us than in America, where a spirit of national piety counteracts it, and averts extreme measures. We are, therefore, constrained to pronounce decidedly against the convocation of a constituent assembly, which, of course, implies that we are, on the whole, favourable to the preservation of the existing organization of the Church. We are far from regarding this existing organization as the ideal and perfection of a Church; still, despite of its many and undeniable defects, we see in it a bulwark against the wild waves of revolution, which would certainly burst forth upon the Church likewise, if a reconstruction of her were to be attempted; a bulwark against the agitation of men who have been estranged from the spirit of the Church, and who would not be slow to come over from the stage of politics, on which they are at present engaged, to that of religion, if the latter presented to them free scope and a prospect of success; the more so, as they are no doubt aware that they can never hope fully to attain even their political aims, without destroying the Church, which never can lose sight of her political maxim, "Let every soul be subject to the higher powers."

The remainder of this interesting document is occupied with the consideration of those modifications of the existing organization of the Church, which are rendered imperative by recent events, and by the present juncture of ecclesiastical affairs. Among the questions discussed in this part of the report, is that of the royal supremacy, or, as it is called in Germany, the lay-episcopate of the temporal power. The faculty itself was divided upon it. Doctors Neander, Twesten, and Nitzsch, maintained that the royal supremacy rests entirely upon the hypothesis of the state being a Christian and an Evangelic state, and that the state having ceased to have any religion, or at least to profess any distinctive creed, the supremacy became, *ipso facto*, extinct; the more so as after the democratic changes in the political constitution of the country, the supremacy could not even be defended on the lower ground of the Prince being personally the protector and benefactor of the Church. A contrary opinion, which considers loyalty towards the person of the Sovereign as an indispensable ingredient of religion, with which it would be extremely dangerous to interfere, was upheld by Dr. Hengstenberg, and Dr. Strauss.

The report recommends the constitution of some form of local and congregational Church-government under the existing consistories; and on the question of qualification the principle was laid down by unanimous consent, that no one can be admissible to an office in the Church, who is not independent in his position, and of unblemished moral character, and is moreover an attendant at Church, a communicant, and a professor of the Church's faith. It was further the unanimous opinion of the faculty, that the same qualifications ought to be required for the right of voting; but it was thought by some that in



the case of the electors it would be impracticable strictly to enforce them in the present condition of the Church.

**ITALY.—Gaeta.—The Pope's Allocution.**—On the 20th of April last, Pius IX. held a secret consistory at Gaeta, when he delivered an Allocution on the present condition of the papal power. This document, the extreme length of which precludes us from giving more than extracts from its contents, commences with a general retrospect of the principal events in the progress of the revolution, down to the time when Pius IX., by refusing to proclaim the Republic at Rome, and to place himself at the head of the Italian league, incurred the resentment of the patriots, and was forced to make his escape from Rome. After condemning the Constituent Assembly for having assumed the supreme power, and expressing his conviction that by far the greatest part both of the Roman people and of the other inhabitants of the Pontifical States remain constantly attached to him and to the Apostolic See, Pius IX. records his solemn protest against the proposed separation of the civil sovereignty of Rome from his spiritual authority:—

“ And in the midst of these our most ardent desires we cannot but specially admonish and reprove those who applaud that decree whereby the Roman Pontiff has been deprived of all the honour and dignity of his civil sovereignty, and maintain it to be conducive to the furtherance of the liberty and happiness of the Church herself. But here we openly and publicly declare that we say not these things from any lust of power, or any love of temporal sovereignty, seeing that our temper and disposition is altogether alien from the spirit of domination. Nevertheless, the duty of our office requires, that in maintaining the civil sovereignty of the Apostolic See, we should defend with all our might the rights and possessions of the Holy Roman Church, and the liberty of the same See, which is intimately connected with the liberty and welfare of the whole Church. Assuredly those who, approving the aforesaid decree, entertain such false and absurd notions, must be, or at least pretend to be, ignorant that it was by the express counsel of Divine Providence, that at the division of the Roman Empire into several kingdoms and various states, the Roman Pontiff, to whom was committed by Christ the Lord the government and care of the whole Church, obtained a civil sovereignty; no doubt for this cause, that for the government of the Church and the preservation of her unity, he might possess that full freedom which is required for the discharge of the office of the Supreme Apostolic Ministry. For it must be evident to all, that the people, the nations, and the kingdoms of the faithful, could never accord to him an entire confidence and obedience, if they saw him subject to the dominion of any prince or government, and debarred from his liberty. The faithful populations and governments would never cease strongly to suspect and to fear lest the Pontiff should conform his acts to the will of the prince or government in whose State he might be sojourning, and therefore would not hesitate on this pretext, often to oppose themselves to those acts. And, indeed, let the

very enemies of the civil sovereignty of the Apostolic See, who now rule at Rome—let them say with what confidence and obedience they themselves would receive the exhortations, admonitions, mandates, and constitutions of the Sovereign Pontiff, if they knew him to be subject to the will of some prince or government, especially to some prince between whom and the Roman State any protracted warfare might be carried on?"

The Allocution next enlarges on the miserable condition to which Rome is reduced, complaining, "that the city of Rome, the principal See of the Catholic Church, is at present, alas! become a forest full of roaring wild beasts, since it is filled with men of all nations, who being either apostates or heretics, or teachers of the so-called *Communism*, or *Socialism*, and animated with satanic hatred against Catholic truth, endeavour both by writings and every other means, to inculcate and disseminate all kinds of pestilent errors, and to pervert the minds and hearts of all, in order that in the very city itself, if that were even possible, the sanctity of the Catholic religion, and the unchangeable rule of faith may be depraved?"

Lastly, after explaining the motives which induced the Pope to accept the proffered aid of foreign Powers, for the vindication of the civil sovereignty of the Holy See, the Allocution thus concludes:—

"Meanwhile, Venerable Brethren, let us not fail, day and night, with constant and devout prayer, to make our suit to God, who is rich in mercy, beseeching Him, for the merits of His only begotten Son, to deliver His Holy Church, with His Almighty arm, from the violent storms by which she is bruised; and by the illumination of His Divine grace, to enlighten the minds of all that are in error, and in the multitude of His mercy to subdue the hearts of all that are rebellious, to the end that, all errors being driven away, and all adversities removed, all men may in all places behold and acknowledge the light of justice and truth, and agree in the unity of the faith and of the knowledge of our Lord Jesus Christ. Let us never cease to implore Him, who maketh peace on high, and who is our peace, that, utterly putting a stop to all the evils wherewith the Christian commonwealth is afflicted, He may every where establish the peace and tranquillity so ardently longed for. And in order that God may the more readily grant our prayers, let us have recourse to our intercessors with Him, and, above all, to the Most Holy and Immaculate Virgin Mary, who, being the Mother of God, and our Mother, and the Mother of Mercy, finds what She seeks, and cannot be disappointed. Let us also implore the intercession of the Blessed Peter, Prince of the Apostles, and of his fellow-Apostle Paul, and of all the Saints in heaven, who, being already made the friends of God, reign with Him in heaven, that the most merciful Lord, by the intervention of their merits and prayers, may deliver the faithful from the terrors of His wrath, and may evermore protect them, and make them joyful with the abundance of His Divine Mercy."

*Administration of Religious Affairs at Rome.—Father Ventura.*—In the absence of the Pope, the Triumvirs have taken upon themselves,

besides the civil Government of the Republic, the administration of religious affairs. They publish decrees regulating the manner of celebrating the different festivals; more particularly they have done so at Easter and at Corpus Christi. The canons of St. Peter having refused, on the former of these two festivals, to comply with their orders, subjected themselves to heavy pecuniary penalties. On that occasion mass was said by a priest named Spola, at the reserved altar of St. Peter's, at which none but the Pope himself ever officiates. The scandal of this proceeding, which "good Catholics" regard as a regular act of sacrilege, was greatly increased by the fact, that the celebrated Father Ventura took part in the ceremony, as did another priest, Father Gavazzi. The following extract of a letter from the learned Theatine is interesting, as showing the light in which the present position of the Pope is viewed by him:—

"As for the Pope, it is true that at one time I proposed as a means of solving the difficulty, to place the Pope at the head of the Republic, as its President *pro tempore*. But a prudent and upright statesman must know how to sacrifice his opinion, when he finds it opposed to the public wish of the people. Now, in the Roman States the free vote of the people has categorically pronounced an absolute separation between the spiritual and temporal power; could I then be foolish enough to dream of carrying an opinion in opposition to this vote? Some months ago the thing was possible; it is so no longer, and must no more be thought of. Even those who ought to have wished it, did not wish it; so much the worse for them. Henceforward the Clergy must renounce all—even the most indirect share in the temporal government of the State. Their whole occupation must henceforward be to preach to a free people, by word and example, the true doctrine of the Church, in order to arrest all erroneous tendencies, and to prevent this great movement which shakes and overturns every thing, and which no human power can stop, from becoming Protestant or *Voltairian*, instead of being, as it still is, Christian."

**JERUSALEM.—Consecration of Christ Church.**—The following account of the Consecration of the English Church at Jerusalem is given by the *John Bull*:—"On Sunday, January 21, being the seventh anniversary of the entry of the first Protestant Bishop into the Holy City, the English Church erected at Jerusalem was consecrated by the name of Christ Church. The two British Consuls, for Jerusalem and Palestine and for Jaffa, and the Prussian Consul for Jerusalem, were present. The sermon was preached by the Bishop, from Isaiah lvi. 7: 'Mine house shall be called an house of prayer for all people.' After the first two of the usual Consecration Collects, the Bishop read, instead of the last, one composed specially for the occasion; as follows:—

"'Blessed be Thy Name, O Lord God of Israel, that it hath pleased Thee to dispose the hearts of Thy people all over the world to favour Zion, and to erect this house for Thy worship and service. Bless them, O Lord, for their regard to Thy honour, and to the good of souls.

Bless them for their love to Zion, and for their compassionate care for the lost sheep of the house of Israel. Bless all Thy servants by whose common care this tabernacle has been reared among the ruins of Jerusalem; prosper their work, and give success to their endeavour to lead the sons and daughters of Abraham to their Redeemer. Bless all those that pray for the peace of Jerusalem, and grant, O Lord, that all those, for whose good this pious work is intended, may show forth their thankfulness by making a right use thereof, to the glory of Thy blessed Name, through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.'

"The Syrian Bishop, with some Priests and Deacons, attended throughout the whole of the solemnity. The former expressed himself deeply interested by the service. There were also some Armenian Priests present; but the Armenian Patriarch, who had in a manner accepted the Bishop's invitation, did not come, being indisposed. Some of the Greek United [Roman] Catholic Priests were also present, but none of their dignitaries.

"The following are the prayers used at the English Church at Jerusalem, for the King of Prussia and for the Sultan:—

"*For the King of Prussia and the Royal Family.*—'O Lord God Almighty, who hast graciously put it into the heart of His Majesty Frederic William, King of Prussia, Thy servant, to favour Thy Church, and protect Thy people in this land, vouchsafe, we beseech Thee, to replenish him with the Grace of Thy Holy Spirit, that he may always incline to Thy will, and walk in Thy way. Endue him plenteously with Thy heavenly gifts, grant him in health and wealth long to live, protect him against all his enemies, and favour him with wise and righteous councillors, that he may reign in righteousness, in Thy fear and love, ever confiding in Thy name; and that, finally, after this life, he may obtain a crown of eternal glory. Bless her Majesty the Queen, and all the Royal Family, with health, peace, and godliness: and lead them by Thy Spirit to Thine everlasting kingdom, through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.'

"*For the Sultan.*—'O Lord God Almighty, who rulest over all the kingdoms of the nations, in whose hand is power and might, give Thy grace and Thy blessing to His Majesty, the ruler of this empire, under whose sceptre we are graciously permitted to serve and worship Thee in peace and quietness: grant him long to live in happiness, and to govern the nations subject to his rule with benignity, wisdom, and righteousness. Lead him into the way of peace, that we and all Thy people in his vast empire, may continue to lead a quiet and peaceful life in all godliness, through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.'"

NEW ZEALAND.—*Foundation of a Church Hospital.*—The Bishop of New Zealand has attached a Hospital to the other foundations of St. John's College. The following are the

"*Rules for the Brethren and Sisters of the Hospital of St. John.*

"1. The object of this Association is to provide for the religious

instruction, medical care, and general superintendence of the Patients in the Hospital, without the expenses usually incurred in the salaries of chaplains, surgeons, nurses, and other attendants.

“2. The general principles upon which this Community is founded are contained in the following passages of Scripture, or may be deduced from them:—

“Matt. xxv. 40. Verily I say unto you, Inasmuch as ye have done it unto one of the least of these my brethren, ye have done it unto Me.

“Matt. xxii. 39. Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself.

“Luke x. 37. Go, and do thou likewise.

“John xiii. 14. If I then, your LORD and MASTER, have washed your feet, ye also ought to wash one another's feet.

“Matt. v. 46. If ye love them which love you, what reward have ye? do not even the publicans the same?

“Gal. v. 6. Faith which worketh by love.

“James ii. 17. Faith, if it hath not works, is dead, being alone.

“1 John iii. 18. Let us not love in word, neither in tongue, but in deed and in truth.

“Luke xvii. 10. When ye shall have done all those things which are commanded you, say, We are unprofitable servants: we have done that which was our duty to do.

“3. The Brethren and Sisters of the Hospital of St. John are a Community who desire to be enabled, by Divine grace, to carry the above Scriptural principles into effect: and who pledge themselves to minister, so far as their health will allow them, to all the wants of the sick of all classes, without respect of persons, or reservation of service, in the hope of excluding all hireling assistance from a work which ought, if possible, to be entirely a labour of love.

“4. The Brethren and Sisters of St. John are prohibited from receiving payment for any services performed in the Hospital, but will be entitled to expect for themselves and their families, in cases of sickness, the active sympathy and aid of the other members of the Community, and the free use of such medical advice, and other comforts, as the College can supply.

“5. Candidates for admission into the Community must be presented to the Bishop, and in his presence pledge themselves to follow out (so far as their health and strength will allow them) the course of duties which may be assigned to them.

“6. The duties of the Community are arranged according to day and night courses, to secure, as far as possible, the constant presence of one superintendent of each sex, to administer food and medicine at the hours appointed by the House Surgeon.

“7. Those members who reside at a distance from the College will be exempt from the duty of personal attendance; and will be considered to discharge their duties sufficiently by regular contributions of meat, poultry, eggs, milk, butter, and other necessaries; or by assistance in needlework, washing, and the like.

"8. A tithe of the share of produce and increase accruing to the College will be regularly set apart for the maintenance of the Hospital; and the greater part, if not the whole, of the proceeds of the weekly Offertory at the College Chapelries; but, as these sources of supply may not be sufficient, the contributions of all friends and neighbours will be most thankfully received; and especially, the stated supplies of those who have been enrolled as Brethren of St. John.

"9. It is a fundamental principle, that all patients, of whatever race, station, or religious persuasion, shall receive the same kind and brotherly treatment, without distinction of persons.

"10. The usual regulations will be enforced against the admission of patients afflicted with contagious or infectious disorders; the present Hospital not being on a sufficient scale to admit of separate classification."

*The Romish Propaganda.*—*The Tablet*, in announcing the arrival in London of Dr. Pompallier, the Romish Bishop of New Zealand, from Ireland, whence he took with him several priests, who are to accompany him on his return to the colony, contains the following statement:—

"He intends," says the Popish print, "to return to his diocese in the course of next month, attended by at least twenty European priests, should he be able to procure funds sufficient to defray the expenses of their passage. The Society for the Propagation of the Faith has made him a considerable grant, and some private individuals have also contributed towards the expenses of his mission, which, notwithstanding, are heavier than he can at present discharge. His Lordship has baptised with his own hands more than 10,000 persons in his extensive diocese."

SYRIA.—*Ancient Christian Church in the territory of Moab.*—A party of Americans, who have recently explored the neighbourhood of the Dead Sea, have discovered the existence of an ancient Christian community at Kerak, the Kirjath-Moab of the Bible. A deputation from this body came to salute the travellers, who give the following account of their communication with them:—

"The joy of this people at meeting us was unbounded. They caressed us, brought us water and leban, (sour milk,)—all they had,—and some of them spent nearly a whole night hunting a wild boar, wherewith to regale us. When told that our forms of worship in America were different from theirs, they replied, 'What matters it? Christ died for all. Do you not believe in Him?' When told that we did, they said, 'Then what are forms before God? He looks to the heart. We are brothers!' And brothers they continued to call us to the last.

"We could not trace their origin, but concluded that they are either the descendants of one of the last tribes converted to Christianity, who in the fastnesses of the mountains escaped the Mahomedan alternative of 'the Koran or the sword,' or of the crusaders under the 'Christian Lord of Kerak.' They number about 150 families, and live in the



town—the only one now left in the once populous country of Moab. Within the walls are also the huts of 100 Moslem families, and outside are the black tents of the fierce tribe Kera Keyeh, numbering 750 fighting men.

“These poor Christians are much tyrannized over by their Moslem neighbours. Their only place of retreat, when threatened with violence, is their little cell of a church, which can scarcely hold twenty families. Their account, which in its narration bore the impress of truth, seems confirmed by the circumstance that in the centre of their little church there is a well, which supplies them with water until their provisions are exhausted, or the restless nature of their persecutors takes them elsewhere. The object of all their hopes is to build a church sufficiently large to hold all their wives and children; for, with all their intolerance, the Moslems respect the house of Him whom they call, ‘Issa, the Prophet of the Christians.’

“The foundation, and part of the walls of a church, have been built, but the work has been discontinued from the want of means—the sirocco and the locusts having swept their harvests for several years. They gave me an appeal to their Christian brethren in America, which I prefer sending forth in its own simple and touching brevity. I will only add that little should be given, and that *discreetly*, at different times, so as not to excite the cupidity of the Moslems. The Board of Foreign Missions at New York will doubtless receive what may be given, and forward it either to their brethren in Beirut, or to the Anglican Bishop at Jerusalem, for distribution.

“‘By God’s favour; may it, God willing, reach America, and be presented to our Christian brothers, whose happiness may the Almighty God preserve: Amen. 8642.

“‘We are in Kerak a few very poor Christians, and are building a church. We beg your excellency to help us in this undertaking, for we are very weak. The land has been unproductive, and visited by the locusts for the last seven years. The church is delayed in not being accomplished for want of funds; for we are few Christians surrounded by Moslems. This being all that is necessary to write to you, Christian brothers in America, we need say no more.

“‘ABD’ALLAHEN NAHAS. (Sheikh.)

“‘YACOB EN NAHAS.’”

**TURKEY.**—*The American Mission at Constantinople.*—Several of the American Bishops have issued Pastorals, calling upon their flocks to support the American Episcopal Mission at Constantinople, which appears to be in an embarrassed condition, for want of funds. In the Pastoral of the Bishop of Rhode Island, the following passage occurs:—

“To allow this Mission to sink under its present embarrassments, would be to withdraw from the Oriental Christians one of their chief safeguards against the arts and seductions of papal emissaries, and to leave them without any specimen of Protestantism, but one which, having repudiated the Apostolic discipline, adheres with no tenacity to

the orthodox faith ; and whose history in this country gives ground for the fear that it will contribute to the propagation of division and error, rather than to the restoration of primitive unity and truth.

“ There is no time for delay in this cause. It may be that, before intelligence of any special effort to save the Mission can reach him, Bishop Southgate, compelled by necessities and sufferings no longer endurable, may be on his return home.”

It appears that the offerings for this Mission during the last year did not amount to above half the sum (4000 dollars) originally appropriated to it. Bishop Southgate intended to depart for America in the month of April.

UNITED STATES.—*Annual Convention of Pennsylvania.*—*Bishop H. U. Onderdonk.*—At the Sixty-fifth Convention of the diocese of Pennsylvania, held in May last, the following resolutions, relative to the case of Bishop Onderdonk, were adopted :—

“ Resolved,—That the removal by the House of Bishops of the disabilities imposed by that body on the Right Rev. Henry U. Onderdonk, D.D., would give great satisfaction to the individuals, clerical and lay, composing this Convention ; and also, it is believed, to many others, as well in the Church generally, as in the diocese once under his jurisdiction.

“ Resolved, moreover,—That while such removal would cheer the declining years of a venerable and distinguished servant of the Church, it would secure to his many admirable productions their just estimation by posterity, and be in accordance with the charity so eloquently portrayed in the teaching, and so consistently exemplified in the conduct, of the great Apostle of the Gentiles.”

The resolutions were introduced by the Rev. Dr. Coleman, who was listened to with the most profound attention, while he accompanied them with the following remarks :—

“ For nearly five years has the venerable prelate who is the subject of these resolutions, meekly and silently submitted to the authority of the Church. The uncomplaining spirit in which he has borne his sufferings, and his exemplary life during all this time, are well known to many of us ; and they have greatly exalted his Christian character in the estimation of those who knew him best. I believe the resolutions before us speak the sentiments of this whole community, and the diocese at large ; and that their passage by this body will convey the most lively satisfaction to every quarter of the Church. The House of Bishops will naturally look for some action first on the part of this diocese ; and such an expression of opinion by this Convention cannot but have great weight with those who were solemnly charged at their consecration, ‘ so to minister discipline, that they forget not mercy.’

“ Another reason for my offering these resolutions now is, that life is uncertain. I trust that our late Right Rev. Father will be spared for many years of further usefulness in the service of the Church ; but before the House of Bishops shall again assemble, it may please God to

take him to Himself; and in that case it will be no small consolation to those who now sympathize with him in his distress, to know that they, at least, did what they could that his grey hairs should not be brought down with sorrow to the grave."

During the delivery of these remarks, a deep and solemn silence pervaded the whole Convention; many being affected to tears. The resolutions were immediately seconded by several members, and passed by a *viva voce* vote; there being but two or three negative voices. Dr. Coleman then rose, and after humbly thanking God for the remarkable unanimity displayed, renewed the offer which he had before made—to reconsider the question, if it was desired, that the clergy and lay deputies might vote as two distinct orders; but the loud *ayes* from every part of the House rendered such a course unnecessary.

*Exclusion of Negro Churches.*—At the same Convention of the diocese of Pennsylvania a petition from St. Thomas (African) Church, praying "that the eighth revised regulation, which precludes the lay delegates from that Church from taking seats in this Convention, be rescinded," was ordered to be laid upon the table by a majority of 99 to 50.

*Annual Convention of New Jersey.*—*Attempted Impeachment of Bishop Doane.*—At the meeting of this Convention, on Thursday the 31st of May, a resolution was proposed, on the ground of certain "serious charges impeaching the moral character of the Bishop," propagated by "public rumour as well as newspaper publications," for the appointment of a committee of three clergymen, and three laymen, to "make such inquiries as shall satisfy them of the innocence of the accused, or of the sufficiency or ground for presentment and trial." After an "earnest debate" the Bishop, who retained his seat as President of the Convention, rose, and, after a few brief observations on the painful position in which he was placed, put the resolution, when not a single voice, not even that of the proposer, responded by an *aye*; but, "on the contrary," an unanimous shout of *noes* plainly indicated the sense of the Convention. From what fell from the speakers in the course of the debate, it would appear that the charges related to alleged imprudence in pecuniary transactions for the promotion of diocesan objects.

*Annual Convention of Virginia.*—At the annual Convention of Virginia, held at Charlottesville, a new constitution for the Theological Seminary was submitted by its trustees for ratification, and adopted. The number of students is 25.—On the report of the committee appointed in regard to the Presidency of William and Mary College, it was resolved that if the Bishop and assistant Bishop, after further conference with the visitors of William and Mary College, shall be of opinion that the interests of religion and literature will be promoted by Bishop Johns' accepting the Presidency of the College, the Convention give their consent to such acceptance, his continuance in the same being subject to the future advice and action of the Convention.—A new code of canons was adopted, with the exception of the canon respecting offences for which members of the Church may be repelled

from the communion, which was rejected, the number being, clergy, 42 ayes, 12 noes; laity, 19 ayes, 22 noes. This vote was subsequently reconsidered, and the canon laid over to the next Convention.

*Annual Convention of Massachusetts.*—The Convention of the Episcopal Church for the diocese of Massachusetts was held on Wednesday the 16th of May. The Bishop's report shows the diocese to be in a satisfactory condition. The number of confirmations has greatly increased, and several new churches have been consecrated, and new societies formed. A resolution respecting the increase of the fund for the support of the Bishop was indefinitely postponed by a unanimous vote. It was announced that the old journals of the diocese, as far back as the middle of the last century, had been printed, and were ready for distribution.

*Statistics of the Diocese.*—The whole number of clergymen in the diocese of Pennsylvania is stated at 144; parishes, 124. Of this number, three are without edifices, three others are building in connexion with other denominations, three have unfinished buildings, and six are worshipping in edifices not yet consecrated. The corner-stone of four churches has been laid, and five have been consecrated.

*Romish Council at Baltimore.*—A National Synod of the Romish Church in the United States met at Baltimore on Sunday, the 6th of May last. There were present on the occasion two archbishops and twenty-four bishops, with their theologians and the heads of the different religious orders. Among them was the aged Bishop of Louisville, who is upwards of eighty years old, and who was one of the earliest Romish Missionaries to the United States.

Among the topics which were to be deliberated upon by this Council, is the evangelic letter of the pope, proposing the declaration of the Immaculate Conception of the Virgin Mary, as a new article of the faith. Another subject of considerable importance is the settlement of the jurisdiction of the new Metropolitan See of St. Louis. Notwithstanding this hierarchal display, however, it appears that popery is rather on the decrease in the United States. The *Catholic Almanack*, published in Baltimore, represents *no increase* in the Roman Catholic dioceses of Baltimore, New Orleans, Louisville, Boston, Philadelphia, New York, Charleston, Mobile, Detroit, Vincennes, Natchez, Pittsburgh, Little Rock, Milwaukee, Albany, Galveston, and Buffalo; while in the diocese of Cleveland there has been an actual loss of 5000 souls from the last year's computation of 30,000. The total decrease of Roman Catholics in the United States during the year, is stated at 109,400; their present number at 1,276,300.

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# THE ENGLISH REVIEW.

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SEPTEMBER, 1849.

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ART. I.—*Memoirs of Prince Rupert and the Cavaliers, including their private Correspondence, now first published from the Original Manuscripts.* By ELIOT WARBURTON, Author of "*The Crescent and the Cross.*" 3 vols. London: Richard Bentley. 1849.

A THEME of abiding interest, ever kindling the strongest sympathies and awakening the most ardent controversies, is that of our great Civil War. Of all wars it is that, perhaps, which comes most *home* to us, and the memory of which is still calculated most keenly to excite our passions. Yet, whilst proclaiming this, we are far from maintaining or avowing that that terrible domestic conflict has wrought any very lasting effects among us, or that we are justified in attributing the freedom of our constitution, or the stability of its wisest institutions, to that ill-starred Rebellion which swept like the blast of the Sahara over the fertile glades of England, blighting the promise of a genial summertide, and at last passed from the face of earth, leaving, however, the old sound genial soil behind it, where the old world of order and beauty in due time bloomed again and ripened toward the harvest. We are intimately persuaded that the only real effect of the Great Rebellion was to *retard* the genuine development of our constitution in Crown, Lords, and Commons, as at present possessed by us, for the better part of a century, and at the same time to set the example of stubborn and lawless disobedience to "the powers that be," to be followed in other lands and other times by still more deluded and suicidal nations, impelled on their course by more unprincipled demagogues—men, without that fire of puritanic zeal, however misdirected, which serves in some degree to modify our condemnation of the worst of Roundhead excesses. Seriously, we believe, that our constitution, as at present possessed by us, was gradually, yet surely, developing throughout the reigns of Elizabeth and James the First; so that the royal martyr, on coming to his throne, was prepared, and even anxious, to recognise that element of power which was already embodied in his Commons, though he was also resolved not to allow that one branch of the legislature to overrule and absorb both the others, and thus concentrate power in one despotic middle-class majority.

We need not here record the pertinacity in unreasonable disloyalty, (we cannot employ a milder term,) which characterized the first parliaments of Charles's reign,—at least, the houses of

Commons in each Parliament. Almost all historians of credit are agreed upon this head. We may safely leave Mr. Macaulay's opinions on one side in discussing this question; for so bitter is his animosity to the royal martyr, that he almost appears to lose his reason when approaching the subject, and actually condescends to furbish up anew every absurd calumny ever forged by puritanic rancour, for the delectation of his liberal and enlightened readers of the nineteenth century. We repeat, that by the concurrent testimonies of all dispassionate historians, not only Hume and Disraeli, but even Guizot and Hallam,—why should we not add Miss Strickland?—the first houses of Commons in Charles's reign have been convicted of most unreasonable, and we may add, up to that period totally unprecedented, disaffection to their youthful sovereign. They refused to vote money for wars to which they themselves had urged the last monarch; they made the most violent attacks on the first ministers of state, and finally showed a strong disposition to revolutionize the Church, if possible, and remodel its faith and ceremonies after the fashion of Calvinistic Geneva.

No doubt, many readers may here feel inclined to exclaim with some degree of surprise, "But why was the Church thus powerless in her country's halls of legislation? Did this puritanic spirit of disaffection prevail so generally that the monarch was *compelled* to exert this severe repressive influence in order to keep the spirit of democracy in Church and State within due bounds?" The correct answer to this question may appear self-contradictory: the Puritan party, though not inconsiderable in numbers, still constituted but a small minority, when contrasted with the whole body of the English nation; and yet, in the country's legislature, its influence was all but supreme. How did this arise? Truly, from the very same cause for which we have reason to apprehend the possible spoliation of the Church, and ruin of the State, even in this our day. Then, as now, certain active, turbulent, audacious spirits were prominent in the ranks of disloyalty and disaffection,—men corresponding but too faithfully to our present Brights and Cobdens; then, as now, the standard-bearers of Church and State were deficient in genius, energy, and moral courage—were wanting to themselves and their cause. In the days of Charles the First, he, the king, stood for a long time alone, or worse than alone; even Strafford, when he became his friend, was probably more calculated to injure than advance his cause, every thing he advised or performed being in the highest degree stern, unconciliatory, and unpopular. Laud also, though an admirable Churchman after his fashion, was the very worst of supporters, being endowed with such an overbearing manner and

with so petulant a temper as constantly to irritate his best wishers, and thus effect, despite his good intentions, a very "world of harm." Buckingham, also, was an unfortunate legacy bequeathed to the young monarch by his dying father, and of course not to be cast off, like an old cloke, at any moment ; though it must be confessed that our more recent historians are inclined to bear much too heavily upon this elegant statesman, whose character has been placed by Clarendon (who knew him well) in a far more favourable light. Still what were these supporters, backed by the irritable and superstitious queen, to the array of talent and audacity brought into the parliamentary field against the unfortunate monarch? Who can wonder that, without a single sufficient exponent of the royal policy in either house, and especially among the Commons, those few active and designing men who pertained to the Puritan phalanx were enabled to win the ears of the majority, and obstruct the business of the State? The king was positively driven to dissolve his parliaments from the lack of constitutional representatives within their halls: not that his cause was monstrous or unjust, as almost all men must now admit, but because talent and resolution were only to be found amongst the foes of royalty and order. Can we wonder that, under such circumstances, King Charles should have recourse to almost forgotten precedents to raise the funds indispensable to the safety of the State, rather than lay himself at the feet of a Puritan faction, which soon found occasion to prove that nothing less would satisfy it than the spoliation and temporal destruction of the Church? It is well to say, that the king should have submitted to the course of events, and allowed Puritanism to triumph, if the Commons so willed, or rather if the audacity of a few demagogues, and the pusillanimity or supineness of the Church's supporters, led (as they must naturally have done) to such a catastrophe. It was not proved at that time—and, we may be permitted to add, it is not proved now—that the royalty of England was nothing but a shadow. It may be urged, indeed, that the king might have reserved the exercise of his royal prerogative to the very last moment when these revolutionary measures had received the assent of both houses, and have then placed his veto upon their execution ; but he was well aware that, when puritanism had attained this parliamentary triumph, the temporal doom of the Church would probably be sealed, whatever might be the royal resolution. We cannot therefore wonder at, we cannot find it in our hearts to blame, the monarch, who preferred the having recourse to such a sad expedient as the ship-money, rather than expose his beloved Church to the inveterate fury of her foes.

In the Long Parliament, how wanting were the Church's

sons to their Monarch and to England! For a long time we find Hyde and Falkland co-operating with the fiercest Puritans against their spiritual mother, *leading* the attack even against all the heads of that Church which had endeavoured to repress the rebellious spirit then abroad. And yet what were the real grievances alleged against Laud and his colleagues? The most weighty charge of oppression that has come down to us, and one which liberal historians are never tired of repeating under every possible form, is founded on the just, and, we may even add, moderate, though somewhat barbarous, punishment of those foul-mouthed varlets, Prynne and Bastwick, whose ears were clipped, according to a custom perhaps "better honoured in the breach than the observance;" though, had the liars been bastinadoed through every market-town in Great Britain for their insolent calumnies, they would only have received their due. Prynne subsequently confessed as much in terms of self-abhorrence: and yet these men are "the innocent victims of tyranny and martyrs of the Gospel," enshrined by some of our contemporaries in their British Gallery of Worthies, among the Hampdens and Cromwells, who are, truly, worthy of such companionship!—However this might be, those, who were subsequently loyalty's leaders joined in the first lawless outcry against Church and State, and abetted the audacity of a Pym and the cunning of a Hampden. Finally, it is true, that these men, Hyde and Falkland, in some degree redeemed the past by maintaining the cause of order, though then only faintly and partially. Falkland, be it remembered, (a man who has been immensely overrated by all parties,) voted even for the expulsion of the bishops from the Upper House,—a measure eventually carried through Cavalier cowardice alone.

There is one circumstance, too, which seems to be generally forgotten, and which is, nevertheless, proved by the pages of Clarendon, though it tells much against himself, which we must not leave unnoticed. When the king was at last induced to make those who had trampled upon his counsellors, and cast his beloved friend Laud into the Tower, his new ministers of state,—when he had received the firmest assurances from both Hyde and Falkland that they would in future endeavour firmly to maintain the cause of order and true freedom,—he on his part replied to their assurances by an obviously as conditional assurance, that he would in future undertake no great measure without consulting them. About a week or ten days after this, the bishops, being fiercely beset by Puritan mobs on their passage to the House of Lords, pray for a guard of honour, and, this being refused them, declare that it is in that case impossible for them to attend to



their parliamentary duties, and so protest against the House's proceeding without them. For this *offence* they were actually arraigned for high treason—and, will it be credited?—in that very house, in which sat Hyde and Falkland, those true friends of the King and the Church, those wise and faithful counsellors, the only voice raised against the committal of the bishops to the Tower, was that of one unknown member (perhaps the brave Sir Ralph Hopton), who, says Clarendon, had the courage to affirm, “he did not believe them guilty of high treason, but that they were stark mad, and he therefore desired they might be sent to Bedlam.” After this, is it not really astounding that historians should affect wonder at the king's having ceased to place confidence in men who had been guilty, as Hyde and Falkland had been on this occasion, of such utterly despicable moral cowardice? Can we wonder that he should have resolved, not through the influence of Digby, but urged by his own royal and indignant soul, to interpose in defence of the insulted and degraded Church and State, and arrest the chief offenders? We really cannot find words to express our astonishment at the obstinacy with which writer after writer, treating of this period, *will* close his eyes to the facts of the case, and assume that the king was either guilty of an unjustifiable breach of trust towards such friends of the Church as Hyde and Falkland, or of absurd apprehensions of the revolutionary progress of events, in this his royal and constitutional attempt to bring the five members to trial before a jury of their fellow-countrymen. There cannot be a doubt that no men ~~ever~~ before or since have urged such insolent and revolutionary language within our halls of legislature as these men had been guilty of on principle and for a long season. Yet Clarendon even has the audacity to suggest, that the cause of order was rapidly progressing at this very moment in the House of Commons, where he and Falkland did not dare to open their lips in behalf of the thus scandalously oppressed heads of their Church, oppressed, nay, condemned to an imprisonment which lasted for years for a temperate and extremely natural protestation. The truth is, that the eyes of Churchmen have been hoodwinked on this subject by the account Clarendon has given of the business, who, of course, did his utmost to make out a case for himself and excuse his inexcusable pusillanimity, and who consequently abuses the bishops for their “excessive folly and daring,” and almost ventures to approve of their immurement for their “crime.”

We will not here trace further the progress of events. What we have said may have sufficed to show, that throughout the whole parliamentary struggle King Charles stood virtually alone, the friends of order and the Church in either house being for a long

time cowardly or lukewarm, and never opposing a fitting front to the encroachments of their Puritanic adversaries. From the breaking out of the war to the termination of the royal career, slander itself has devised but few charges against King Charles's memory, though here too some cases of imaginary faithlessness have been discovered by the industry of certain modern historians. However, during this latter eventful period the deportment of our royal martyr will generally speak for itself. It is on the earlier portion of his career that his foes bend their arrows most spitefully; and it is with regard to this that his friends too often desert his cause, yielding with a moral cowardice, akin to that of Hyde of old, to the noisy and factious cries of his malignant adversaries. On this account, too, we have not been able to deny ourselves the satisfaction of tracing this very hasty summary of those earlier years, and correcting certain vulgar errors, which seem to spring forth anew, "ill weeds that grow apace," however carefully the honest inquirer may fancy he has rooted them from the soil.

Mr. Eliot Warburton, the author of "*The Crescent and the Cross*," in the highly praiseworthy work before us, has rendered himself obnoxious to certain of our sweeping charges anent faint-heartedness in the supporters of the cause of royalty. He professes to abjure all partisanship; yet one side or other a writer must needs take in the treatment of such a theme, and it is very obvious that Mr. Warburton's *heart*, at least, is with the Cavaliers, from the beginning to the end. Nevertheless, whilst lauding and loving the martyr monarch, he joins, though apparently unwillingly, in some of the ancient calumnies against him; twits him with insincerity, though with marvellous little foundation for the charge; suspects him of designs upon the liberties of England, certainly without being borne out in his suspicions by the real facts of the case; and finally, from time to time, assumes a tone of superior pity, which ill befits any Churchman who treats of the fortunes of the Royal Martyr. Mr. Warburton—we are sorry to bring such an accusation, but the truth must be told—is inclined to yield far too much authority to the current of opinions of the present hour. Thus, for instance, not contented with blackening the memory of the greatest, take her for all in all, of English sovereigns, Queen Elizabeth, he follows Miss Strickland in drawing the most unjustifiable and cruel conclusions from that touching picture of her dying hour, which has been left us by her godson Harrington, who loved and honoured her so sincerely, and who little imagined that he was sharpening a barb for the quiver of calumny, when he recorded in simple words, which might well draw tears from gentle eyes, how his royal mis-

tress humbly sought for the intercession of the Church's representative<sup>1</sup>, that beloved and aged man, who knelt beside her couch, and who offered up his prayers for her departing spirit to the great Lord and Saviour of queen and beggar; how she herself lay patiently, her hands clasped, her eyes upraised to Heaven, until her soul departed from its earthly tabernacle. It is extraordinary, that a record of this nature, written in sincere affection, should have been converted to such a purpose; but such is the cry of the hour, and, alas! Mr. Warburton has not failed to swell it. Thus, too, he falls in with the usual commonplace eulogiums of Hampden and Falkland; though Clarendon in his own days, and Southey since then, in the pages of the 'Quarterly,' have so thoroughly demonstrated the duplicity and ambition of the former traitor, and the vacillating temper and very inferior mental faculties of the latter must be apparent to the dispassionate inquirer, who will take the trouble to think for himself upon the subject. By the bye, we may be permitted to observe, that the portrait of Falkland, which Mr. Warburton has given us in his present work, should convince the admirers of that weak though well-meaning man, that he was not "the angel" they conceive him. To us, at least, there appears a degree of vulgarity in his countenance, which is inconsistent with mental greatness, and only partially redeemed by the equally incontestable presence of good temper and physical courage. However, opinions may differ as to physiognomy, and we therefore will not waste more words upon this subject.

As yet we have said nothing of Mr. Warburton's more immediate hero, Prince Rupert, having been naturally drawn aside in the first instance by the memory of that royal and saintly countenance, of which Mr. Warburton himself speaks so feelingly, as awakening his first heart's love even in his childish years. Let us now turn to the work before us, and pursue its progress cursorily, but with some attention, culling a few brilliant extracts to enliven our graver pages. The preface is modest and gentlemanly. In it Mr. Warburton says with truth of his princely hero, that "no person, perhaps, *except his royal master*, was ever more exposed to calumny, or less defended." Why did not Mr. Warburton keep this fact more strictly in view in the course of his subsequent biography? The account given of his authorities is extremely satisfactory, and attention is very naturally called to the important "Benett Collection," the main source of whatever "new lights" Mr. Warburton has afforded us. The introductory chapter ensuing is well and clearly written, but throughout with too apparent a tendency to please all parties, and to

<sup>1</sup> The Archbishop of Canterbury.

avoid the imputation of "cavaliership." Mr. Warburton's first sentence is characteristic. "The cause of the Cavaliers," he says, "was once the cause of half the men of England." (We should rather say of five-sixths of them.) "Fortunately for us, that cause was unsuccessful, yet not altogether lost: shorn by the parliament's keen sword of the despotic and false principle that disgraced it, its nobler and better elements survived, imparting firmer strength and a loftier tone to our constitution." Now here we must distinctly deny that any absolute principle, beyond the maintenance of order according to the established forms of Church and State, was held either by King Charles or his supporters generally. Mr. Warburton probably alludes to the unrestricted exercise of the royal prerogative; and this is, undoubtedly, too important a question to enter upon here parenthetically,—yet so much we may say: the king did not resolve on having recourse to arms until a mutinous minority of the Commons, which had illegally declared their house incapable of dissolution, had usurped all power, and called on the sovereign to resign even the semblance of authority into their "loyal hands." Is Mr. Warburton of opinion that the crown ought not to be one of the three branches of the legislature? If not, then let him read King Charles's own proclamations and declarations, undoubtedly penned by his own royal hands on the breaking out of the civil war, wherein he will find the nature of the British Constitution as well, if not better, expounded than it ever has been before or since. "Is," asked the indignant monarch, "the dignity, privilege, and freedom of Parliament (Parliament, whose wisdom and gravity have prepared so many wholesome laws, and whose freedom distinguishes the condition of our subjects from those of any monarchy in Europe) precious unto our people? Where was that freedom, and that privilege, when the House of Commons presumed to make laws without the House of Peers, as they did in their vote upon the protestation?" &c. &c. And again: "It is evident that no man can be moved with it (the Puritans' accusation), who doth not believe a dozen or twenty factious, seditious persons to be the High Court of Parliament, which consists of King, lords, and commons. And for the privileges of it (Parliament), whoever doth *not* believe, that to raise an army to murder or depose the King, to alter the whole frame of government and established laws of the lands, by extemporary extravagant votes of and resolutions of either or both houses, to force and compel the members to submit to the faction and treason of a few, and to take away the liberty and freedom of consultation from them,—*be* the privileges of Parliament,—*be* must confess that the army now raised by us is no less for the vindication and preservation of Parliaments than for our own

necessary defence. We have often said, and we still say, that we believe many inconveniences have grown upon this kingdom by the too long intermission of parliaments; that parliaments are the only necessary sovereign remedies of the growing mischiefs which time and accidents have and will always beget in this kingdom; that without parliaments the happiness cannot be lasting to king or people. We have prepared for the frequent assembling of parliaments, and will be always as careful of their just privileges, as of our life, honour, or interest." And here we may take occasion to remark, how much two works are wanted to do full justice to the memory of the royal martyr: the one, a popular modern reprint of that magnificent old folio volume, entitled—"BAΣΙΛΙΚΑ, or, The Works of King Charles the Martyr, with a collection of Declarations, Treaties, and other Papers concerning the Differences betwixt his said Majesty and his two Houses of Parliament. London: Printed by James Flesher for R. Keyston, Bookseller to his most Sacred Majesty, 1672,"—which contains an interesting biography of the royal saint; the beautiful Eicon Basilike; the extremely valuable controversies betwixt King Charles and the chief Puritan preachers on Church government, in which his majesty displayed intellectual powers of the very highest order; a collection of prayers composed by this royal sufferer in affliction; his majesty's messages; his masterly declarations, which contain much of the most animated and noble writing we are acquainted with; his letters, on which such false and scurrilous charges have been founded, and which reflect his royal innocence as in a spotless mirror, his speeches, &c., &c. Secondly, we desiderate a work corresponding in some sense with Carlyle's recent Life of Cromwell, in which that usurper has been made to write in part his own biography; the vivid and picturesque "filling up," supplying scenery and colouring, being added by his idolatrous admirer. Some such "labour of love," we say, should be undertaken for King Charles; but it must not be weakly or pusillanimously executed. Rather give us a wild enthusiast, or even *would-be* enthusiast, such as Carlyle himself, (for we cannot quite believe in the contortions of that gentleman's zeal,) than a cold, cautious, cowardly scribe, a "*candid* friend," ready to make every possible admission against the man whose life he has undertaken to illustrate, and yielding to every blast of vulgar and popular delusion.

But, to return from this digression to our author and his immediate theme, he takes a far more favourable view of the present aspect of affairs than we are inclined to do, considering the cause of loyalty to be now permanently the cause of all, peo-

ple and peer, and feeling little apprehension of democratic turbulence. We are heartily willing to join with him in commending all those, whether landlords or manufacturers, who serve their country, by making their tenantry or their labourers their true friends ; but, alas ! though the surge of popular disaffection may have seemed for a moment to recede, we fear that it is only gathering fresh strength to sweep once more in fury against our ancient bulwarks ! May those bulwarks never fall ! But, if they are not to fall, they must be manned by *bold* and *resolute* defenders.

Mr. Warburton's narrative of Prince Rupert's youth displays no little talent for the effective grouping of historical events. The coronation of his father Frederic at Prague is graphically portrayed. The early fortunes of Rupert, displaying from the first that spirit of bold and happy daring which more than rivalled the valour of mediæval chivalry, are pleasantly and naturally "dashed off." His temporary confinement at Lintz, and especially his "love-passages" with Madlle de Kuffstein are delineated in a vein of happy and unforced "prose-poetry." Finally, we accompany Rupert to England, and at this period he is thus aptly painted by his faithful biographer :—

"Prince Rupert was now nearly twenty-three. His portrait presents to us the ideal of a gallant Cavalier. His figure, tall, vigorous, and symmetrical, would have been somewhat stately but for its graceful bearing and noble ease. A vehement yet firm character predominates in the countenance, combined with a certain gentleness, apparent only in the thoughtful but not pensive eyes. Large, dark, and well-formed eyebrows overarch a high-bred Norman nose ; the upper lip is finely cut, but somewhat supercilious in expression ; the lower part of the mouth and chin have a very different meaning, and impart a tone of iron resolution to the whole countenance. Long-flowing hair (through which, doubtless, curled the romantic "love-lock") flowed over the wide embroidered collar, or the scarlet cloak : he wore neither beard nor moustaches, then almost universal ; and his cheek, though bronzed by exposure, was marked by a womanly dimple. On the whole, our Cavalier must have presented an appearance as attractive in a lady's eye, and as unlovely in a Puritan's, as Vandyke ever immortalised. Such was the aspect of the young Palatine, who won for himself a name so renowned in the tradition of our civil wars, yet so uncertain in their history."

We shall proceed, though the passage be rather long, to extract the next two or three pages of the narrative, so characteristic are they of Mr. Warburton's ease and grace of narration, as also of his *impartiality*.



“ He (the prince) is now riding side by side with his royal kinsman to Nottingham, on the way to the opening scene of the great tragedy. By the aid of old writings, and still more by the aid of old prints and pictures, we may bring the group of warlike travellers before our eyes, and behold the scenes they saw. A strong wind was sweeping over the wide valley of the Trent, then uninclosed by fences, and only marked at wide intervals by some low strong farm-houses, with innumerable gables. In the distance, boldly relieved against the stormy sky, rose the stern old castle of Nottingham; a flag-staff, as yet innocent of the *fatal standard*, was visible on its highest tower. Long peace and security had invested the country round with a very different aspect from that which Rupert had lately seen in Germany. A prosperous peasantry were gathering in a plentiful harvest. There were no symptoms any where of the approaching war, until the royal cavalcade passed by.—The greater part of the prince’s cavalry was there, endeavouring to make an imposing appearance; but they were scantily furnished with the basnet (or steel cap), and the back and breastplate over leather doublet, that then formed the essential harness of a trooper; for arms, they had nothing but their swords. The equipment of their king and their young general was almost as simple: the plumed hat of the time was only laid aside on the day of battle, and not always then by the reckless Rupert; a short cloak (the prince’s was of scarlet cloth), and large cavalry boots, almost enveloped the remainder of the person; a slender train of heralds and pursuivants, and some gentlemen-at-arms, complete the cavalcade. Such was the royal progress to the head-quarters of the Cavaliers.

“ Never had the king’s destiny appeared so dark. On the preceding day Coventry had closed her gates against him, and fired upon his flag; Leicester was only held to his cause by Wilmot’s cavalry; his appeal to his people had been hitherto made in vain. Some few of the chief Cavaliers, indeed, had obeyed his summons; but the peasants, the yeomen, and even the soldiers of fortune still stood aloof, or looked wistfully towards the parliament. Nottingham as yet afforded a rallying point for his few adherents, and a shelter to his council; but the very country he was passing through was hostile, and the high sheriff Digby could scarcely assemble sufficient ‘trainbands’ to furnish the appearance of a royal guard. Yet the day was come, the eventful day appointed for the Raising of the Standard, and Charles did not hesitate in his purpose. His character henceforth displayed far more firmness than hitherto: his better nature, although reserved, was dauntless, enduring, and even sanguine. He believed himself to be an injured and outraged king, and that he was about to appeal most righteously to the God of Battles.

“ Meanwhile the little town of Nottingham was filled with thousands of curious spectators from the country round about. The day passed on without tidings of the king, or any tokens of the approaching ceremony, only that from time to time some Cavaliers arrived, their armour and gay caparison dimmed and disfigured by the storm. The

foremost of these devoted men had already bidden a long farewell to the homes, now desolate, yet glorying in their departure.

"At length the royal banner was seen advancing across the plain. As the king drew near, a profound melancholy was observed upon his countenance: *Hyde and his brother counsellors of peace* watched it anxiously, but were soon disabused of the hope that such sadness betokened any altered purpose. The council immediately assembled in the dilapidated hall of the old castle, and the king's determination was declared by his own lips, *in such terms as precluded all remonstrance*. The standard was to be raised forthwith—that irrevocable challenge to a powerful *people* (?) in their wrath! and the challenger was a powerless king, without troops, revenue, or apparent resources. His only hope lay in the national loyalty he had once *so severely tried*, and in the chivalry of the few faithful Cavaliers who then surrounded him.

"All matter of debate was now postponed, and the king proceeded to the momentous ceremony of the day. At once the fatal standard was unfurled from a high eminence within the park, its broad folds waving over the warlike group below. The king stood upon a grassy knoll: a herald by his side then read the proclamation with a voice almost inaudible in the storm; but that officer had scarcely begun, when the king, *with characteristic indecision*, took the paper from his hand, and made such alterations that the herald blundered inauspiciously through the remainder of his task. The few spectators shouted 'God save the King!' and night coming on put an end to the dismal ceremony.

"The next morning no standard was to be seen. It had been blown down during the night. The king ordered it to be removed to a commanding station in the park, observing, that 'before it looked as if imprisoned!' But a fatality seemed still to attend upon that standard. The ground was so hard that the heralds were obliged to use their daggers in order to plant it in the unwilling soil, and even then four men were compelled to support it through the ceremony. Again the proclamation was read, and for four successive days the broad standard of England streamed out upon an unceasing storm, with the blood-red battle-flag above.

"The signal caught the eye of many a group of gallant men, who were then advancing across the valley to join that standard and to live or die beneath its shadow. Few they were, but they represented tens of thousands who lingered in blessed peace among their homes as long as peace was possible, yet started forth in battle-armour as soon as the summons of the trumpet reached them. Their hearts might not be all at ease as to the clear justice of their cause, but it seemed, doubtless, the less evil alternative: old and honourable prejudices, ancient associations, chivalrous honour, reckless and desperate loyalty drew them to their king. How mournful that such devotion should have been so tried—and so rewarded!"

What the meaning of this last phrase may be, we do not very

well know, but suppose it may convey an allusion to the return of Charles the Second, that unworthy son of the martyr-monarch. But, despite the slight tendency to what we should designate "trimming" discernible in this narrative, it must be confessed that its style is easy and agreeable, and its colouring very picturesque. Would that Mr. Warburton had always sketched his scenes of action as distinctly! Sometimes he appears too hurried, and by haste forfeits effect. An admirable letter follows from "the heroic Sir Beville Grenville," as our author most fitly designates him, the tone of which shows none of those faint-hearted scruples alluded to by Mr. Warburton, which were, we believe, unknown, save to men like Hyde and Falkland, who had been partially infected by long proximity to the miasma of treason and sedition: Sir Beville then wrote to Sir John Trelawny,—“Sir, the barbarous and implacable enemy, notwithstanding his Majesty’s gracious proceedings with them, do continue their insolencies and rebellion in the highest degree:” and again, “I can not contain myself within my doors when the King of England’s standard waves in the field upon so just occasion,—the cause being such as must make all those who die in it little inferior to martyrs.” This was the trumpet-tone of honour, loyalty, and truth, and should awake an echo in every manly breast. Mr. Warburton subjoins, fairly enough, the record of Sir Edmund Varney’s doubts and fears, as a kind of “pendant:” Sir Edward “did not like the quarrel.” Wherefore? As we might have suspected, “he had no reverence for the bishops for whom this quarrel subsists;” that is, practically speaking, he was half a Puritan.—A chapter follows in which Mr. Warburton has taken a sweeping review of the domestic policy of England. His general views have been already suggested. He says: “I believe that Charles met his first parliament with a sincere desire to conciliate their affection, apart from all interested motives;” but subsequently twits him with “insincerity,” on what grounds we are left in ignorance; for our author has taken occasion in more than one instance to prove the groundlessness of the usual charges, especially in as far as the private correspondence with the queen is concerned, taken at Naseby, respecting which Messrs. Carlyle and Macaulay have written such egregious nonsense as to give strong grounds for the suspicion that they have never even looked at the subject-matter of their abuse. Mr. Warburton is very severe upon the king for his desertion of Strafford, perhaps not unjustly: yet he forgets to mention (as do most other historians) that all the king’s adherents in the House of Commons, all the bishops, save Juxon, all the ministry even had deserted Strafford first, and that he himself implored death of his royal master,

rather than expose his crown to apparent forfeiture, in a most noble letter, written from the Tower. It is very strange that after this, when howling mobs had surrounded the palace for three days; when the queen, believing her life at stake, knelt ceaselessly before her royal husband; when a revolution seemed imminent; when Strafford demanded martyrdom;—men should be so very forward to twit this holy king with treachery and “betrayal,” however *he* might be disposed to regard his own conduct. In after-years, he believed he should have risked all then; should have either rushed upon a civil war, or, if needful, have sacrificed his own life and those of his wife and children, rather than allow the axe to descend on Strafford’s head: not that Strafford was altogether guiltless, for he had repeatedly exceeded his powers, and thereby exposed his king to needless odium, but inasmuch as he had proved, on the whole, a good and faithful servant.

“The passionate and irresistible eloquence of the Reformers,” as Mr. Warburton calls it, proceeded to murder Archbishop Laud, and incarcerate every body they could lay their hands upon who differed in opinion from themselves on any point whatsoever. After this, it might indeed seem strange, that even a “Varney” should doubt the justice of the royal cause: but the truth is, that such a flood of seditious invectives had been poured forth for the last six years, that all weaker minds and souls were hurried along by these troublous waters. Such is the certain *ultimate* result of fierce and noisy agitation for whatever goal, which is not met at once and coped with in the fitting arena with equal spirit and resolution! Let living Churchmen take warning by this lesson, and, when they see the “moderates” of King Charles’s day approving at last of these heights of Puritanic folly and tyranny, let them know, that they are too likely to follow their example, soon or late, if they now listen in silence to the calumnies of a Bright and a Cobden. (We do not see why we should not call things by their right names.) Let the friends of the Church of Ireland, above all, take warning. No tone of apology will serve their turn. Let the insolent invectives of a Roebuck be met, not with faint excuses and faltering appeals to gratitude, *but* with severe reprimands and true-hearted defiance! And here let us record, that we have reason to be thankful to the honourable member for the University of Dublin, Mr. Napier. He at least speaks the truth, and speaks it after an honourable and manly fashion: and, whatever may be the craft of the almost invariably *Roman Catholic* reporters for the Daily Papers, who generally substitute “Catholic” for “Romish,” and “Protestant” for “Anglican” or “Churchman,” in all church speeches whatsoever, such manly oratory as Mr. Napier’s must

make its due impression on the House, and in time upon the public also. We might say as much of Mr. Augustus Stafford; but of late he has been silent on Church subjects, we know not wherefore. We remember an admirable speech of his in defence of the Church of Ireland, delivered some three years ago, which inspired us with the highest hopes. Other friends, too, we have on whom we can count; but once more we repeat it, Let us have no "*candid*" advocacy, no fighting on the retreat! If members cannot speak like men, let them not speak at all!

But to resume. Mr. Warburton bestows the highest praises on Lord Falkland, the very model of modern "Conservatives," halting for ever "betwixt two opinions," with a natural aversion to sound Church principles, which he confounded with Popery; and a strong tendency, common to most mere well-meaning men, to swim with the current of popular opinion, in whatever direction it might chance to set. Nevertheless, he was, we believe, "a gentleman *sans peur et sans reproche*:" and his death made some amends for his early weakness. Peace to his ashes! May our young scions of noble or of gentle blood take heed that they pursue not a similar career! Hyde is also highly praised by Mr. Warburton, not without justice: and thus his third chapter concludes with an animated final strain. The fourth treats of the preliminaries of the war. Here we have a picturesque description of London in the reign of King Charles, which might probably both amuse and edify our readers; but we cannot find space for so lengthy an extract. There is much of the former "blowing hot and cold" in pages 272-3. Mr. Warburton cannot avoid convicting Pym, Hampden, and their *confrères* of cant and tyranny, but he proffers excuses for them, and intimates that King Charles, and most of his ministers, and many of his bishops, had acted "very wickedly;" a sweeping accusation, which is unsupported by the smallest tittle of evidence, and in fact looks like "a sop thrown to Cerberus," a verbal concession to the gentlemen reviewers of "the Athenæum" and "the Examiner," lest those critics should grow uproarious. We earnestly advise the expunging of this and similar phrases from the next edition. They are irreconcilable with other direct assertions made by Mr. Warburton himself. With regard to the "engagement" entered into by the peers and others at York, Mr. Warburton has forgotten to record, that all these Cavaliers, with characteristic moral cowardice, refused to allow the said engagement to be made public, and thereby virtually destroyed the effect of their own deed. Such was, then, the reign of Liberal cant and Conservative pusillanimity. Have we not too much reason to suspect that a similar occasion would to-morrow lead to similar results?

At last, we arrive at the war, and here fiery Rupert begins to shine. He becomes the idol of the young Cavaliers, though the old regard his daring with some apprehension. His first encounter with the Roundheads upon the Pershore road is described with much spirit, the biographer evidently sympathizing with his hero. We have various amusing anecdotes concerning Rupert's sayings and doings, in this part of the first volume, which assist us in obtaining a clearer view of his real character. These are followed by an interesting description of the Cavalier camp, and a noble extract from the royal chaplain's sermon. The Puritans, too, receive their due in various respects, and are shown to have been by no means so pure and holy as their own boastings might lead the credulous to imagine. In the second volume we now arrive at the first great battle, that of Edgehill, painted with no little animation. As we purpose to extract another battle-scene, we shall leave this behind us, contented with our general encomium. Of course, our author does not forget his hero, whose gallant achievements always seem to awaken his enthusiasm. The marches and countermarches ensuing are all narrated with great spirit, and form an attractive picture, though what may now seem *sport* to us was *death* to many honest Englishmen; not that our author's tone is ever flippant, save in one or two short passages anent the king. He writes too much like a gentleman and a Cavalier. "The queen arrives—the war grows hot," is the heading of the next chapter, which contains much interesting matter, especially vindicating the honour and even the gentleness of Prince Rupert, calumniated by Puritan rancour; this task is very satisfactorily performed.

Hampden's death is treated of at length; and a wholly undeserved eulogium is bestowed upon this wicked man, of whom we have some reason, however, to hope that he had made his peace with his Maker before he died, and repented his long course of rancorous treason and detestable hypocrisy. Clarendon knew this individual well: he even acted in concert with him for some years. Why then should he have denounced him as he has done, entering into all the particulars of his odious dissimulation, without just cause? We do not find him speak thus severely of Pym even, nor of Cromwell—in, fact, he was any thing but a violent party-man, and could always see virtues in an enemy. We put it therefore to Mr. Warburton's conscience, whether he can be justified in passing over such damning evidence, with the subsequent judicial condemnation of a Southey, without one word, and treat this rebel, stricken by the hand of his God, and receiving even in this world the meed of his pernicious labours, as little less than a saint or an angel. Look at this man's career from first



to last ! What is there in it to excite sympathy or admiration ? At first we find him a common-place libertine “about town ;” subsequently he adopts Puritan views, and subsides, as is not uncommon in such cases, into extreme and almost ascetic coldness and severity. Then he makes himself conspicuous by *nobly* closing up his pockets and refusing to pay ship-money. This, we suspect, is the real cause for which Britons’ hearts so warm towards him. They are always disposed to sympathize with any one who runs a crusade against the king’s taxes. At last he enters parliament, pretends to be the most moderate of men, coaxes poor weak Falkland into voting against the bishops, secretly provokes all the most desperate Puritan counsels, finally becomes a party to measures, now condemned on all sides—measures denounced by Mr. Warburton himself, as pregnant with cant and wicked tyranny. Nay, not only was he a party to all this ; but he was the prime mover, the main agent. His, and not Pym’s, seems to have been the master-mind ; at all events he must share the main responsibility with that worthy. And now, after all this ;—after the murder of Laud and Strafford ; the incarceration of the bishops,—the imprisonment of all true loyalists these rebels could lay their hands upon ; the adoption of a now universally execrated policy, which the Whig Hallam can scarcely find words to reprove and condemn, which even Macaulay appears to abandon ;—we are told that this man left none behind him of equal genius, integrity, and influence. Where is the shadow of excuse for such a laudation ? What *one* noble and generous act is recorded of this man ? Of course the criticlings of such organs as the “Athenæum” would sneer at all this as sad bigotry ; but facts are stubborn things, and must surely make their way. If there is an instance on record of the display of any generous feeling by this cold-hearted, ambitious Puritan, we entreat that it may be bestowed on us in any future edition of Mr. Warburton’s work—something, however small, to set against the flood of overwhelming condemnatory evidence. We know that a certain prejudice exists in very many minds as to Mr. Hampden’s apocryphal virtues ; we hear of them almost in our cradles, and may be unwilling to resign “the fond delusion.” But it is vain to struggle against facts. We cannot receive this man into our National Gallery of Worthies, as the champion of freedom ; *he* is her deadliest foe who, in her name, sets loose the dogs of civil war to desolate his native land, and that without the shadow of occasion. Clarendon’s final summary of his character in the words of the Roman historian, however strong, seems only too correct : “He had a head to contrive, and a tongue to persuade, and a hand to execute *any mischief* !”

The siege of Bristol, the first battle of Newbury, and the death of Pym are the principal events recorded in the next chapter. Rupert's daring is, as usual, conspicuous. Mr. Warburton's description of this first battle of Newbury is scarcely as spirited as his usual battle-scenes; but no doubt the subject might be less inspiring. Clarendon's commendations of his amiable friend Falkland, who fell here, are cited *con amore*. Pym is dismissed without any very glowing eulogium. It seems that he lost his popularity after Hampden's death, (a strong indication that Hampden was the master mover, as we have long thought,) and so enjoyed the felicity of hearing London mobs howl for his head, as they had done before, at his instigation, for those of Laud and Strafford. At last, we arrive at the battle of *Marston Moor*, so disastrous to the royal cause, in which our biographer's hero was the Cavalier commander. It is admirably narrated; so well indeed, that we cannot refrain from making a very long quotation here, which will, we think, greatly interest our readers. We omit the military details of preparation for the field, though these are well given, reminding our readers only that this battle was fought on a widely extended heath in Yorkshire, and that Cromwell, with his Ironsides, was among the Roundhead host.

“For some hours the armies stood gazing on each other—nearly 50,000 kindred men, instigated by the strongest passion of hostility that ever animated the hearts of fair and open combatants. The evening set in with ominous gloom: the Puritans, who had wrought themselves up to a belief that Heaven was in strict league with their generals, were persuaded that the impending darkness was God's visible frown upon their enemies; they hailed the storm with grim joy—especially that dark and terrible mass of iron-clad men on the far left, who watched for Cromwell's battle-word. The storm grew darker, and the Roundhead annalist relates that, ‘just as both armies were joining battle, and beginning the first encounter or assault of each other, it pleased the Lord, as it was most credibly affirmed for a certain truth, that a sudden and mighty great storm of rain and hail, and terrible claps of thunder were heard and seen from the clouds, as if Heaven had resolved to second the assault with a fierce alarm from above.’ A loud hymn of triumph and denunciation rose among the Roundheads' ranks, and Rupert ordered prayers to be read at the same time to each regiment along his line. This striking fact is thus affirmed by his bitter and scornful enemy:—‘Rupert, that bloody plunderer, would forsooth, to seem religious, just like a juggling Machiavellian, have a sermon preached before him and his army. His chaplain took his text out of Joshua xxii. 22. The words were these:—‘The Lord God of gods, the Lord God of gods, he knoweth, and Israel shall know; if it be in rebellion, or if in transgression against the Lord, save us not this day.’ I know not how Goring and his brother-reprobates conducted themselves in this solemn

prayer-time ; but sure I am that Rupert was no hypocrite, and that the most reckless of his wild Cavaliers did not follow him less cheerily because his battle-cry was prefaced by a prayer. Still darker and gloomier fell the evening, and closer and murkier was the air, as the thunder of the skies was more and more frequently echoed by the artillery where Cromwell was, upon the far left among the guns. At length, the whole of the dark masses on either side seemed to catch fire from that flame ; and bright, and loud, and far the artillery flashed, and the musketry sparkled along those formidable ranks. Then Rupert darted away to the head of his Cavaliers, who had hitherto kept the enemy at a distance by musketry placed among their ranks. At the same moment Byron<sup>1</sup>, unable to restrain himself, led forth his cavalry from their strong position, and, before he could get them into order for a charge, Cromwell and Crauford were upon them, with the Ironsides and Manchester's cavalry : sweeping round the ditch, they cleared the range of the royal guns, and came upon the disordered Cavaliers upon fair ground, driving desperately into the midst of them. In a moment all was wild and terrible confusion there. But already Rupert and his fiery chivalry were among the Covenanting Scots upon the left, bursting at once into the very heart of their fierce and solemn host, scattering them like spray before some storm-driven ship, and plunging still onward to the front of their reserve. One moment's pause, one more wild shout and charge, and his life-guard are amongst *them* now." (The reserve.) "No pause—no mercy—scarcely resistance is found there. The whole mass, pursuers and pursued, sweeps by to yonder hill: the thundering hoofs, the ringing armour, the maddening shouts, the quick, sharp, frequent shot are scarcely heard.

"Nor was Goring idle then : it was at times like these this dauntless villain half redeemed his vices by his valour. The Scottish foot falter before his daring charge ; his desperadoes are up to their very pikes—and within them now. The ground is carpeted with bloody tartans, as the Cavaliers press on through their tumultuous rout, and hew down the fugitives by scores. They are gone, and with them their pursuers ; and two-thirds of the field is won.

"But the battle still rages fiercely on the centre of the royal line, now assailed by the left wing of the enemy : there Briton meets Briton, hand to hand, and foot to foot ; every pike is thrust home, and every musket levelled low ; and 'the very air seems all on fire,' and the 'ear is deafened with the roaring of artillery,' and the shouts and shrieks and curses of conquering or dying men. Lesley" (the Puritan) "now comes galloping up with his reserve of horse, and falls upon the masses already smitten by Cromwell's furious horse." (Ah, where was Rupert then?) "The Irish horse are slain or prisoners to a man. Their foot have retired towards York, and are rallied there by General King ; and the conquerers sweep on like a foaming torrent to where Newcastle's brave yeomen, still and alone, stand firm. Firmly as their own sea-girt rocks those gallant Englishmen receive the shock. Again and again

<sup>1</sup> A royal general.

the fiery fanatics rush upon their planted pikes, and receive their steady fire. Many a brave Yorkshireman lies crushed and writhing before every charge, but still their narrowing ranks are stedfast and dauntless as before. And now their own guns are turned upon them by Cromwell's artillerymen, and between each charge of cavalry the iron storm makes fearful chasms in their column. But still they stood. Before the most mettled steed could reach their line, it was compact again. They fell, to a man, on the spot where the gallant Cavendish first planted them!

"And now the conquerors on either side have done their work, and have time to rally and breathe, and look around them, each moving to regain his battle-ground, when, lo! as if starting from the dead, each victor meets another, returning from the slaughter of his enemies, to claim the victory. Then came the severest trial of the day. Each occupied the ground his enemy had covered when the fight began; and through the lurid and sulphurous shades of approaching night was seen the gleaming armour of another hostile line. Then it was that Rupert's followers failed him—the high and sparkling mettle of his Cavaliers, consuming all before it in the first outbreak, fainted now before the sustained flame of fanaticism that burned in the Puritans' excited hearts. Still Rupert strove to rally his panting and exhausted troops; still his loud battle-cry, 'For God and for the King!' rose above the din; but he no longer found an echo to that cry. The Puritans galloped up to his Cavaliers, and met with scarcely an antagonist; 'their enemies were scattered before them,' as they too truly said. Away over the broken ground, and dismounted guns, and shattered carriages the Cavaliers are flying through the darkness, and leave the bloodily contested field to the Puritans and—CROMWELL.

"The prince, deserted by his regiment, still strove to rally a few followers, but in vain: wherever a group was gathered, the Roundhead horse were upon them in irresistible force; and at length Rupert was left alone. Then, rousing his gallant horse for one last effort, he cleared a high fence into a bean-field, and, thus sheltered, made his way from the field so fatal to his fame. With what agony of heart must that proud young soldier have retreated before his despised and avenging foes, to meet the consequences of his defeat! Yet was he not wanting then to the sad but noble duty of a general in retreat. He rallied such men as he could find unparalysed by panic, and collected a few squadrons of dragoons. These he led forward at a gallop to where the heath was bounded by inclosures, and narrow lanes afforded the only approach to York. Here, dismounting his men, he lined the hedges, and received the pursuers with so close a fire, that even Cromwell paused, and called off his men. The Irish foot, placed in reserve to the left wing, had been rallied near York by General King, and now formed a safeguard for the fugitives. Then silence, the silence of the dead, only broken by the groans of the dying, fell upon the battle-field,—and all was over."

This is a battle-scene indeed, almost unparalleled for interest and animation. Here we have the stir, the strife,

“And all the tumult of the heady fight.”

Well might Scott say, in his vigorous “Rokeby :”—

“The battle’s rage  
Was like the strife which currents wage,  
Where Orinoco, in his pride,  
Rolls to the main no tribute tide,  
But ’gainst broad ocean urges far  
A rival sea of roaring war !  
While, in ten thousand eddies driven,  
The billows fling their foam to heaven ;  
And the pale pilot seeks, in vain,  
Where rolls the river, where the main.”

Yet, despite “hot Rupert’s” gallantry and fire, we cannot acquit him of grievous blame for his share in this disaster. In the first instance he obviously left his original post too speedily, thereby inducing Byron to rush out in fiery emulation, though against orders, and expose himself at a disadvantage to Cromwell’s charge. Again, it is manifest that the prince pursued the Scots too far, and with absolutely reckless impetuosity, when nothing could be gained thereby. Had not his Cavaliers’ steeds been jaded, and themselves exhausted by this fruitless toil, they would never have deserted their leader almost without a blow, when they met Cromwell’s Ironsides returning from pursuit. The latter were comparatively fresh and unjaded. This was partly owing, no doubt, to the gallant stand made by the Yorkshiremen who would not tempt them to pursuit ; but we need not doubt that any such temptation would have failed to ensnare the equally bold and careful Cromwell. Here, as on Naseby Field, we have the clearest evidence that Rupert was the bravest of men, and the most dashing of cavalry officers ; but it cannot surely be disputed that he was, further, a most imperfect general. For once “common-place” is in the right. Not that he did not possess all the requisite mental qualifications ; his only military vice was an inordinate love of fighting ; and, alas ! this cost his royal master dear. We will not dwell on the liberality of sentiment displayed by the Puritans in exulting over the death, upon this field of battle, of Prince Rupert’s canine attendant, whom they believed to be an imp of darkness. Their “moderation was always known unto all men.” The king does not appear to have lost confidence in, or to have addressed a single reproof to, his nephew ; he knew, indeed, that the prince had done his best, and that no man suffered more than he. From this period we meet with little but royal reverses and Puritan triumphs ; and the record of these disasters is rather disheartening. Soon, however, we arrive

at the scene of decision, the battle-field of Naseby. Here, as usual in such cases, Mr. Warburton's narrative is very spirited and animated. We have no space to quote it; and, besides, one battle is enough for an article. The unhappy treason, or seeming treason, of Carmarthen in turning the monarch's steed at the moment of decision, is dramatically recorded. But we altogether deny that "the king suffered himself to be led away like a child." Where is the proof of any such assertion? On the contrary, he strove to return; but it was too late. To the last, he with Rupert endeavoured to rally the flying cavalry! On *this* occasion the king's letters to the queen were seized and published by the victorious rebels. Thus faintly speaks Mr. Warburton on this theme:—"The celebrated collection of letters was immediately published by the Parliament; and the world then, and for the most part now, believed and believes his correspondence to have been one tissue of perjury and falsehood. Those who take the trouble to read these letters (Harleian Misellany, v. 514) will be surprised to find on what slight foundation this assertion has been founded." (We should rather say, that it was without the shadow of a foundation.) "The fondest affection for the queen, indeed, breathes through all the letters, and the most unbounded confidence: there is many a political intrigue alluded to," (and what then?) "and many matters confessed to the queen that never had been related to the public;" (is this extraordinary?) "but, *considering* the *reputed* falsehood of the king, and the tortuous line of action in which he was compelled to wander in avoiding his innumerable and implacable enemies from within and from without,—*considering all this*, the accusations against him *seem* to owe much of their weight to *party feeling*." (Rather owe their origin to the most barefaced lying, and are fostered by the weakest or the most malignant bigotry.) "If," adds Mr. Warburton, for once telling the plain truth of these mighty Puritans, the champions of freedom,—“if the dark and crafty Cromwell's, or the deep and plotting Pym's, most private correspondence had been laid open to the world by their enemies, how would it stand in comparison? The former of these two professed, that it was lawful to play the knave with a knave, and the latter acted on the axiom.” We might have added the name of Hampden here, did we not remember that *he* was far too crafty to trust his craft to any paper, or have any real confidant on earth. The king himself said of these letters:—"Nor can any man's malice be gratified further by my letters than to see my constancy to my wife, the laws, and religion. Bees will gather honey where the spider sucks poison. The integrity of my intentions is not



jealous of any injury my expressions can do them ; for, although the confidence of privacy may admit greater freedom in writing such letters, which may be liable to envious exceptions, yet the innocency of my chief purposes cannot be so strained or misinterpreted by them as not to let all men see that I wish nothing more than a happy composure of differences with justice and honour ; not more to my own than my people's content, who have any sparks of love or loyalty left in them ; who, by those my letters, may be convinced, that I can both act and mind my own and my kingdom's affairs so as becomes a prince." And yet, despite all this, though Mr. Warburton, on full consideration, acquits the martyr-king of guilt with respect to that correspondence on which almost all the most weighty charges of insincerity are founded, he is, strange to say, so possessed himself by the vulgar prejudice which he combats, as to give us frequent occasions of learning that falsehood was, in his opinion also, the king's one vice. Surely he forgets against *whom* he brings this weighty charge so lightly :—against a saint of God, against one of whom he himself confesses, that he was not only affectionate, kind, and just, but also deeply pious. The insincerity attributed to him is obviously out of keeping with all this : it would be one single monstrous blood-red spot standing alone on a snow-white shield. It is confessed on all sides, that King Charles died the death of a martyr : it is equally undisputed, that whilst deeply humbled before his God for his own and his nation's sins, (for he too was a man, and therefore not faultless, and what *we* might think slight errors might appear crimes to him,) he never acknowledged in the slightest degree the truth of this "eternal" imputation, never confessed his regret for a single act of insincerity. Still our adversaries will not be daunted by this memory ; they will assure us that this loving Christian monarch thought falsehood king-craft. Surely every generous reader must needs exclaim, "Credat Carlyle, non ego !" In the appendix to his second volume, Mr. Warburton gives the passages from the king's correspondence which have been most objected to. One of them runs thus :—"Nothing can be more evident than that Strafford's innocent blood hath been one of the great causes of God's just judgments upon this nation by a furious civil war, both sides hitherto being almost equally punished as being in a manner equally guilty." We have had occasion to demonstrate the truth of this. But, verily, such contemptible calumnies would be beneath notice, were they not caught up and echoed by such fashionable party-writers as Mr. Macaulay. He has dared (milder language we cannot employ) to found the most insolent charges against our royal saint upon this very correspondence.

When he stands before the judgment-seat of his Maker, he will have to answer for all these; for, if every idle word shall be brought into condemnation, how much more the records of the historian, whose professed purport is to enlighten the minds of the present and of all future ages, and enable them to form a just judgment of the past. May he be able in that great hour to clear himself from the suspicion of voluntary and intentional falsehood as fully as the martyr-king whom he has ventured to calumniate.

From this point onward all is dismay and discomforture, save that the unfailing courage of the royal sufferer shines as the distant polar star over a waste of icy billows. The good spirit of Prince Rupert at last deserted him. Though his conduct in the surrender of Bristol might not be as censurable as it at first appeared, the dignified reproof the king was by no means too severe. Even Mr. Warburton appears to disapprove of the stubborn, dogged anger his hero now evinced, and still more of his subsequent heat when he banished himself at Newark from the royal presence. However, we are happy to find that he subsequently repented his hot perversity, and wrote a very noble letter to the king, expressing his contrition, which Mr. Warburton has inserted, vol. iii. p. 224. After this he fought his way through to Oxford, and saw his royal uncle once again—alas! for the last time. Soon after the king took refuge in Scotland, and Rupert went across the seas. We cannot follow him through the next long chapter, “Rupert at Sea,” though this also contains much to interest. He fought with his wonted valour in a French campaign against the Spaniards; returning to Paris, he received a most affectionate letter from King Charles, then a prisoner at Hampton Court, which Mr. Warburton gives us; finally, after a fruitless expedition to the coast of England, we find him as an admiral crossing the deep to the West Indies. This expedition is described at length, mainly from an ancient manuscript; but we cannot linger over so discursive a theme. We now return once more to the captive monarch. Mr. Warburton has described his martyrdom finely, but of course briefly. He mentions one circumstance, concerning “a refinement on humiliation,” which, as he says, has not been generally noticed. This is, that “the headsmen’s block was so low that the king was obliged to lie along the floor in order to reach it with his neck.” This, as far at least as we know, was a novel form of martyrdom. “Charles Stuart,” says Mr. Warburton, “slaughtered by hypocrites, fanatics, and traitors, lay calmly in his coffin, in the midst of the Banqueting Hall, in the darkness and silence of midnight. His destroyer was not so calm, though he had conquered: impelled by the horror of suspense, he went to visit the dead king. Did

he not envy the dead majesty that lay there in calm repose, its life-work done?" The death of some noble Cavaliers is next related, and then we pass to the last scenes of Rupert's long and honourable career. His philosophical studies, the brave exploits of his old age in maintaining the sinking fame of England on the seas against her bravest enemy—the Hollander; his straightforward manly reprobation of the corrupt practices of Charles the Second's administration, which almost forced a blush to the brazen brow of that "Merry Monarch;" his final decease, not indeed old in years as in honours, for he was but sixty-three, leaving no honester, braver, or more true-hearted man behind him, as his biographer aptly says—all these are brought before us in what may be considered the epilogue to this comprehensive and interesting work. Rupert was rather the man of action than of thought; and yet his thoughts also were generally just, and sometimes deep. If he was not altogether free from the vices which stained his age in the world's history, especially in the latter half of his career, he was nevertheless far more moral than the majority of his contemporaries, and must always be dear to loyal hearts as the chivalric champion of a falling monarch. Often on the losing side, he was yet singularly successful in all his personal operations, and never charged at the head of his horse without carrying all before him. Though his broadsword was frequently red with blood, he had a kind and gentle heart; for he was a dutiful and affectionate son, a loving brother, a faithful subject, and a generous foe; and of him it may be truly said,—

"For the rights of fair England that broadsword he draws;  
His king is his leader, his Church is his cause:  
His watchword is honour, his pay is renown,—  
God strike with the gallant that strikes for the crown!"

Finally, we must be permitted to cite some few anecdotes from the interesting volumes before us, which will serve incidentally to illustrate the characters of the king, his adherents, and his adversaries, which may not be familiar to our readers. Thus we read, vol. i. p. 71: "An amiable anecdote is told of Charles during the civil wars, which may as well be mentioned here. He wished to consult some volume in the Bodleian Library, and sent for it. The librarian, with simple fidelity to his rules, replied, that no books once entered there were ever allowed to leave it. This message being brought to the king, he rose up, put on his hat, and went himself to seek for the volume as modestly as any sizar." This, we observe, is quoted from "Jesse." Mr. Warburton gives an interesting account of Charles's court. Mr.

Disraeli had before remarked of it: "We may rate Charles's taste at the supreme degree, by remarking that this monarch never patronised mediocrity: the artist who was honoured by his regard was ever a master-spirit." We may observe, that in poetry, also, King Charles's taste was faultless. Ben Jonson, the first of living bards, was his great favourite; and "rare Ben" has recorded the monarch's ceaseless generosity and his own loyal affection in many a noble strain. Such is the contemptible spite entertained by the majority of the smaller literary fry for Charles's memory, that they have not scrupled to place an infamous slander on his king even on Ben Jonson's lips, accusing the monarch of a lack of generosity. Shakspeare, we may further observe, was the constant companion of the martyr-monarch. The Puritans thought it his "familiar," and said he made almost as much account of it as of the Bible. That Charles's court was attractive, we may conclude from the youthful Rupert's strong asseveration: "For being a hunting that morning with the king, he wished he might break his neck so he might leave his bones in England." (See p. 76.) Further on, we are reminded (p. 141) that "Henry Martyn, the regicide, said in the House of Commons, 'If we must have a king, I would rather have the last gentleman than any other;'" while "Baillie, a stern Covenanter, spoke of him as 'a most just, reasonable, and sweet person.'"

On page 177 we learn, from Sir P. Warwick's memoirs, that "the bowing at the name of Jesus had a book written against it with no less title than '*Jesus-worship confuted*:' so, if a Mahometan had heard it cried in the streets to be sold (as it was), surely he might justly have thought this nation at that time was denying their Saviour." We may observe, that Mr. Warburton is totally incorrect in imagining that the king faltered or broke down on discovering the flight of "the five members." He spoke temperately, but nobly; and his exact words are on record.

On page 246 we read: "A statue was made by Bernini, from a picture of King Charles, whose name was carefully concealed from the sculptor. Signor Bernini, after looking for some time stedfastly upon it, said, 'that he had never seen a face which showed so much greatness, and, withal, such marks of sadness and misfortune.'" Mr. Warburton singularly charges the king with an unworthy mental reservation (on p. 243), because he told the commissioners of parliament that "he had no thought but of peace and justice to his people." What is the obvious meaning of "no thought" here? Clearly that he wished for nothing else. Not that the idea had never entered

into his mind that he *might be* driven to defend his crown, which is the strange assertion imputed to him by Mr. Warburton. But this is the hypercritical fashion after which every word, every syllable of the martyr-monarch's is weighed in the balance of suspicion, and then treasured up against him as proofs of his "duplicity," "curses of his life," &c. &c. These hard words are actually employed on the page before us, upon this special provocation! Surely it is high time to abandon such childish and absurd imputations. Another record of Roundhead insolence will be found on page 278. "Young Fairfax pressed *courageously* through the royal guard, and, reaching the king, forced the petition on his notice. The king turned away, but Sir Thomas laid his charge on his saddle-bow, and, in doing so, was nearly ridden over by the insulted and angry monarch." Another anecdote may edify our readers. "Mr. Bond, one of the presumptuous 'saints' preaching at the Savoy, told his auditors, 'that they ought to contribute and pray, and do all they were able to bring about their brethren of Scotland, for settling of God's cause:—*I say this is God's cause; and if our God hath any cause, this is it: and if this be not God's cause, then God is no God for me, but the devil is got up into heaven.*'" Truly, the only God of these Puritans was their own carnal and seditious will.

On page 352 Mr. Warburton very justly stigmatises Milton for his brutal and insolent abuse of King Charles, as being "as meanly rancorous as a partisan" as he is "sublime as a poet." How sad it is that we are compelled to think thus meanly of a Milton! Turning to a very different theme, we find that Sir Philip Warwick, whom Mr. Warburton calls "the Froissart of the Cavaliers," has celebrated Rupert "as that brave prince and hopeful soldier," and has borne him witness that "he put that spirit into the king's army, that all men seemed resolved."

Our author has given us a very animated and happy description of Oxford during the period of King Charles's abode in that loyal city in his second volume, but we have no space to extract it. There is also an interesting letter from the Countess of Denbigh to her son in this same volume; a sample, no doubt, of many a touching appeal occasioned by the distresses of those evil days. There is a bit of scandal on page 221, in a note anent the reputation of Queen Henrietta, which had better be removed, we should say, from the next edition, since it seems to be without foundation, though we have no great affection for the memory of that daughter of "Henri Quatre." An instance of Prince Rupert's activity will be found a page or two further on. "On the 2nd," says Mr. Warburton, "an incident is recorded in his highness's journal, which scarcely comports with what is called

the gravity of history. Early in the morning, as he was shaving, intelligence was brought that the enemy was approaching Whitebridge. He threw himself into his saddle half-shaved, rode off to meet, charge, and rout the foe, and then returned to finish his toilet."—The following fantastic letter of Lord Newcastle's to the prince will be found page 397 :—" May it please your highness, In the first place I congratulate *your huge and great victories*, which indeed is *fit for none but your highness*. For all the affairs in the north I refer your highness to this bearer, Sir John Mayne, who can tell your highness every particular : only this I must assure your highness, that the Scots *are as big again* in foot as I am, and their horse, I doubt, much better than ours are : so that if your highness do not please to come hither, and that very soon too, *the great game of your uncle's will be endangered*, if not lost ; and with your highness being near, certainly won : so I doubt not but your highness will come, and that very soon. Your highness's *most passionate creature*, W. NEWCASTLE."

We might cite many other interesting anecdotes and traits of character from these two, as well as from the third volume, but must content ourselves with recording these two circumstances, with which we did not happen to be before acquainted ; first, that at King Charles's coronation, Senhouse, bishop of Carlisle, preached the sermon on the equally ominous and glorious text from Rev. ii. 10, " Be thou faithful unto death, and I will give thee a crown of life ;" and secondly, that at his funeral the snow fell thick upon his pall, so that, as Herbert says, " it was all white, the colour of innocency ; so went the white king to his grave."

Perhaps we should have apologised to our readers as to Mr. Warburton, for having written so much or more of King Charles than of Prince Rupert and the Cavaliers. But who that approaches the history of these days with a loyal heart can fail to be attracted towards the royal martyr ? It is *his* saintly image which beams through that civil tempest with a mild and lovely halo, and seems almost to endear the records of its darkest broils. Truly, a galaxy of noble hearts was gathered round him,—Sir Bevil Glanvil, honest Ralph Hopton, brave Trelawney, Carnarvon, Sidney Godolphin, Astley, Grandison, Capell, those peers too who performed the last sad honours to their beloved and departed master, Richmond, Hertford, Lindsey, and Southampton, and last, not least, the gallant dauntless " Cavalier of Cavaliers," Prince Rupert. Courage, physical courage at least, was not wanting to the royalists ; alas ! moral courage was. The Hydes and Falklands failed to perform their duty, until it was too late ! And now, in our own days, who can doubt that our nobility and gentry would fight full as gallantly as their ancestors, for the cause of the



Crown and the Church—fight, that is, with deeds, when called on ; but not, alas ! with milder, but apparently far less easily attainable weapons ! Let us hope for the best. Surely all the prayers that have ascended from so many holy men—surely the flame of renovation which has sprung forth amongst us to purify and to brighten, surely the evidences of life visible far and wide within our Anglican community, surely all these will prevent our utter downfall, will fire us to combat against the spirit of lawless disobedience, will enable us to save law and order, even amidst the wreck of empires and of nations.

It is almost needless to say that the paper and print of Mr. Warburton's work, together with the fine engravings it contains, render it an ornament for any library. The portraits of Prince Rupert himself, the elegant and aristocratic Marquis of Worcester, and the famous Montrose will be found peculiarly interesting. We conclude our imperfect review with the confession of our gratitude to Mr. Warburton for his obviously long and careful labours, and with the assurance that we consider "*Prince Rupert and the Cavaliers*" a valuable contribution to the literature of our great civil war, and a production worthy of the author of "*The Crescent and the Cross*."

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ART. II.—*Mornings amongst the Jesuits at Rome. Being Notes of Conversations held with certain Jesuits on the subject of Religion in the City of Rome. By the Rev. M. HOBART SEYMOUR, M.A. London: Seeleys.*

WE confess to opening this volume with some degree of prejudice against the author's name, we scarcely know why; and with some distrust as to the line of argument which he might adopt. In truth, such feelings must cross the mind in commencing the perusal of almost any new work on Romish controversy; for we generally find little of novelty in the argument, and when there is novelty, it is usually more or less erroneous. Exaggeration we too frequently see; and, above all, we observe confusion of ideas, and a disposition to concede positions which, though apparently unimportant, are, in fact, the turning points of the whole controversy. Men too frequently enter on discussions of this kind without sufficient previous study, and therefore fall into mistakes of various kinds. In one direction they adopt principles which tend to the subversion of all positive religion; or, in the other, they are entangled in the meshes of Jesuitism, and become slavish admirers of the very worst and most dangerous parts of the Romish system.

Mr. Seymour is no tyro in the Romish controversy: he has evidently bestowed on it years of thought and research; for though his work is quite of a popular character, and carries no apparatus of learning along with it, being free from quotations, references, &c., yet to argue in the way he has done, proves the possession of a complete mastery in his subject. In perusing the "*Mornings amongst the Jesuits*," we are reminded of the exclamation of King Henry VIII., when Cranmer's suggestion of applying to the universities in the cause of his marriage was mentioned to him—"He has got the sow by the right ear!" Mr. Seymour *has* the animal in his clutches; and a woeful tweaking has he administered, while he stands over his prostrate victim with an air of benevolence and politeness, which adds severely to the infliction. We confess that we have often laughed heartily over Mr. Seymour's pages; for the rout of his opponents by the ability of his tactics, when contrasted with their previous triumphant assurance, is so complete, and the quiet way in which he works up these cunning men to the point he wants, and

then pounces upon them with some argument that they cannot answer, is so singular, that it reminds us more of Mr. Waterton's feat of turning over the fore feet of the crocodile, and employing them as reins, while he bestrode the monster in a new kind of saltatory equestrian exercise, than of any thing else within our recollection. The notion of *outwitting* and puzzling the Jesuits is certainly what would not occur to ordinary minds; but Mr. Seymour has positively achieved the feat. We believe the whole of his narrative to be true: to us it carries internal evidence of its truth. The arguments employed on the Jesuits' side are precisely those which the most subtle and unscrupulous disputants of the Church of Rome invariably employ as their very best. The air of confidence, assurance, and triumph with which they were given, is also ably and characteristically described; and the judgment and ability of the way in which the discussion was conducted, together with the evident sincerity of the author of this work, forbid us to distrust in any way the substantial accuracy and fairness of the report.

Mr. Seymour, as we learn from the preface to his volume, visited Rome with a view to study the true genius of the Church of Rome, and to judge for himself as to her nature and character. In the pursuit of this object, he immediately became a diligent attendant on all the rites of the Church of Rome, was present at every procession, exposition of relics, unusual ceremonial, attended whenever the pope or cardinals were to be present; was at every remarkable funeral, reception into a nunnery, festival, &c. In short, he appears to have availed himself of every opportunity of seeing the whole of the Roman Catholic system with his own eyes. This punctuality and assiduity in attendance on the Romish worship had the not unnatural effect of leading some zealous members of the Romish Church to the notion that our author was in a hopeful state of progress towards conversion. Actuated by such pleasing anticipations, a Roman gentleman of station suggested to our author, whether some communication with the ecclesiastics of Rome might not be desirable; and having learned that such acquaintance would be acceptable, he proceeded at once to place this very hopeful case in the hands of the Jesuits; two of whom, by direction of the Padre-generale of the Jesuits, visited Mr. Seymour, and conversed with him on controversial subjects, evidently anticipating an easy conquest. The convert, however, proved rather more difficult to convince than could have been expected; and so he was handed on to the Professor of Theology and Canon Law, and other learned Jesuits, who do not seem to have made much of him; and have probably often wished from the bottom of their hearts, that they

may never again have to deal with a hopeful convert of *this kind*.

We must introduce the reader to the two ecclesiastics who waited on Mr. Seymour by desire of the Padre-generale.

"I had returned home after this spectacle [an ordination], and was looking over the Pontifical, examining a point which had much impressed me, when two visitors were announced. They were two Jesuits. They came in the peculiar costume of the order. One was a priest, and the other a lay-brother; but, according to the rule of the order, as observed at Rome, they were robed alike, the whole body, from the padre-generale himself to the lowliest lay-brother who is porter at the gate, being dressed in costume precisely the same. It consists of a black cassock, extending from the throat to the ankles, without any ornament beyond a little brass medal and chain suspended to the waist. The cravat is white, but so narrow as to be scarcely observable above the cassock, and over all is a black cloak, neat, plain, and without sleeves. The hat is remarkable for the great breadth of its leaf. It is not red like those of the cardinals, nor white like those of the camaldolines, nor decorated with rosettes and bands of orange, green, &c., like those of the prelates, all which seem so strange to our English tastes. It is black, and turned up slightly at the sides, without any bow or other ornament. The costume as a whole is neat and seemly, and as elegant and becoming as any ecclesiastical or academic costume can be. It certainly surpasses in this particular the style and appearance of the other monastic or religious orders; for it bears the stamp of studied neatness and propriety, while that of some of the other orders is exquisitely grotesque and ridiculous.

"In a few moments we all were as much at ease as the peculiar nature and object of the visit could permit. The interchange of mutual courtesies, and some words upon general subjects, soon led to the object of our meeting."—pp. 10, 11.

The conversation turned at first on the Oxford movement, and the divisions in the Roman Catholic Church in Germany, and from thence passed on to the doctrine of absolution in the Church of Rome, in which our author placed the Jesuits in considerable difficulty; but we have not space to dwell on this branch of the subject,—we pass on to discussions of a more general nature.

In chapter III. we have an account of a visit paid to Mr. Seymour by "a reverend gentleman who had originally been a Protestant, and had entered the Church of Rome." This gentleman enlarged on the delight and happiness which he had experienced since becoming a Romanist.

"He entered into some details of his former history, in fact the story of his life, and concluded by saying that he had never known peace or happiness until he had taken the final step; and then, and from that

moment, he had experienced a tranquillity of mind and a satisfaction of feeling, a joy and delight which he had never known before. . . . . He then added, that he believed that this happiness was experienced by all who, like him, embraced the Church of Rome,—that he knew it to be the experience of others as well as his own,—that he could not regard it otherwise than as the special gift and blessing of God,—the reward of heaven to those who entered his true Church,—and that if I took the same step, I should assuredly be partaker of the same reward.”—pp. 63, 64.

Many persons would have been in some degree staggered by a statement of this kind, and would scarcely have known how to reply to it without danger of giving offence to the speaker. But Mr. Seymour replies, with great address and propriety, in the following way:—

“ I answered all this by stating that I could well understand it, as I had seen very much of the same nature in the case of persons who had acted in a manner the very opposite to that which he had adopted. I had known many persons who had been brought up from infancy in all the principles and practices of the Church of Rome,—who, by the reading of the Holy Scriptures, or by hearing the preaching of the Gospel, have been led to entertain doubts as to the verity of their former faith, and to receive and adopt the simple and scriptural principles of Protestantism ; and so to go on to the final step of embracing the communion of Protestants ; and such persons have often told me of the peace of mind and happiness of heart,—the gush of joy and delight that they experienced in forsaking, by that act, what they regarded as the unscriptural and unstable errors of one Church, for the scriptural and stable truth of the other ; speaking with rapturous ecstasy of peace and joy which they had never known before, and of the sweetness of which they had previously no conception. I added, that I supposed this feeling among those who embraced the Roman faith, and among those who embraced the Protestant faith—this feeling common to both alike—may arise from the casting aside the doubts and difficulties that had previously occupied and absorbed the mind ; but that I could not regard it as a reward or recompense for the final step,—that I could not think that God would give this reward to both sides, to the Romanist for embracing Protestantism, and to the Protestant for embracing Romanism.”—pp. 64, 65.

This was as complete an answer as could have been given. To judge of the rectitude of the course taken in a change of religion by the feelings by which it may be followed, is indeed a most fallacious test. We have heard of persons becoming Unitarians,—Blanco White, for instance,—and then expressing to their friends the relief and peace of mind which they have experienced in consequence. Without doubt a mind which has long been tossed on a sea of doubts and difficulties generally experiences a feeling of

great relief and happiness as soon as its course has been decidedly taken, whether that course be right or wrong in itself.

The "reverend gentleman," finding himself unexpectedly foiled in this attempt, returned to the attack in another direction. He urged upon Mr. Seymour that he would certainly only attain peace and happiness in joining the Church of Rome, that "if he would only resolve to fling away his doubts and difficulties—if, instead of making objections and answering arguments, and requiring reasons and proofs—if, instead of all this, he would but fling them to the winds, and boldly and unhesitatingly enter the Church of Rome, he would escape all the harassing anxieties of doubt, and all the awfulness of infidelity . . . that he must else continue in doubt and difficulty . . . that he must end in infidelity. There was no escape but in the Church of Rome."

He proceeded to urge that the only wise course, and that which would bring most comfort was to throw aside all doubts and difficulties, remembering that all questions had been already decided by the infallible authority of the Church. We must give the answer :—

"I said in reply to all this, that I could well understand such a course as an easy and effectual way of disposing of some difficulties ; and that I had long been in the habit of acting on it. I fully felt the value and indeed the necessity for a tribunal, an infallible tribunal, to determine the religious difficulty of my mind. . . . My friend seemed to accept this as all he required, and was about to proceed with his argument, when I continued to say that I had found and felt that the Holy Scriptures were the Word of God,—that they were inspired by Him, and therefore were infallible . . . . I added that the difference between him and me was, that he bowed to a supposed authority, the inspiration and divinity of which I denied ; while I bowed to an authority whose inspiration and divinity was admitted by all. He yielded to the decisions of the papal bulls, while I bowed to the decisions of the Holy Scriptures."—pp. 68, 69.

This was well said : it is a retort on that well-known argument of Romanists—"You admit that we can be saved : *we* deny that you can be saved ; therefore it is safest to enter the communion in which all allow salvation can be obtained." Mr. Seymour has sharpened his weapons on the Romish whetstone. His argument here is to us altogether novel. The reply was "precisely what he had anticipated." It consisted in the usual argument to show the unfitness of Scripture for any settlement of controversies. It was observed that if ten men could be produced who would agree in one interpretation, he could produce as many agreeing in a different interpretation, and that this liability to different interpre-



tations rendered the Scriptures unfit for the settlement of controversies or difficulties.

This species of argument must be familiar to every one who is in any degree versed in the Romish controversy, and it is often urged with perfect success. But it was not so in the case of our author. His answer was as follows—and an excellent answer it was :—

“ I rejoined to this, that although the argument has often before been used in many works of controversy, yet it had never seemed to me to have weight in the matter for which it was advanced, because the very same objection in all its force was as applicable to all the system of the Church of Rome. If appeal be made to the canon law,—if reference be made to the writings of the primitive fathers,—if the appeal be made to the decrees of councils,—if the reference be made to the bulls of popes,—if, in short, it be made to any documents, supposed to contain the infallible mind of the Church, there will be found as great a diversity of interpretation, as if the reference be made to the Holy Scriptures.”—p. 70.

Well said, again. Here Mr. Seymour has his Roman Catholic friend in a very awkward position. For most assuredly his argument is unanswerable. No one can deny that the fact is so ; at least no one possessing moderate information on such subjects. And assuredly it is *rather* an awkward position for a Romanist to occupy, when he is compelled on his own principles to maintain that all existing decrees of councils, bulls of popes, canons, liturgies, writings of the fathers, are just as inadequate as the Scriptures to the solution of difficulties, or the settlement of controversies. This leaves him a very narrow corner of ground to rest his foot upon. And thither our author follows him :—

“ He acknowledged frankly, and at once, that he thought my answer sufficient, so far as these writings, canons, decrees, and bulls, that have been already passed or written, are concerned. They are mere written documents, and as such they necessarily become liable to various interpretation in the hands of able and subtle men. They are all, therefore, in the same category, and liable to the same objection as the Holy Scriptures. He would fully admit this. *But* he thought that the great advantage of the Church of Rome consisted in having one who, as the head of the Church, was a living and speaking judge, who could at any moment determine infallibly the question under debate.”—p. 72.

Our author replied, by apologizing for the character of his mind, which, he said, required some clear proof in all matters of importance. He, therefore, requested his Roman Catholic friend to state to him the grounds on which he believed in the existence of any such infallible living tribunal in the Church, as he spoke of, considering the extreme importance of the doctrine in question.

The Roman Catholic assented to this, and said he would state his reasons. "One argument for the existence of this tribunal was *necessity*." The controversies, discussions, difficulties, schisms, &c., amongst Christians required some tribunal for their infallible decision; therefore such a tribunal *must exist*. The necessity of this inference was denied by Mr. Seymour; and his opponent was obliged to confess that it could not be defended as a logical conclusion. But he proceeded to argue that the usefulness and convenience of such a tribunal was so obvious that we must suppose a good and beneficent God must have granted it to the Church. On being pressed again, he was obliged to admit that *this* inference also, was not logically defensible.

"I asked him quietly,—Do you yourself think, that your proving it to be convenient, or useful, or desirable for the Church, is really proving that it does exist in the Church? Do you yourself think, that in logic you are justified in inferring the existence of any thing from the supposed usefulness of the thing? . . . It would, I acknowledged, undoubtedly be very convenient and useful to us, that hell with all its horrors should be annihilated; but we are not justified in believing, therefore, that hell is annihilated. It would also, without any question, be useful and convenient for us beyond expression, that sin should be abolished and driven from the world; but we are not, therefore, to infer that sin is so abolished. . . . And, in the same way, I continued, our proving the convenience or usefulness of an infallible tribunal, other and besides the Holy Scriptures, or its suitableness to the goodness of God, cannot be regarded as any adequate argument to prove that God has actually established it. The question is, not what God could or might have done, but what He has done."—pp. 76, 77.

To this there was only one answer to be returned. The Romanist was obliged to confess that his argument had failed, and was untenable. But he shortly returned to the charge on a different ground. He urged a principle with which we have been familiarized in the writings of Messrs. Newman, Ward, Oakeley, and their friends. He contended that we may assume the existence of an infallible tribunal *without proof*, in the same way as we assume the existence of God without proof. The existence of God is incapable of proof, and yet we believe it; why then should we not believe equally an infallible tribunal to exist? Mr. Seymour, in reply, denied that we assume the existence of a First Cause; but that, on the contrary, we *prove* it, except when it is already acknowledged; and therefore if the existence of an infallible tribunal on earth be parallel to this, it ought also to be proved.

We pass reluctantly over the earlier part of a very curious and able argument on the subject of the locality of this assumed

infallibility (pp. 87—99) ; and come to the discussion of the main question with the Professors of Dogmatic Theology and Canon Law in the Collegio Romano. We must here make rather a long extract.

“ He [the Professor of Dogmatic Theology] immediately proposed to me to argue the question of the possibility of salvation in the Church of England . . . undertaking, on his part, to prove against me that the Church of England was not the Church of Christ ; and that while I continued a member of the Church of England I could not be saved. It was a formal challenge.

“ I replied that I could not assert that the Church of England was *the Church* of Christ—that I believed and held she was *a part, a member, a branch of the Church* of Christ—that she held all necessary truth, and that salvation was to be found within her, and that I was prepared to maintain thus far, but no farther. I could not defend the proposition in the form in which he proposed it.

“ He said that he would shape his argument so as to embrace that view, and then, before he commenced, we agreed that nothing should be asserted respecting the doctrine of either Church, by either him or myself, without producing the canon, or decree, or bull, or article of the Church containing it. He was not to claim for the Church of Rome, nor to ascribe to the Church of England any thing whatever without producing the authoritative canon of one Church, or the authoritative article of the other. I was pledged in the same way . . . I was careful to have this settled between us before proceeding farther, as I perceived he was disposed to enter on the question more as a practised and confident controversialist, than as a sincere inquirer. He seemed a bold, lively, warm-hearted man, experienced in the disputations of the College, and confident in his own resources. . . . He commenced according to the method still practised in the classes of the College, namely, arguing in the form of a syllogism. He said—

“ The Church of Christ is infallible.

“ The Church of England confesses herself fallible.

“ Therefore the Church of England is not the Church of Christ.

“ I at once pointed out the fallacy or error of his argument, showing, as I had already stated, that the Church of England did not pretend to be the Church of Christ, but only a part, or branch, or member of it ; and that the fallibility of a part of the Church was no proof she was not a part of the Church, to which only, as a whole, infallibility could belong.

“ He acknowledged this to be sufficient, and said he could state his argument in another form.

“ The Church of Christ, in all her parts, is infallible.

“ The Protestant Church of England confesses herself fallible.

“ Therefore the Church of England is not a part of the Church of Christ.

“ I conceived that this syllogism was as faulty as the preceding one ;

but that I would at once meet it by denying his minor ; that is, by denying that the Protestant Church of England confesses herself to be fallible. I was not aware that she had made such a confession.

"He laughed at me good-humouredly, and with a look of triumph, and said that the Church of England had confessed it, and he could produce the Article. He referred me to Article xix.

"I produced the Article and read the words, 'As the Churches of Jerusalem, Alexandria, and Antioch have erred, so also the Church of Rome hath erred, not only in their living and manner of ceremonies, but also in matters of faith!' I said that this Article of the Church of England asserted that other Churches, and the Church of Rome in particular, had erred, and were fallible, but that she had said nothing of herself; and certainly had not, as his argument supposed and required, confessed herself fallible.

"He frankly acknowledged this to be a sufficient answer, and that his argument had failed, but said he would arrange his syllogism in another form so as to obviate this. He seemed, however, slightly, very slightly, annoyed, at finding himself so easily foiled in his first two attempts. He proceeded with great quickness to arrange his argument again.

"The Church of Christ, in all her parts, *claims* to be infallible.

"The Protestant Church of England *does not claim* to be infallible.

"Therefore the Church of England is not the Church of Christ.

"The ordinary mode of replying to this, would have been by denying the major, namely, that the Church in all its parts claimed to be infallible; and this would have opened the whole question of the infallibility of the Church, whether, as a whole, in the Church general, or in a part, as the Church of England. I felt, however, in my secret soul, that there was another mode of dealing with it. I had in years long past pondered the matter well and thoughtfully, and many years' experience and research alike confirmed my feeling. I had never expressed it in private, nor had I employed it in public; and I thought that the present was an occasion the most fitting possible to advance it . . . So after some moments' pause for reflection, I requested my opponent to repeat and kindly write his syllogism on paper,

"He wrote it as follows:—

"The Church of Christ, in all her parts, claim to be infallible.

"The Church of England does not claim to be infallible.

"Therefore the Church of England is no part of the Church of Christ.

"Having read it carefully, I drew my pen over the word 'England', in the minor and in the conclusion, and writing the word 'Rome' in its stead, I returned the paper as my answer. It was as follows:—

"The Church of Christ, in all her parts, claims to be infallible.

"The Church of Rome does not claim to be infallible.

"Therefore the Church of Rome is not part of the Church of Christ.

"On handing it to him in this altered form, I remarked quietly, that if his syllogism was legitimate as against the Church of England, it

must be equally legitimate against the Church of Rome ; and that, therefore, he could not deny its conclusiveness,

“ The moment he read it he laughed heartily but good-humouredly at me, and said the Church of Rome did claim infallibility ; and expressed surprise at my minor, containing a statement so palpably incorrect, and, therefore, so easily confuted. His companion joined him in his merriment, and they both seemed to rejoice in a victory so easily and so completely gained.

“ I was in no other degree affected by this, than to feel thankful that it gave me a little space to collect myself, and to express my argument with precision ; I therefore calmly reminded my friends, that the Church of Rome had never, on any occasion, asserted her own infallibility ; that some of her members, and some of her advocates, some of her individual divines had, without any authority from her, claimed and asserted it for her, and in her name ; but that she had never, in any form whatever, either claimed or asserted it herself.”—pp. 140—146.

The result was, that when the two professors were at length brought to give their proofs for the assumption that their Church asserted her own infallibility, they entirely broke down, and the honours of the day remained with their opponent.

Now, we have no doubt, that many of our readers will share the astonishment of the two Jesuits in finding any man bold enough to say that the Church of Rome does not authoritatively teach the doctrine of the existence of an infallible tribunal. We hear so much of infallibility ; it is so regularly made the turning point in controversy between members of one communion and the other—so much is made to depend upon it by all Romanists whom we have to do with, that we are inclined to look upon it as an absurd paradox to dispute whether the Church of Rome asserts such a privilege. We might share in this feeling, had it not been our fortune many years since to be led to investigate very carefully this very point ; and we can assure the reader that if the question is to be decided by an appeal to any of the authorized formularies of the Church of Rome—any of those formularies which they hold *binding* on them, the *Church of Rome herself* does not make the claim. There is nothing about it in the Canons or Decrees of Trent, or in the Creed of Pope Pius, or in the decrees of any general synod, or in any definition of faith made by the Pope, and received unanimously by the Roman Catholic Episcopate. It is merely the assertion of their divines and controversialists.

We cannot sufficiently testify our sense of the ability displayed by Mr. Seymour in this disputation. One such point as he has here made, is enough to confer value on his work. It is, in our opinion, a work of distinguished merit.

We must just produce one more passage in which the attempts to establish the position denied by Mr. Seymour are described.

“After some moments’ pause, he said he could produce several instances, and named the Council of Constance, the Council of Basil, the Council of Florence, and several other lesser authorities. I knew each of the decrees to which he referred ; and therefore when he said that one asserted the supremacy of the Church of Rome, as the mother and mistress of all Churches ; and that another held that every soul was subject to the Roman Pontiff at the peril of his salvation ; and that others still asserted, that every man must be obedient, and owed obedience to the successor of St. Peter ; and others, again, that it belonged to the Church of Rome to interpret Holy Scripture : when he said all this, I reminded him that all this was beside the real question, was nothing to the real point before us ; that my assertion was, that no received decree or bull, or other authoritative document of the Church of Rome, claimed *infallibility* ; and that he answered me only by producing some which claimed *supremacy* and *authority*.

“He said that supremacy and authority implied infallibility. I answered by an emphatic—No ! I said, that in England we felt that the law of the land was supreme and authoritative ; that we often felt that a specified law was a bad law ;—a mischievous law, a law that ought never to have been enacted, and ought immediately to be repealed ; . . . but, though we ascribe to the law, and to the legislative power of the nation, a *supremacy* and *authority*, we prove, by our efforts to repeal the obnoxious law, that we do not ascribe *infallibility* to it. I then said, that all the decrees, bulls, canons, &c., to which he referred me, only asserted such a supremacy and authority as demanded the subjection and obedience of men to the Church of Rome, or to the Pope as its head ; but not one of them claimed or asserted infallibility for any party.

“My opponent here did not deny the principle I had thus laid down ; but he seemed puzzled and perplexed, at finding that all his documents failed in the precise point of asserting infallibility. He referred to several others which he had not already named ; but in a moment gave them up as inadequate.”—pp. 147, 148.

The Professor of Canon Law, on this, asked with much warmth, whether Protestants were not always in the habit of finding fault with the Church of Rome for assuming infallibility, and whether this alone was not a sufficient proof that she really did claim infallibility ? To this Mr. Seymour replied, that he had never taken that ground—that he believed she had, as a Church, never advanced the claim—that her advocates did so for her ; but that they were not the Church ; that if he was wrong in this statement, his opponents could produce the canon or authoritative document which contained that claim,—that by the terms of the conference nothing was to be imputed to a Church except what was contained in its authoritative documents ; that, as they had been



unable to produce the authority for their statement, he had a right to argue on their principles, that the Church of Rome, *not claiming to be infallible*, was no part of the Church of Christ.

Duns Scotus himself could not have argued more acutely than this. It is really admirable; and we can well imagine the utter confusion of the two Jesuits. They could not possibly have been prepared for such a turn of the argument, which is perfectly original. And it is based on undeniable facts. In this instance we see the extreme importance of not making *unnecessary concessions*. Ninety-nine people out of a hundred would have been so inconsiderate as to concede at once that the Church of England admits herself to be fallible; but when it comes to strict reasoning and clear statement, it is impossible to find any such position in the Articles and other authoritative documents of the Church. And when the question was restricted to these, the Romanist entirely failed in his argument, because Mr. Seymour understood his ground exactly. And the excellent point made about the Romish claim to infallibility is another instance of the importance of weighing well the concessions that are made. If Mr. Seymour had not detected the errors and fallacy involved in these positions, he could have been at once defeated.

We must now pass on to a subsequent conversation on the subject of infallibility, which appears to us of considerable importance in showing the way of managing controversies of that kind. The conference referred to was held with the reverend Professor of Canon Law in the Collegio Romano, and a Jesuit of eminence. It was held with a view to inquire into the means or test by which an infallible bull or decree of the Pope could be distinguished from a fallible one—to distinguish a decision *ex cathedrâ*, from one *non ex cathedrâ*. The conversation began by reference to a former conversation with a third person, who had endeavoured to persuade Mr. Seymour to receive the doctrine of an infallible tribunal without proof or inquiry. Mr. Seymour remarked to the Professor, that *supposing* infallibility to exist either in a council or a pope, he was disposed to think that if it existed in either, the weight of argument seemed to preponderate in favour of the pope, because all the texts referred to in proof of infallibility have connexion with Peter, and therefore refer much more naturally to the popes, as the successors of Peter, than to councils, which are not in any way connected with these words.

This was a bait which the Jesuit swallowed with eagerness, being instantly under the impression that our author was in a fair way to become a convert. Mr. Seymour then proceeded to lay before him certain difficulties in respect to the question, on the hypothesis that infallibility resided in the papacy

—his difficulty was how to discern a fallible decision from an infallible one.

“ I reminded the Professor that he was, of course, aware that the popes were not always—were not *at all times, and under all circumstances*, infallible—that Pope Liberius had avowed Arianism, and that Pope Honorius was a Monothelite.”

The Professor attempted to defend these popes from the imputation of heresy ; but ended by saying that if their decisions had been *ex cathedrâ*, they would have been infallible.

“ This at once conducted our conversation to the precise point which I felt most anxious to open, and I saw that there could be no difficulty in entering on it ; but I desired much to do so, without any appearance of a controversial spirit on my part . . . . I said that supposing the pope to be infallible whenever he uttered a decision, or issued a bull *ex cathedrâ*, it was still necessary to know how we are to ascertain a decision *ex cathedrâ* from a decision *non ex cathedrâ*.

“ He at once met the difficulty, and said that it was of very easy solution. He stated that there were certain requisites, certain essentials, which were characteristic of a bull *ex cathedrâ*. . . . . He added that those requisites or essentials were seven in number, and that he feared to weary me by their detail, but that otherwise he would be happy to enter on them.”—pp. 161—164.

The conference then turned on the requisite conditions of a decision *ex cathedrâ*—an infallible decision.

The first condition was that the pope should have opened a communication with the bishops before composing and publishing his bull, asking their prayers to God that he might be infallibly guided. By thus doing, the pope could obtain the prayers of his universal Church for his assistance before forming and publishing his decision.

“ I asked him how, seeing that there was a necessity for this previous communication on the part of the pope with the bishops, how I was to inform myself, that this requisite or essential had been really borne in mind. He merely replied, that *it was very easy to be ascertained*, and then proceeded to the second particular.”—p. 165.

This is really almost too good. The coolness of the Jesuit in thus passing over this home thrust, is truly characteristic. It carries internal evidence of truth. . . . . Our author, however, did not press him on the point ; but allowed the conversation to pass to the second condition.

This second condition was, that the pope before giving his decision should seek carefully all possible information on the

subject, especially he should seek information from persons residing in the district affected by the opinion in question.

"I asked, in reference to this, how I was to be assured that the pope was thus rightly and fully informed,—that he had sought and obtained the required information, and was thus capacitated for proceeding to issue the bull. He replied, as before, that *there was not the least difficulty in ascertaining this*, and so passed on to the other particular."—p. 166.

It must have been one of the richest scenes in the world. We wonder most at Mr. Seymour's command of countenance. The next particular is also capital.

The Professor remarked, that there was a further requisite—namely, the bull should be formal and authoritative, and claim to be authoritative; that it should be issued not merely as a decision of the pope in his mere personal capacity, but in his official capacity, as the head of the Church.

"I remarked, that this requisite could be easily ascertained, as it must necessarily appear on the face of the bull; the only difficulty being to obtain a *true copy* of the bull."

The next condition—that the bull should be addressed to all the bishops of the universal Church, was also admitted as a test of easy application, inasmuch as the *mere superscription* of the bull would at once show whether this essential was forthcoming. The succeeding condition was, that the bull should be universally received, or accepted and promulgated by the bishops of the universal Church as an authoritative and infallible decision, or at least accepted tacitly and without opposition. The reply to this was, that this was a point very difficult to be ascertained; that some bulls are received in some Romish countries and not received in others, and contradictory assertions are made, that it would open out a great field of inquiry and disputation. The Professor again said, "*there was not the least difficulty!*"

The succeeding condition was, that the bull should be a decision on some question touching faith or morals; on which it was observed, that an opinion prevailed in England that the Church of Rome had strained faith and morality to include matters of fact, or even matters of history, and that this was practically illustrated in the case of the Jansenists and Jesuits, when the point at issue was a matter of fact.

"The final condition was, that the pope should be free, and under no external compulsion or influence.

"On this I remarked, quietly, that it would be very difficult for me, or for any one in England, to ascertain to any thing like moral certainty, whether the pope, at the issuing of any bull, was really under

any exterior influence, or whether he was perfectly free. I did not see how it was possible to have any certainty on such a point. He said, as before, that there was *no real difficulty in this*, or in any of the tests he had specified; and merely added, that these several essentials or requisites were the tests by which any bull was to be tried. If they existed, then the bull was *ex cathedrâ*, and was to be received as infallible; but if any of them were wanting, then the bull was not *ex cathedrâ*."—pp. 169, 170.

Our author then expressed his obligation to the Jesuit for all this information, and sought for the explanation of a difficulty which presented itself to his mind. He spoke of the difficulty which persons resident in England might have in ascertaining whether the pope had asked for the prayers of the universal Church; had sought and obtained the necessary information; and whether his bull had been really received and promulgated universally; and he suggested that plain and unlearned men in England might find the necessary inquiries on these subjects not only difficult, but absolutely impossible. And the difficulty would be increased a thousand-fold when the inquiry concerned some bull issued some centuries ago.

"He replied, that all that was necessary for any man in such cases was to go to his bishop, ask the bishop respecting the bull in question, and the bishop would inform him whether it was *ex cathedrâ* or otherwise. Nothing could be easier."—p. 171.

Our author admitted that there was no difficulty whatever in such a mode of resolving the doubt; but he intimated that an English mind could not refer the decision of such historical facts as the pope's freedom from influence, &c., to the mere opinion of a bishop who possessed no infallibility; that an Englishman would, in such a case, prefer to compare the bull at once with the Scriptures, and so decide on its truth or error.

"He laughed at me for this, and said that an appeal to the Scriptures was absurd and impossible. It might all be very well, comparatively, for men like himself and me, who were well read and versed in sacred literature; but it was quite otherwise with men in general, and especially with humble and illiterate or ignorant men, in fact, with the great mass of mankind. For, he argued in a tone of great confidence,—his whole face lighted up with the expression of conscious triumph,—the Holy Scriptures are a volume that requires many preliminary inquiries before it can be received. In the first place, it will be necessary for the man to ascertain the authenticity of every separate book or portion of the volume. In the next place, it will be necessary for him to prove the divine inspiration of every part of it. In the third place, the book is written in dead languages, and the man

must know how to understand them, or have them translated. In the fourth place, it is a volume that has given rise to different meanings or interpretations, and the man should be able to judge upon these . . . so the Holy Scriptures can never be made a fitting volume for such a man to appeal to in matters of religion."—p. 173.

This is the well-known system of argument adopted by all Romish controversialists. One might suppose oneself dealing with an Infidel or a Rationalist. The arguments of such opponents of religion against the Scripture are unscrupulously borrowed by Romanists. But Mr. Seymour was a match for the Jesuit.

"I began by stating that . . . I apprehended his method of argument would be met in England in a very effective way, at least in such a way as I should be unable to answer, unless he informed me further than he had as yet done. I said that the most ordinary and commonplace man in England would say, that if they forsook the volume of the Holy Scriptures for the volume of the papal bulls—that if they exchanged the Bible for the bullarium, they could gain no advantage thereby; for if, as he had said, there was a necessity for a man to ascertain the authority of each book in the Holy Scripture, before he could avail himself of it, then it was no less true that it was equally necessary for a man to ascertain the much-questioned authenticity of each bull in the bullarium—that if, as he had alleged, the man must be carefully informed by study in the inspiration of the Sacred Volume, before receiving it as his Divine teacher, there will exist a similar necessity for his being informed by study in the disputed infallibility of the papal bullarium, before receiving it as his infallible instructor; that if, as he had averred, the Holy Scriptures were written in the dead languages, and a man must learn to translate them before using them: the very same may be averred against the papal bulls, which also are all written in a dead language, and a man must learn to translate them before appealing to them; that if, as he had argued, the Holy Scriptures have been variously interpreted by various men, and all that variety must be resolved by every man before he makes the Sacred Volume his guide, it might, in like manner, be argued that the papal bulls have been variously explained, some received and some rejected by a vast variety of persons, and men must be able to decide on all these varying interpretations of bulls, before accepting them as an infallible guide—in short, it would be argued,—fairly argued, by men of no pretension to any thing but the possession of common sense, that every objection he urged against the volume of the Holy Scripture, was liable to be urged against the volume of the papal bulls. They were written in a dead language. They were the subject of various interpretations. They were the source of endless controversies. Their number and names were doubtful. Their title to infallibility was questioned. All men disputed as to which were fallible and which infallible. Some bulls

were directly contradictory of others; some actually and by name were condemnatory of others; some were admitted on all hands to be erroneous and heretical; and the whole combined constituted a series of volumes almost as extended as a library, and therefore wholly inaccessible to the masses of a Christian population. They could never become the guide of a Christian people, and to this day have never yet been translated into the language of any Christian Church. While the Holy Scriptures, on the other hand, were universally translated, were small in size, convenient for reference, and incomparably more easy to be read, studied, and understood, than the endless intricacies and scholastic niceties of the bullarium. I said that men in England would argue thus, and would feel that they should lose rather than gain by exchanging their Bible for the bullarium—the Holy Scriptures for the papal bulls."

Of course there was no answering this. It is absolutely unanswerable as a reply to Romanists. It retorts their argument on themselves most triumphantly. And the very same principle may be applied to the decrees of councils, and to the monuments of tradition in general—to the liturgies—the canons—the writings of the fathers. If the Romanist asserts in controversy with us, that the Scriptures cannot be a rule of faith or settle controversies, or that it is altogether impossible for men generally to appeal to them, because they must first ascertain their genuineness, authenticity, correctness of translation, and true interpretation, on all of which there are endless disputes—our reply at once may be, that by the very same mode of argument it may be proved that the canons and decrees of all synods, including the Synod of Trent—the decrees of popes—the monuments of tradition in all ages down to the present moment are equally unfit to be appealed to in any matters of controversy. So that, in fine, the Romanist so completely overreaches himself in his struggle to subvert our position, that he is, on his own principles, left without a single proof that his Church holds any article of faith or morality whatever. He *will* not allow Scripture to settle the question. He *cannot*, therefore, allow councils, fathers, liturgies, canons, bulls, to settle the question. So that, in regard to all doctrines of the faith, he is without compass or guide of any kind, except it may be the dictum of his particular priest or bishop, whom he himself admits and must admit to be *fallible*. Thus, according to the principles laid down by Romanists themselves, they are bound to be in doubt on every point of their creed. They have no authority for believing the Apostles' Creed, or the Nicene Creed, or the Creed of Pope Pius itself.

This is evident and certain beyond all manner of doubt; and it amounts, of course, to a demonstration of the unsoundness and



absurdity of the leading and most popular argument employed by Romanists. For a full exposition of the way in which it is possible most briefly and successfully to meet the current argument on this point we are indebted to Mr. Seymour. His mode of treating the subject is not only valuable in its matter but in its manner. The quiet mastery which he exercises—the way in which he works up his adversary to the point he wants, and then pounces upon him, is admirable. We really know nothing of the kind in modern books. It reminds us more of the tact and ingenuity of Bossuet than of any one else that we recollect.

Mr. Seymour touches on all the popular arguments now in vogue at Rome ; amongst the rest, on the subject of the alleged sterility of Protestant missions as compared with the success of those of the Church of Rome.

“ In arguing for the Church of Rome, and against the Church of England, he (the Jesuit) stated that Providence was every day setting the seal of testimony to the former, and withholding it from the latter. He said that this was peculiarly visible in the department of missions ; for that while the missionary labours of the Church of England, notwithstanding the commanding influence and wealth of England, are without any success that deserved the name, the preaching of the missionaries of the Church of Rome had met with the most wonderful successes,—that the multitudes of heathen who were converted of late years are beyond expression. . . .

“ I replied that I had not much faith in the statements sometimes put forth on the subject of missions. I mentioned the narrative of a friend of my own, who was witness to the conversion of a whole tribe of American Indians. He told me the whole tribe marched down to a river, and that the Roman Catholic priest, without a word of instruction, sprinkled water on every one in the usual form ; and that he then hung a little cross by a string around the neck of each, and telling them they were now Christians, he left them. My friend told me that the Indians departed precisely as they came—heard no preaching—received no instruction—exhibited no sign of Christianity—made no profession of any faith—and departed precisely as they came ; as naked, as savage, as wild and as ignorant, and heathen, with this only difference, that each had a little cross suspended around his neck ! I added, that I fully believed the statement of my informant, who would not deceive me ; and, that I did not see how the Church of Rome could triumph much in such alleged conversions. . . .

“ He said I was altogether mistaken, in doubting the reality of these conversions—that it was in this the interposition of God was so clearly manifested—that these conversions partook very much of the miraculous in their nature, at least could not be accounted for often, unless on the principle of a Divine miracle. . . . These very Indians, heathen and savage as they had been, were real converts ; and the proofs

of the reality of their conversion are undoubted and convincing; so much so, that after the missionary had left them, after he had remained absent for two years, . . . after he returned to his missionary station, at the close of these two years, and came again among these Indians, he, of course, as was his duty, required of them to come to confession—to confess their sins that they might receive absolution; he was equally surprised and indeed overjoyed to find that not one of them had any sins to confess! My friend went on to explain, that there was no *matter* for the sacrament of penance, as during these two years the Indians lived such converted lives, such holy and Christian lives, *that there was not one among them who had committed a single sin, and therefore had no sin to confess*, and the missionary priest was unable to confer absolution, inasmuch as there was no *matter* for the sacrament!”

Our author ventured to suggest, that as the very best and holiest Christians were always conscious of sin, it might possibly be, that these Indians were ignorant of Christian truth, and might not be aware of the nature of sin, or that the acts of vice and immorality they were in the habit of committing *were* sin.

“This suggestion he rejected, and flung from him at once; and he eagerly added, that the very missionary was now at Rome—that he had just returned from America, and was at the Collegio Romano, where he had himself heard him narrate the facts; and, as a proof beyond question of the reality of the conversions, and the holiness of the Indians, he mentioned what he called a most wonderful miracle that had occurred when the missionary was administering the holy communion to them. He was holding the host in his fingers thus—my friend suiting the action to the word—and as the poor Indian was too far from him, the missionary priest could not place the host in his mouth: the poor, humble, devout Indian knelt so far away that the priest could not reach him, and—here my reverend friend lifted his hands in an attitude of awe, looked devoutly to heaven, and then earnestly and solemnly addressed me—the host flew out of his fingers, flew over to the poor Indian, and flew into his mouth! ‘Oh!’ he added, in a tone of the most reverential devotion, ‘the blessed Lord Jesus so loved that poor savage, that he longed to enter into his heart, and thus miraculously flew into his mouth! How anxious he was to get into him!’

“I could no longer doubt the sincerity of this priest. There was a fervour, an earnestness, a devotion of manner, that showed he fully believed what he thus narrated; and the personal character of the man was such that I had no right to doubt him after so solemn a statement. He narrated it as a miracle wrought by God on behalf of the Church of Rome. . . . It only proved to my mind, that the missionary priest had wickedly invented this story to exalt and magnify his own labours, and was now telling it among his brother Jesuits of the Collegio Romano, that such of them as were simple and credulous, and superstitious enough to believe it, might spread it through the world, as a new testimony of God to the Church of Rome.”—pp. 190—194.

The extracts we have made will be a sufficient specimen of Mr. Seymour's work. We have perused this work with some attention, and we think it, on the whole, better calculated for circulation by the parochial clergy than any book we know of. It is exactly such a book as might be useful to lend to Romanists, or to persons wavering in their religious tenets and inclining towards Rome. There is nothing in it to offend the fastidious delicacy of the present day. Where there is irony, it is so fine, and so much subdued by Christian charity, that the most sensitive mind cannot be displeased. The work takes notice of all the arguments most dwelt on by the Jesuits, and reproduced for the benefit of the English by Wiseman and others. There is a very useful and interesting discussion of the question of the sepulchral inscriptions on the tombs of the early Christians discovered in the catacombs, from which Wiseman and others have attempted to establish the early date of certain Romish practices. This branch of the discussion is very well treated by Mr. Seymour in the latter part of the work before us. It has also been most satisfactorily and ably treated by Dr. Maitland (*not* the author of the "Dark Ages") in his very interesting volume on the "Church in the Catacombs;" and we trust that, after the exposure which these able writers have made of the whole system of theorizing on the subject of the ancient monuments in the catacombs, we shall hear no more of the matter. The truth is, that the early Christian monuments furnish, in themselves, a strong presumptive proof that the invocation of saints and purgatory were unknown to the early Roman Christians, as Mr. Seymour and Dr. Maitland have both shown.

The facts stated in Mr. Seymour's volume, with regard to the worship of the Virgin and the saints in Italy, are very striking and useful. He remarks—and every one who has been in Italy must at once concur in the truth and justice of the remark—that the religion in Italy is rather the "religion of the Virgin," than "the religion of Jesus Christ." Our Lord is placed, with reference to the Virgin, in much the same position that Brahma occupies with reference to the inferior deities in Hindostan. His superior deity is acknowledged in theory; but he has no temples, and receives no worship; while the inferior gods, acknowledged to be mortal, absorb all the offerings and all the attention of the Hindoo worshipper. So it is in Italy, where application is for the most part made to the "Queen of Heaven" (as she is impiously called), who is believed to have the power of "commanding" the second person of the ever blessed Trinity to intercede with the Father for our sins. Indeed, as she is considered regularly as the "spouse" of the Almighty Father, and to have been selected for that dignity simply on account of her transcendent and infinite

merit, surpassing that of all created beings, it follows that the intercession of the "Queen of Angels," or "Queen of Heaven," must be of infinite avail with the "King of Heaven;" and what practical distinction can thus be drawn between the merits and intercession of Jesus Christ and of Mary we know not. So that we need not wonder when we find her, equally with Jesus, the object of worship—addressed in the same terms—placed fully on an equality with Him. The only real matter of astonishment is, that Romish controversialists and others in this country can put forth the statements they do, in reference to the worship of the Virgin and saints, which they represent as limited simply to asking for their *prayers to God*, in the same way that we ask the prayers of our fellow men for us. And in order to convince unwary inquirers that this is the case, they produce *some* of their books of devotion, which are moderate in their language with reference to the Virgin and saints, and comprise prayers to God; and then, they enlarge upon the "wickedness" of those who impute to them any worship or addresses which invest creatures with the attributes of the Creator.

We must now take our leave of Mr. Seymour's work, which we should be glad to see printed in a *very cheap* form, and circulated by tens of thousands. If he could give us a brief defence of the Church of England, as a branch of the Catholic Church of Christ, against Romish attacks, in as popular a style, with as *judicious a title*, and in shape as inoffensive to the feelings, and tastes, and principles of Churchmen, as the work before us, he would confer an incalculable benefit on the Church.

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**ART. III.—*A Few Words to Parish Schoolmasters.* London: Cleaver.**

IF it was ever questioned that the next most important personage in a parish after the clergyman is the schoolmaster, that question exists no longer. The clergy feel how much their whole work depends upon that branch of it which is carried on in the schoolroom, and therefore upon those who are mainly instrumental in conducting it. There does not appear, however, to be the same unanimity of opinion as to what the schoolmaster should be. That he must do a great deal, and be a great deal, is admitted; but the limits of his work, and the requisite characteristics of the workman, are hardly determined, and we find great inequality in the estimation and treatment of this personage. Clearly there will be always considerable variety of practice, arising not only from the difference of different men's views, but also from the various wants of parishes and capabilities of masters. More or less will be put into the hands of the master, as he is found capable or incapable of high trust, and as the size of the parish renders the clergyman more or less able himself to educate the school. This last cause of variety will, however, probably decrease: for the progressive increase of services, and, still more, the demand for closer spiritual intercourse and counsel on the part of the older parishioners will absorb so much of the time and powers of the clergy, that not many parishes will bear to have a schoolmaster who requires the constant presence and complement of the parish priest. The schoolmaster must be a person to be depended upon; and it is now before the clergy, first to make up their minds upon what they wish to depend—what sort of masters they desire to have, and then to see about obtaining the object of their wishes.

Now it is not at all clear, that we are better prepared to fix the schoolmaster's character at this time, than we were some years ago. It is true that training institutions, some of them most admirable, set themselves to produce not only a more clever, well-informed class of teachers, but one which shall be better disciplined and more religious. None of the clergy but desire this result, and rejoice in the machinery prepared for the purpose of

producing it ; but as the nearness of the poles affects the best compass, so there is an influence at work both on the clergy and on their schoolmasters, which disturbs their calm judgment and purpose, and clogs the machinery in its action, or mars the work when completed—the influence, the pressure of *intellectual education*. So much is expected of the master when he leaves his college, that all is anxiety and toil to prepare him. To make him a well-informed teacher, an intelligent, decided, prompt, orderly governor and superintendent ; to fit him to pass the examination, and to obtain pupil teachers ; these are matters of such overwhelming interest, that in him or in his teachers, or in both, something of the first high aim and intention is often unconsciously lost sight of ; a higher standard is attained in things mental than was previously wished, and a lower in things spiritual than had been hoped and desired. Then afterwards, when the master has gone forth into the world, after his short three years of preparation, the pressure weighs upon him still more heavily. He stands alone. The supporters of his school desiring pupil teachers, the inspector, the common feeling of those who examine and interest themselves in schools, the temptations of ambition, the fact that intellectual progress is more evident, and seems a more real and grateful return for labour, all these things urge on in one and the same direction. Nor is the clergyman exempt from the same influences. The pecuniary importance of Government aid, the comparison of his own school with other more famous schools, the satisfaction of finding his children always able to understand him, and to receive what he gives, so that he can teach without labour, and the little time he has to spare is none of it wasted ; all these things help to carry him away also in the stream ; to make him rejoice in a highly educated master, to make him satisfied on the whole with such a master, and with the effect of that master's teaching, although there be at times an inward disquiet and fear, as if all were not right—as if the tone and feeling of the schoolroom were not that of those whom Jesus has taken up in his arms, put his hands upon and blessed.

It would seem reasonable, then, that we should bear in mind these influences, and calculate their effect upon ourselves. It is not likely, it is not natural, that when the whole age is set upon the idolatry of mind, we should be entirely exempt ; and a very little thought will personally convince us that we are not so exempt. We are all in the stream, although not all in the violence of it, and if we were to turn and row a while in the opposite direction, we should only be keeping our position.

This is one consideration, and perhaps but one other is really



wanted to enable us to answer the question, What sort of man we require for our master? that one other being simply the remembrance of what he has to do: he has to take the lambs of Christ's flock out of the arms of their parents, to bring them into contact with the harshness, the selfishness, the levity, the sinful boldness, and the sinful cowardice of numbers; he has to try their patience with learning things hard, their passions with punishments, their vanity with praises: he has to make them public, and yet keep them private; to bring forward, and yet repress; to give confidence without destroying humility; he has to teach Christianity, to impart Christianity. From him the younger children will acquire almost all they know of God, and the holy angels, and their own immortal bodies and souls; the elder children, a great portion of these, probably the greater portion; and as he is most uniformly with them, so they will generally take their tone upon these subjects from him. As he handles the Bible so will they. As is his eye, when he reads or speaks of Christ, so will be their hearts. His feeling, state of heart, and general character, will reflect itself in them. They are his mirror, only the reflection is not transient, but in a measure lasts through eternity. What possible presence of the clergyman can supply the deficiencies or remedy the evils in a person possessing such influence? Can an hour a day undo the whole of that day, except that one hour?

And, after all, what are our school children to be when their education is finished? What is the purpose of their education, but to fit them for their future life? And what will be their future life, but that of labourers, sailors, artizans, servants, small trade-people, and farmers at the very highest? Are not the real requirements of these classes of society so much knowledge, indeed, as is necessary for the several occupations, but chiefly contentedness, cheerfulness, openness, honesty, courage, gentleness, obedience, *Christian character*?

If asked what we require in the schoolmaster, we should reply, the first qualification, the second qualification, the third qualification, is *character*—a character of reverence, thoughtfulness, right judgment, patience, affection, faith, hope, in short, of 'meekness of wisdom.'

I. Now, if our readers will go with us in this, we will proceed to apply our principle to the choice of masters of the old school, or rather to the consideration of their frequent and progressive rejection and disuse. It has been said by a person who has peculiar opportunities for forming his opinion, that the old set of masters will almost entirely fall out of employment; and probably the main hindrance to the fulfilment of this prediction, is the

present paucity of the new race. Such a result of the present educational stir would seem to us to denote something very wrong in the prevalent notion of education; neither can we even consider it either just or expedient.

It is certainly of great importance that our masters should be well educated, and better informed in several branches of education than has hitherto been usual. We rate as highly as any man, a knowledge of the history of the Church and of their country, and that of sacred music; but it is one thing evidently to desire them and other acquirements, and another to discard a master for not having them, or to value them above the moral qualities of the teacher. It may be difficult to support our schools, and impossible to justify our wishes without resorting to a new style of teacher; but, at least, we ought to counterbalance the conclusion to what their unpleasantness would lead us hastily, by remembering that the old race of masters are those whom the Church has tolerated for a length of time, nay, by their education and toleration *formed*. It would be as hard to turn round upon those men as a body and say, "You do not now meet our wants; you are not up to the present standard; and, therefore, grieved as we are to say so, we cannot employ you:" it would be as hard and unjust to say this to the schoolmaster, as it would be to the clergyman,

"Eheu,

Quam temere in nosmet legem sancimus iniquam!"

Tried by such a rule, many an incumbent must vacate the parsonage, and retire from the pulpit into the pew; for nothing is more certain than that a large body of the clergy are not only unequal, but backward to cope with the work which their generation requires to be done.

Again, it must not be forgotten, that the old race of masters possess some qualifications that the new cannot have, such as age and experience; and many may fairly be supposed to have, what some do certainly enjoy, such qualities as are acquired by time, judgment, patience, gentleness, firmness, quietness, and the like; and, moreover, they are almost sure not to be carried away by the great temptation of modern schoolmasters, into the intellectual torrent, but are from many circumstances likely to value obedience and character very highly, and, indeed, as the great objects of school training.

True, that vast numbers of the old masters will be found not possessing those faculties which they ought to have acquired; and so also will many of the new be found not what might have been expected. But these considerations should at least be taken into

account, and, as a general rule, no master not grossly ignorant and foolish, or, which is worse, careless, harsh, or irreligious, should be discarded without an effort to make him such as to render dismissal needless. We must speak guardedly, though we seem to repeat ourselves. Some masters are hopelessly unfit for their office; and others so wanting in religious character, that it would be better there should be no schools, than schools conducted by them. Still this is not always the case, nor even commonly; and wherever it is not, these considerations find place.

Generally speaking, schoolmasters have received as little personal care and guidance from the clergyman, as the squire, the farmer, and the tradesman. The poor have from their readiness to receive, ever received most largely. The barrier between the priest and the educated, or those supposed to be educated, has hitherto been almost insuperable, and is, as yet, rarely broken down. This has operated very unfavourably upon masters.

Independently of the general temptations to impatience, arbitrariness, harshness, and the like, their having to teach religion has brought them into contact with sacred things, in a peculiar and somewhat dangerous manner. The master, like the clerk and the sexton, has a religious office, and his calling, as those others just mentioned, when understood and appreciated, both elevates and sanctifies; but when not understood and appreciated, lowers, darkens, hardens, and injures deeply and permanently. We all feel this readily in the case of clerks and sextons, and similar officials. The remembrance we have of the tone of mind and the state of feeling frequent in such persons, is very painful. A little thought will probably enable us to trace the same evil and the same source of evil in our masters. The most especial powerful spiritual influence should be brought to bear upon all those so much connected with the sanctuary, so nearly approaching to the mysteries, lest by seeing they should see not, and by hearing hear not; but this influence has not been so brought to bear. From long disuse, then, there will certainly be a barrier to break down whenever such influence is attempted; and if a clergyman were to begin to treat his master as his spiritual ward, there might be some repugnance, or at the best awkwardness at the outset. But in the case of all those who are capable of improvement, this constraint and reserve would soon die out, and the assistance would be thankfully received. Indeed the scholastic deficiencies of the old masters, seem to open a new and very ready way of approach to their hearts and characters. If any clergyman had a master in *attainments* indeed below the standard required, but a man of right character, and principle, he would win his heart at once, by endeavouring to teach him what was wanting, or by

himself supplying it. The manifested desire to retain him in spite of committees or inspectors, coupled with efforts to make the retention justifiable, would open the way for gentle and progressive suggestions both as to the manner of teaching, and even upon the tone of mind of the teacher. Where such kindness fails after fair trial, there must exist some grievous fault; and we can hardly hope for a good school in the parish of such a clergyman and such a schoolmaster, rest the blame on whom it may. Here then the matter would turn, as we wished, chiefly upon a moral test. The docile would generally become fairly capable, and the sooner those who cannot or will not learn, cease to teach, the better for their pupils. Such are not the men whose cause we plead. Contending for character in masters, we should be the first to avoid those who do not possess and will not acquire. In all this we speak of course generally. We must not be supposed to assert that elderly persons can acquire music and geography, and the like attainments. All that is maintained is, that much may be done with a really pains-taking master; and that the most rigidly moulded man can learn, if willing; and if kindly treated, probably would learn a great deal as to management and system, and be corrected of very obvious faults. And then, if he can be retained by the clergyman's supplying his deficiencies, or in some cases even by submitting to those deficiencies, we hold that justice demands that it should be so, and believe that they who are thus patient, may look, in return for their forbearance, to find their schools more obedient, reverential, quiet, and well toned than they would be under many younger masters, who could carry away all the votes of modern educationalists.

II. We trust that we shall not be understood to depreciate the rising race of masters, or to be forgetful of the noble exertions of those persons and colleges who are striving to raise the standard of teachers, and who are as anxious as we can possibly be, that they should be morally as well as intellectually, equal to the task. If there is any thing polemical in what has been said, the war has simply been defensive on behalf of the old teachers of our schools, who have the first claim upon our sympathies. We now proceed to speak of the new race of teachers, and to manifest our interest in them, by drawing attention to the difficulties which beset them, and the assistance which they should receive from the clergy in seeking to overcome them.

The calling of the schoolmaster is so beset with temptations and trials, that, were St. Chrysostom to write a justification for declining the office, he would easily make out a case as strong as that which he pleaded with his friend Basil in excuse for refusing to take up the yoke of the ministry.

After an education of three years, during which he must to a considerable extent have "crammed," have acquired a little knowledge of many things, a thorough knowledge of very few, he sallies forth at the age of eighteen or nineteen a certificated master. He comes out to the world as the representative and agent of a new system of education ; is considered by others to be (is it strange, then, if he partakes in the opinion ?) one of a race of masters vastly superior to the old teachers, whose system, nay, whose very persons, they are destined to supersede throughout the land.

He goes forth to his school in the city or in the country ; he surveys the rooms, his future domain ; the children, his subjects. He is suddenly almost absolute monarch of 100 or 200 children. He is aware, indeed, that the clergyman of the parish is his superior : and once a day, for a short time, the sceptre passes out of his hands, nominally at least. If the clergyman is well informed, and decided in his views of education, or is crotchety, he is subject to having his plans altered, or even superseded ; but the clergy are not often the first, and still less frequently the second. They are content in this present state of things to go by the experience of Battersea, Chelsea, and Westminster, and to leave the main system in the hands of the master. Anyhow, the master is in school from morning to night, the clergyman but for a short time. He is the sun or storm of the room ; all eyes are upon him, for every thing comes from him, his will, and his temper. It was no golden age at Auburn in this respect. The iron age breathes in the iron sceptre.

" Full well the boding tremblers learn'd to trace  
The day's disasters in his morning face."

He is a monarch or a tyrant as he chooses ; or rather, as he is made by his temperament and self-management. This position is enough to turn his head, and make him peevish and arbitrary, and will do so unless other influences prevent. Add the trials to patience ; the trials to hope and love in the case of the dull and wilful pupil, and the opposite temptations to vanity and partiality in that of the quick scholar who drinks in eagerly what is taught, and flatters the master by the progress he makes, and the praises which visitors bestow on him.

Then all the stimulants to intellectual education before mentioned must be remembered in addition. The temptations to get his children forward in *knowledge*, not as it acts upon the scholars, we are not now thinking of them, but as it reflects upon the master. For if once he yields to this great enemy of real education, it threatens to mar, nay, to make utterly injurious, all

the efforts of these times : it is all over with him. Circe's wand is not more transforming. When once a man is infected with this plague, every thing withers at his touch. In his hands the Bible becomes a lesson, history an examination, every thing valueless in itself. He becomes blind to character, tone, feeling; he cannot read the child's eye; he does not know its heart. His own better nature is not exercised; it does not give response, and never answering becomes dumb. The schoolroom and all in it grow to be a very perfect machine, all orderly, all working, all producing; he moves about regulating and supplying, but his heart is cold within him; he is mechanical as those whom he mechanizes; not seeking the affections of others, he has lost his own. Is this exaggeration? There is great life and interest in merely mental teaching; and those who are fond of instruction go on far into years full of youthful fire and vigour. There may be great spirit in teacher and pupil where character is forgotten, but this is not the question. What is here urged is this, that where the reason of pupils is the master's uniform object, and their hearts are overlooked, then, quick as may be his and their interest in knowledge, yet the life is gone from the best part of education; his religious teaching is mechanical, and the affections are deadened. Indeed, if this latter fault were all, this one of teaching the Bible and doctrine as a mere intellectual exercise, and of regarding religious knowledge as the end of religious teaching, remains; and nothing could be more destructive to a man.

We must remember also the great wear upon the spirits and energies, and the amount of time taken up by regular school work; and yet this is not all. The process of self-education must go on, and pupil teachers in very many cases exhaust the remaining strength and leisure of the master. Are not these trials and temptations too much for most *men*, unless they are met by strong counteracting influences and supports? how much more then for *lads*! Can we be surprised if a few years hence we find that those masters who have been left to cope with such difficulties have sunk under them, and become, what we shall not endure to have, teachers cold, hard, conceited, irreverent, secular in character and education. If our masters are hereafter found in any case a hindrance to us, if their tone of mind and their instruction are not in accordance with that of the Church, if they are of another spirit than hers, and really promoting another end, can we wonder? can we doubt the cause?

And short of this, even at this present time, it is a question whether some of the new race of masters are not already unfit either by inadequate preparation, or by subsequent operation of



hurtful influences, to produce or maintain that spirit in their schools, without which the doors should be rather closed, and the children should wander over the fields. Our meaning will appear more clearly, by considering the formation of character in a school collective and personal. By character, we mean habits of truth, openness, generosity, kindness, reverence, obedience, and the like; and these, since with us character is Christian or irreligious, these graces based upon religious grounds, strengthened, sanctified, and in practice connected with the position and creed of a child of God. It is impossible to say how much children depend in the growth of their character upon that of their teachers. The child learns by the heart, by fine perceptions and feelings: it is not influenced by reasoning, nor by what is taught so much as by what is done; nor by either teaching or doing so much as by the manner and spirit of that teaching and doing. The child's eye watches the master's eye, and its ear listens to the tone of his voice. It estimates the justice and fitness of a punishment by the spirit in which that punishment seems to be administered. It knows whether idleness is visited as a sin, or as a bar to progress; whether quarrelling is in the master's estimation a breach of discipline or of love. The child knows when it is taught the history of Joseph, whether its teacher desires it to *know* that history or to *feel* it. The very manner in which the Bible is taken into the hand, opened, held, laid down, all is marked. And as are these things in the master, so are they generally in the school. A reverent, thoughtful, affectionate, open-hearted, trustworthy set of scholars are, as a rule, only to be found under a master who has these qualities. The scholar *learns* what the master *is*. No words, no rules suffice. Character alone produces character.

But the private treatment of scholars is of very great importance. The great fault of home education is its absence of probation, and its keeping the young so much the special objects of care as to cause vanity and selfishness. The great fault of school, a fault so great that it has counterbalanced all advantages, is the merging the young so much in masses, without adequate strengthening and protecting influences, that they sail in the general flood, that they sin without repentance, try to rise without support, become hardened and selfish, have little confidence in and less affection for their teachers. This great and crying evil all earnest teachers are now endeavouring to remedy by private and personal guidance. After every punishment except those of the most trivial character, there should be private admonition. Repentance should be produced, and then sustained. Faults such as slyness, unkindness, vanity, cowardice,

not irreverence, should be the subject of private warning and advice. Other faults capable of public notice require private also. Serious rebuke and caution should be given from time to time to those who are thought trying to amend; they should be told of the fruitless branch cut off, and of the polluted temple at last deserted. Affectionate encouragement should be applied to those who are trying to amend; rules of conduct and devotion supplied for their assistance. It should be ascertained what prayers a child uses, how regularly, in what position, and the like. It is as important for teachers systematically to have private intercourse with their scholars, as it is for a clergyman to visit in the cottage as well as seen in the church. The happiest consequences may be anticipated from such pastoral care of children, great safety from sin, great growth in grace, humbly and carefully undertaken, and watchfully and steadily discharged. Systematic private intercourse with the children of the upper classes is of vast importance; and this intercourse, although so priestly in its character, yet must ordinarily devolve upon their schoolmaster, as well because he is the representative of the parents, as because the clergy have seldom either time for the work, or that individual knowledge of the character and conduct of the scholars, which would be necessary for the advantageous discharge of the duty.

What sort of men, then, are required for this work,—how affectionate, how thoughtful, how reverent, how sympathizing they should be, is only so plain, that perhaps many clergymen would be afraid to let their masters undertake it, necessary as it is, and incapable of being performed by others. Far, far better nothing should be done than that most delicate work of God, the conscience of a child, should be rudely handled and tampered with. The public and private training of character in children depends upon character in the master, and that in a very high and Christian sense. But will it not be hard to obtain men possessing this character, after so short a training as most masters can rarely receive, a training influenced more or less by the popular notions of education, and issuing in a course beset by such a host of trials and temptations to vanity and secularity? We require men of singular firmness and wisdom, not of the spirit of this world, nor of this age, whilst the prevalent system not only does not awaken them to the necessity of being such, but, when of themselves, they endeavour after higher things, thwarts them, casts them down, and almost by force makes them that which they would not be.

The remedy, so far as there is one, seems to lie very much in the hands of the parochial clergy. No conscientious incumbent thrusts the deacon, to whom he has given a title, into all the

temptations and difficulties of ministerial work, without counsel, support, and guidance. Yet no deacon but has had a longer education than the master, and twenty-three is the earliest age at which he can commence his calling. What is done, then, for the young clergyman, should be done for the young schoolmaster. A friend and guide should be ever ready to correct, encourage, and instruct. We are not speaking so much of guidance in school-work. The young master will often be as well acquainted with the system of a school, and with good modes of teaching, as the clergyman, and, not unfrequently, better. We have in mind, rather, the guidance of the master himself, of his studies, his manner of life, his tastes and character. The clergy should be ready to point out and supply those books which they see their masters severally require. They should explain difficulties, converse upon the views contained in them, modifying or extending them as required. The schoolmaster ought to know his way well to the clergyman's study. Kindly intercourse should be added. It need not be familiar or level, but still kindly; such as shall soothe after the labours of one day, strengthen for that of another, and win trust and regard. The evening meal at times, and the walk, together with conversation on the parish and such matters of ecclesiastical and national interest as are common to all thinking sons of the Church, should not be omitted. In such ways, and on such occasions, suggestions on minor points might come in, so as to be, without effort, given and received. And especial pains should be taken to prevent the deadening and superficializing effects of school routine in religious teaching, by a continual supply of deep and hidden truth. The inward Christian meaning of the events of Old Testament history, the interior lessons of parable, miracle, and action in the Life of the Saviour, should be drawn out. The clergyman should give the heart and sweetness of the fruit to him who is necessarily so much occupied with the shell and surface. Choice interpretations of the elder Christians, beautiful and favourite thoughts and views from the Fathers and best divines might be pointed out from time to time, and enlarged on; and such intercourse rendered a continual refreshment and advance.

And more than this: a strictly pastoral office should be exercised. The master is, indeed, not only a master, but a coadjutor and friend; yet is he also a parishioner. He should be spiritually directed. His own habits of mind should be the subject of watchful guardianship. Hastiness or sloth, hardness or too great softness, want of reverence or scrupulousness, should receive their medicine from a kind and gentle hand. He who

feeds the tender lambs, should not himself be destitute of pastoral care.

And as the priest and the master are, together, the great human instrument of truth and godliness in their parish, so their labours should be united, not only in principle, and system, and feeling, but in that best bond of unity, common worship, special worship in relation to a special work. It would be well, perhaps, for the clergy to do for their masters, what some or many do for their assistants—pray with them; have certain set times for a short service of admonition and supplication relating to the common work of folding and feeding the lambs of the flock of Christ.

We cannot believe that such intercourse would make the master forget his position, or think more highly of himself than he ought to think. On the contrary, it would rest upon the recognition of the spiritual authority and superiority of the clergyman. Neither do we fear that our masters will overstretch their work in a religious point of view. The vanity and ambition which endangers them is secular, comes from the pride of reason and the inventions of man: and the more they recognize themselves as a kind of order in the Church, as religious officers, the more sensible will they become of their real subordination.

The clergy must not fear intercourse as lowering to themselves or exalting to others. The reason why the farmer and the upper tradesman is proud and presuming, is not because the clergy are familiar with them, but strange. They lift themselves up because the clergy do not condescend. They stand on a basis of their own, and are proud of having parochial influence independent of their rector, because they feel separated from him. Where cordiality thrives, rivalry dies. So with the master: if he loves and trusts; if he is rendered sensible of the need and advantage of spiritual counsel and guidance, he will not set up an independent authority, nor wish a private glory.

These practical suggestions may, perhaps, serve for the present. The future is uncertain. The whole prospects of education are uncertain. And it is impossible to foresee whether or not our masters will eventually be admitted to the deaconate, a measure possessed of great advantages, both to the clergy and to them, if properly guarded and restricted, both as to admission, and direction, and function; and already partially and not unsuccessfully adopted in one diocese. The difficulties which lie in the way of such an advance, are principally those connected with the character of the master; and, therefore, the line now recommended, by guarding and raising that character, would serve alike

to prepare for a further development, or to improve the working of the existing system.

We have almost forgotten to direct attention to the really excellent tract which we have mentioned at the head of this article, and which has in fact drawn our attention at this moment to the deeply important subject on which we have been writing. The tract is addressed to Parish Schoolmasters, and deserves attentively to be weighed by them. The following passage expresses with much truth and reality the idea which we have been endeavouring to develop :—

“ My heart sinks within me at times when I go into a well-worked school, see the order, quickness, promptitude of all ; behold proofs of the quantity of work done in it, and of the knowledge acquired ; and then only look at the children's faces and hear them read. Their very tone and manner is enough. There is a catchy, hard, selfish, irreverent, worldly manner, which springs from a corresponding spirit. The scholars appear and speak like little merchants on Change, all eager indeed and business-like and alive for their own interest ; but the one thing is wanting, a child-like heart. This which they once had, their best possession, is taken away from them by their very friends. I call a child-like heart God's presence in a school ; and when I find it not, the place seems to me forsaken, deserted as a ruined Church. Thus our lambs are turned into wolves even in the fold and under the shepherd's eye : that which is soft, sweet and good is taken away, that which is their own ; and whilst childhood's weakness of resolve and quick desires are left, the hard ways of mid-life, its isolation and selfishness, its cold, insensible reception of solemn and moving thoughts, are given them in exchange.

“ Against such mischief I know no safeguard except the firm belief so often mentioned, that character is all in all ; a belief rooted in the teacher and grown up, and filling his whole mind and actions. Only feel and be sure, and then your scholars will feel also, that *how* they do, in what spirit they do that which they do, is all-important ; then they will see that you value a thoughtful answer more than a clever one, a patient and industrious disposition more than showy talents ; that openness, kindness, truthfulness, are the qualities which lead you to single any from their fellows ; that you had rather they never took a book in their hands than learn jealousy and vanity by it ; had rather they could not read their Bibles at all than read them without reverence and solemnity.

“ But the pastoral care, the personal and individual observation and treatment of your children, will be one of your greatest assistants. Perhaps you may not hitherto have looked at your school in this light ; but it is well for you to regard it as your parish. Your children are your flock, and you are their pastor. Now consider how a parish would fare, if only instructed and exhorted by classes and congregations, by catechizing and preaching. Is it not necessary to have private personal

intercourse between priest and people? Is it not necessary alone and expressly to thrust home particular warnings, to reprove particular acts, to encourage signs of improvement, to give private advice on private portions of conduct and religion? And, on reflection, is there any reason why all this is good, nay, is necessary, for the man, and yet useless for the boy? Rely upon it, you would find it of the greatest service to your scholars to regard them and teach them upon this principle. If after every severe punishment you would privately speak to the child punished, and try to make the chastisement reach its heart, then watch the effect, and from time to time afterwards sustain that effect: if you would privately ascertain what prayers each uses, how regularly, in what position, and the like: if you would take the upper classes systematically and speak to them singly for a few minutes, by two or three a day, so as to have such private intercourse with each once in two months, more or less, as you find advisable, you would do more towards sanctifying the character of your scholars than you could believe before trial. It is true you must be on your guard not to draw too much upon a child's conscience. You must not lead your little ones to say much to you; nor make them unreal; nor break down their shame and delicacy. Judgment and feeling are wanted, great judgment and sensitive feeling, but not more of either than a master ought to have.

"Again, it may seem that you would thus trench upon the work of the clergyman. There is not, however, the least difficulty upon this point. If he has time for the task and wishes to take it, your responsibility ends: but if he finds that the personal care of the parents of the children is even more than he is sufficient for, then the road is open to you.

"But his advice, and in special cases his interposition and private remonstrance and encouragement will always be at hand to fall back upon; a reserve so much the more influential from its reservedness: and there will often be cases in which you should thankfully surrender this charge to your spiritual superior and head."

This is the sort of intercourse between master and scholar, which it must be our grand endeavour to promote, by seeking for such qualifications in our schoolmasters as cannot be imparted by any mere intellectual training, whether it be secular or theological in its character. In this, as in all other offices connected with Christian education, the first of all requisites is a religious character.



ART. IV.—*Essays on subjects connected with the Reformation in England. Reprinted, with additions, from the "British Magazine."* By the Rev. S. R. MAITLAND, D.D., F.S.A. Sometime Librarian to the late Archbishop of Canterbury, and Keeper of the MSS. at Lambeth. London: Rivingtons.

THE contributions of the learned and able author of the volume before us to the literature of the age have been rather numerous, and they are in all cases distinguished by a research, an acuteness, and a boldness also, which place them far above the ordinary level. The natural and acquired powers which they display render their author a very formidable antagonist in literary warfare; and indeed it would seem that Dr. Maitland is conscious of his powers in this field of exertion, for we do not remember one amongst his numerous publications which is not controversial in its origin and its tone. His works on prophetic subjects are all subversive of existing systems of interpretation. He has laboured with great ability to shake the theory on which the chronological views of the majority of English writers on this subject have been founded. He has laboured, at great length, to demonstrate the mistake of those Protestant interpreters who hold up the Albigenses and the Waldenses as the two Witnesses in the Revelation, or who have thought that the succession of Christianity was preserved amongst them only, in the middle ages—nothing can be more able, and in parts more intensely comic, than these productions. And again, the unwearied assiduity which this learned writer has expended in tracking and tracing out the blunders or errors of editors of works bearing on the Reformation; his elaborate arguments to prove that Fox the Martyrologist is altogether untrustworthy; his able work on the "Dark Ages" in which he proves the injustice of those who assert that there was no such thing as Christian knowledge, learning, education, or goodness of any kind from the ninth century to the Reformation; and in which he further shows the great value of monastic institutions in those ages, and meets the vulgar calumnies and prejudices against them;—all this is essentially controversial and critical in its character—it is the produce of a mind which is controversial in its nature, and which has acquired a bent wholly in *one direction*.

The author of the volume before us has spent his literary life

for a long series of years in exposing the errors, and refuting the assertions, of certain classes of persons who are warmly opposed to Romanism, and who have, without doubt, in some instances, misstated or overstated facts. And, certainly, as far as the mere question of fact is concerned, every one who is competent to do so is quite right in endeavouring to correct mistakes. But we must own our apprehension, that when men like the author of this volume expend their powers in the endeavour to subvert the system in which large classes have been accustomed to repose their religious convictions, without, at the same time, supplying any positive system in its place, the result of such a course of proceeding may, in times of religious excitement, tend to the promotion of opinions which the author himself would most certainly deprecate.

A continued attack upon the foundation of men's opinions is calculated either to irritate their feelings, or else to shake their convictions. We are disposed to agree with Dr. Maitland in many points; but still we are of opinion that, whatever may be the abstract truth of certain positions of his, it does not follow that it is expedient to put forward exclusively that class of facts. When a writer is engaged in producing facts which tend to throw discredit on the Reformation, we think it might not be too much to expect from him something to counterbalance this on the other side. This in fact was what we had very much to complain of in the late Romanizing party. They could never speak except in praise of the Church of Rome; its errors were to be softened down; its merits were to be carefully dwelt on; and, on the other hand, every fault and defect in the English Church was to be studiously pointed out. The result of course was, that not only the individuals, who were thus over-liberal, in time came to be persuaded by their own statements; that they ought to join the Roman Church, but all the world had long before seen that such must be the result.

Dr. Maitland is an earnest admirer of truth, but we think he is rather too ready to impute intentional falsehood to those from whom he differs. The work before us opens with a charge of falsehood against the writers on whom the history of the Reformation, as opposed to the Romish view of that history, very much depends:—

“For the history of the Reformation in England,” he says, “we depend so much on the testimony of writers, who may be considered as belonging, or more or less attached, to the Puritan party,—or who obtained their information from persons of that sect,—that it is of the utmost importance to inquire whether there was any thing in their

notions respecting *truth*, which ought to throw suspicion on any of their statements."—p. 1.

Now this obviously applies to such leading writers as Fox and Strype, the latter of whom is severely criticized in the work before us. What is the tendency of such statements and inuendos as this? It is plainly to throw discredit on all writers on our side of the question, and thus to prepare the mind for receiving from Dr. Lingard, or Miss Strickland, or some other writer of that class, those prejudices against the Reformation and its chief agents, which is just what Romanism is anxious to establish. We proceed with Dr. Maitland's statements:—

"The question is one which does not require much research or argument. There is something very frank (one is almost inclined to say, honest) in the avowals, either direct or indirect, which various puritans have left on record, that it was considered not only allowable, but meritorious *to tell lies* for the sake of the good cause in which they were engaged, and for the benefit of those who were fellow helpers in it."—Ibid.

Dr. Maitland informs us that his object in bringing forward facts to substantiate this assertion is, "not to criminate any person or class of persons, but to inquire how far we may rely on statements resting on the authority of those who adopted puritan principles." Whatever may be the "object," we cannot doubt that the *effect* must be what Dr. Maitland describes. The "person" or "class of persons" referred to cannot, we think, come out of the matter very much improved, by being convicted of holding the principle that it is "*meritorious* to tell lies."

But we must consider the grounds on which such a charge was made against men who, whatever may have been their defects in some points, had the courage to oppose prevalent superstitions at a time when *death* was the frequent consequence of so doing. It should not be too readily assumed that persons who acted thus were systematic liars. We will take the first case mentioned by Dr. Maitland in proof of his position,—the case of George Joye, a fellow of Peter House, Cambridge, a friend of Bilney, and who was connected with the publication of Tyndale's translation of the New Testament. It appears that Joye was charged with heresy in 1527 by John Ashwell, Prior of Newnham Abbey, near Bedford, who secretly applied to the Bishop of Lincoln to punish him.

A little work of Joye is still extant in which, as Dr. Maitland informs us, he confutes the charges of the Prior point by point; but this work is quoted with the object of "inquiring how far he was a *credible witness* as to *matters of fact*;" and from the quotation made by Dr. Maitland we learn that there were letters

sent "as from the cardinal," delivered to the Vice-Chancellor of Cambridge, commanding him to send up Joye to appear before the cardinal legate for certain erroneous opinions. Joye obeyed the citation, and describes very graphically his attendance at the cardinal's palace, and his standing and waiting in the hall where many bishops passed by, whose "solemn and lordly" looks made him think that he saw nothing "but the galouse and the hangman;" but none of whom, "as grace was," knew him. Then we have an account of a similar attendance on the Bishop of Lincoln, and his chancellor, and the fears which Joye entertained; and, at the close of the interview between the chancellor and Joye, the secretary inquired where the latter was lodging in London, when Joye, apprehensive of the use they might make of the information, had he told them of his real residence, *gave them a wrong address*. "Here," he says, "I was so bold as to make the scribe a lye for his asking, telling him that I lay at the Green Dragon towards Bishopsgate, when I lay a mile off, even a contrary way; for *I never trusted scribes nor pharisees*, and I perceived he asked me not for any good."

On these words, which occur in the midst of an extract four pages long, Dr. Maitland (who marks them with italics which we have preserved) makes the following remarks:—

"The reader will bear in mind that we are not discussing the question, whether George Joye had a right to deceive his persecutors; or, indeed, how far what he did was morally right or wrong. That is, no doubt, a very important question; but it is not the one now under consideration. We are at present only inquiring how far *he, or any member of the sect of which he was a leader*, may be relied on as an authority in matters relating to that sect. He tells us, without any appearance of hesitation or compunction, that he said what was false to others. May he not be doing the same to us? May we, for instance, believe that the prior's letter is genuine?"—p. 11.

Now we must frankly say, that in our opinion this case does not bear out Dr. Maitland's statements and inferences. The false address which Joye gave to his persecutors was with a view to his own personal safety. He was evidently afraid that, if he were to tell his residence, he might be seized and committed to prison, or otherwise injured; and we have no doubt that a misdirection given under such circumstances would at that period have been regarded by all parties alike, whether Romanist or Protestant, as a venial sin—a fault which did not require any great compunction of heart. Without doubt, as Dr. Maitland himself admits, it is a question—an important question—and we may add, a difficult question—how far such conduct as that of

George Joye was morally right or wrong. But, whatever judgment may be formed on this point, it is clear that *he* did not consider the trivial falsehood he had told, in giving a wrong address, as any grave sin ; and, as we have said, we have no doubt that the same opinion was universal amongst all parties. It must be remembered that the falsehood was told simply and solely for the purpose of saving his life—and we think it would be most unreasonable to infer, from such a circumstance, that Joye was to be considered as a liar, and that he was likely to forge letters, or to tell falsehoods for the credit of his “sect,” as Dr. Maitland disdainfully designates the party favourable to reformation. If Dr. Maitland himself were placed in similar circumstances, we would not answer for his acting differently from Joye, and we think it very possible that he might not afterward regard his offence as of a very deep die. Joye misdirected his persecutors ; but we have no reason to believe that, if he had been actually brought to the test, he would have denied the doctrines which he held, or would have told any falsehood for the credit of his sect.

The next case produced by Dr. Maitland to prove that Puritans, as he calls them, are not to be trusted in any statements affecting their “sect,” is that of Antony Dalaber, a scholar of St. Alban's Hall, and resident in the University of Oxford. It seems that this youth was an intimate friend of Thomas Garrett, Curate of Honey Lane, London, who was afterwards burned for his religious opinions. Garrett having been seized at Oxford by the emissaries of Cardinal Wolsey and the Bishop of London, and afterwards escaping for his life by aid of his friend Dalaber, the latter in his turn was seized and brought before the commissary, where he was interrogated as to his knowledge of Garrett's retreat ; and he, with a view to save the life of his friend, from whom he had received the opinions which he had embraced, mentioned some circumstances which were not true, in order to put the persecutors on a wrong scent, and thus to save their victim ; and, being then sworn on “the mass-book,” he repeated the same statement.

Dr. Maitland says, that these stories do “not seem to require much comment ;” we think, however, that they require some, and shall endeavour to supply it.

It seems to us, then, most unfair to argue from such a case as this to the untrustworthiness of Puritans as historians. What on earth has such a case as this to do with their honesty as narrators ? In the present case, a young man invents a story to *save the life* of a friend. This is obviously an instance of the same kind as the last referred to ; probably no one at that time would have thought such an action very sinful. The swearing on the

mass-book does not seem to us to make quite as great a difference between this case and that of Joye as might at first sight appear ; for, without doubt, Dalaber looked in the mass-book with very little reverence.

However this may be, we think it scarcely reasonable to infer, as Dr. Maitland does, from such facts, that the Puritans were ready to tell lies on all occasions—that, because they would sometimes give false addresses to save their own or their friends' lives, they would voluntarily and consciously falsify the facts of history. We come to the next case adduced to prove that Puritans were all liars. It is the case of an apprentice named Thomas Green, accused of circulating some book displeasing to the powers in Church and State. Confined as he was in the Bishop of London's prison, and examined by the bishop's commissary or vicar-general, it seems that his alleged offence was against the laws of the Church rather than those of the State. In his examination he told a falsehood in order to shelter himself and the person from whom he had received the book in question ; and Dr. Maitland from hence infers, that as Fox the Martyrologist speaks of the "simplicity" of Green, and says that he suffered for the truth, we must conclude that Fox and the Puritans approved of the practice of telling falsehoods for the benefit of religion. To us it seems that Fox did not mean to express any opinion in favour of Green's conduct. The very term "simplicity" does not necessarily imply any approbation ; it is, in our view, rather depreciatory than otherwise in its meaning ; and there can be no doubt that what Green suffered was for "the truth," though he himself showed a want of strictness in telling the truth when his life was endangered. We can only say, that if the honesty of all persons favourable to the Reformation is to be denied on account of such instances as this, it appears to be on insufficient grounds.

Another case is referred to by Dr. Maitland as furnishing convincing evidence in behalf of his position. Careless, a weaver of Coventry, in his examination before Dr. Martin, who had a commission to interrogate him on certain religious matters, stated that there was no contention between himself and certain other persons with whom he had been disputing in the King's Bench prison, and denied that he knew one of them. And yet, notwithstanding this, Fox published the letters of Careless ; and Coverdale republished them, and Bickersteth has recently done the same. The inference is, that Puritans are not to be trusted—that they are liars. Now let us consider the facts. It appears from Dr. Maitland's own pages that the examination of Careless, in which these falsehoods are stated, is not comprised in the only edition of Fox's "Martyrology," to which he could refer, and that



he is of opinion himself that Fox printed the examination in the first edition of the "Martyrology," but *omitted* it in subsequent ones. We really think that this fact goes far to prove, in opposition to Dr. Maitland's assertion, that Fox and the Puritans *had* some regard to truth, and did feel that falsehood was wrong; and it is also a fact, that Careless himself confesses his fault in such terms as cannot be interpreted into any approbation of his own conduct. When a man speaks of himself as having "lied falsely," we think that he can hardly be supposed to have *justified* his act. Dr. Maitland does not attempt to *prove* that Careless or Fox thought the falsehoods told by Reformers were right and justifiable; and yet he infers that such was their opinion; and, further, that they thought it lawful to deceive and lie on all occasions when the cause of their religion could be promoted by it.

Such is the whole amount of the evidence which Dr. Maitland adduces to establish his position, that the history of the Reformation is, for the greater part, undeserving of credit, as being supported by Puritan evidence. Such are the proofs which he adduces of the alleged principle of Puritanism that it is right to tell lies for the sake of the good cause, and of course to falsify history. We think that such charges ought to rest on some stronger evidence than on the sayings of a few persons, at a time when they were in personal danger, and when they were led to make some questionable or false statements in order to save their lives or those of their friends. We think that these individuals themselves ought not to be harshly censured for such actions, or to be assumed to be habitual liars, or to hold any such *principle* as Dr. Maitland ascribes to them; and still less can any such principle be ascribed to any *class* of men amongst the supporters of the Reformation.

Dr. Maitland having endeavoured to prove that all the facts narrated by Fox, Strype, and such writers, are uncertain, and cannot be depended upon, he proceeds to remove, as far as possible, the prejudice against Queen Mary, Bonner, and Gardiner, by throwing blame on the persecuted Protestants.

"What kindled and fanned the fires of Smithfield? What raised and kept alive the popish persecution in the days of Queen Mary? Was it her own sanguinary disposition? Or was she the slave of her husband's cruel superstition? Or were both the tools of foreigners, who certainly hated the English because they were heretics, but more deadly hated the heretics because they were Englishmen? Was it 'wily Winchester,' or was it 'bloody Bonner,' or was it something in the spirit of the Church of which both were zealous members? Whatever may be said on any or on all of these points, there was undoubtedly one other cause; which, if it be too much to say that it has been studiously concealed or dis-

guised, has certainly never occupied that prominent place to which it is entitled in such an inquiry. I mean the bitter and provoking spirit of some of those who were very active and forward in promoting the cause of the Reformation—the political opinions which they held, and the language in which they disseminated them—the fierce personal attacks which they made on those whom they considered as enemies—and, to say the least, the little care which was taken by those who were really actuated by religious motives, and seeking a true Reformation of the Church, to shake off a lewd, ungodly, profane rabble, who joined the cause of Protestantism . . . . In particular it seems impossible that any reflecting mind . . . . should fail to see, as a mere matter of fact, in how great a degree the persecution of the Protestants of England was caused by the conduct of their brethren who were in exile.”—pp. 41, 42.

In this passage, and what follows, Dr. Maitland assumes the character of an apologist for the proceedings of Queen Mary, and Bonner, and Gardiner, against the Reformers. We have no doubt that he does not wish to be regarded in this light, and yet, positively and unquestionably, such is the position in which he has placed himself. Observe what he has said in the above passage. He first inquires to what cause we are to assign the cruelties and persecutions in the time of Mary. He inquires whether it had any thing to do with the causes usually assigned (which were the *true* causes). Dr. Maitland does not pronounce any opinion on this subject. He leaves the reader at liberty to believe that it is quite a matter of question whether the “sanguinary disposition of Mary,” her husband’s “cruel superstition,” the hatred of “foreigners,” “wily Winchester,” or even “bloody Bonner,” or the spirit of the Church of Rome, were really the causes of the burning of Cranmer, Latimer, Ridley, Hooper, and of so many hundreds of pious and faithful men. Dr. Maitland leaves the reader in doubt as to what his own opinion is on this point; the only certain fact which he puts before him is—that the party of the Reformation *brought down punishment upon itself* by its own bitterness, provocations, dangerous political opinions and language, fierce personal attacks, and association with a lewd, ungodly, and profane rabble! If such a line of argument be justifiable, it amounts, of course, to a justification, to a very great extent, of the persecutions under Mary. They will be viewed as harsh, but still *excusable* measures (considering the habits and feelings of that age), and as undertaken simply in *self-defence*. We know not what point of view this can be regarded in, except as an apology for Queen Mary and the Romish cause. Granted that there were (as there must necessarily have been) many acts of enthusiasm, of insubordination; acts of various kinds, more or less faulty, amongst the adherents of the Reformation; would it not be unreasonable and

cruel to infer that these acts of isolated and enthusiastic individuals—persons also generally of the lower classes of society, and very imperfectly educated, and who were also smarting under a bloody tyranny and persecution—that such isolated acts, caused in a great degree by the barbarities exercised against the people, should be held up as affording a true account of the causes of the persecutions of the English martyrs? In these days we may have, perhaps, to apologise for the use of the term “martyrs.” We ought, perhaps, to have spoken of them as “malefactors,” or “rebels,” or “sectarians.” But we have not yet advanced so far with the liberal religionism of the day as to look on Mary as a gentle, pious, and injured woman; or on Elizabeth as a monster of cruelty, lust, and intolerance; or on Cranmer, Ridley, Latimer, and Jewell as heretics and bigots. We still retain the opinion that Mary was a cruel persecutor, and that she and her advisers and helpers have to answer for the blood of many martyrs.

Without doubt, Dr. Maitland may not have intended to involve in one common condemnation all the adherents of the Reformation. Indeed, he intimates, in the above passage, that some there were who “were really actuated by religious motives, and seeking a true Reformation of the Church;” but we submit, that such an incidental admission as this is not in any degree calculated to counterbalance the prejudice raised by him against the persecuted party generally, by ascribing that persecution to their own misconduct; and we must be excused for adding, that when Dr. Maitland states, as he does at the commencement of the above passage, that the conduct to which he refers as blamable has been “studiously concealed or disguised,” and that it has not occupied the “prominent place” which it ought; it might have occurred to him, that those who were really attached to the cause of the Reformation could scarcely have been expected to parade the faults of its adherents, or to give them the “prominence” which he thinks advisable.

We now come to the examples which Dr. Maitland has quoted, to show the provocations offered by the Reformers to the Popish party. He has, without doubt, selected the writer who has the worst reputation of any, amongst the writers on that side of the question—we allude to Bale—and he has produced, from his answer to Bonner’s Visitation Articles, many very offensive passages. Nevertheless, offensive as these passages were, from their personal abuse of Bonner, it cannot, we think, be alleged, with any propriety, that they were the cause of the persecution of the “Puritans,” as Dr. Maitland calls all these adherents of the Reformation. On referring to Fox and to Burnet, we learn that the Visitation of Bonner began on the 8th of September, 1554;

and Dr. Maitland himself (p. 50) states, that it is reasonable to suppose that "Bale's 'Declaration' was put in circulation either then, (about the 5th *October*,) or very soon after."

Now, then, what was the state of the case at this time? Could this tract of Bale's, abusive as it was, have been the *cause* of what had passed in the year 1553, and the spring and summer of 1554, when all the bishops and clergy attached to the Reformation had been expelled from their benefices, multitudes of them brought before the council, and committed to prison as heretics—when Cranmer had been attainted, and he, with Ridley and Latimer, had been condemned as heretics at Oxford, and were in prison there—when Bradford and many other pious and faithful men were in the Tower in London, and every one was awaiting the torture of the martyrs? Assuredly, Dr. Maitland is sadly at fault in his chronology here. Bale's abusive tone *may* have been personally offensive to Bonner; but we should be more inclined to think, that to such a spirit as Bonner's the abuse of Bale would have been rather a matter of triumph than of irritation, considering their respective positions. And we must say this also, that, bad as Bale's language was, it was only paying Bonner in his own coin; for a more foul-mouthed and brutally ferocious persecutor than Bonner never existed. His articles may not have been abusive, as Dr. Maitland tells us; but will he contend, that Bonner himself, in such records of his sayings and doings as have come down to us, appears otherwise than as a savage? Yes! he *does* contend that Bonner was a very worthy and amiable man: we shall see hereafter what his views are on this subject.

The next extract is from the writings of Poynt, the deprived Bishop of Winchester, (pp. 71—75,) in which he speaks in strong and abusive language of Bonner and Gardiner, and refers to various passages of their past history, including their tergiversations in the time of Henry VIII., and the alleged bastardy of Bonner; the latter point being brought forward as showing the inconsistency of Bonner in exacting conformity to the Roman Canon Law, while he himself was ordained irregularly and in opposition to its rules. We have no further comment to make on this than that which has been made in the case of Bale.

And now to turn to the third instance which Dr. Maitland has brought forward—the case of Traherne. Now, how Dr. Maitland, with his characteristic acuteness, can have produced the extracts which he has done, from a work of Traherne printed in 1558, in order to prove that the "Puritans" brought down on themselves the persecution which raged from 1553 to 1558, and *then ended*, is certainly an enigma to us. Queen Mary died in

November, 1558, after a reign of five years. It seems a strange oversight to adduce the language of a work, published some time in the course of that very year, as amongst the causes which led to the persecutions of the Protestants !

Dr. Maitland next produces a number of extracts, from works written beyond seas by the English and Scotch exiles, to prove that their language was seditious, and that the government of Queen Mary was obliged to repress a party which could thus write. But he makes a statement, at the beginning of his series of extracts, which very much diminishes their value ; for he acknowledges that he cannot arrange them chronologically, in consequence of the uncertainty of their *dates*. Now, in this question, the date is of the highest importance, for the cause must be prior in order of time to the effect ; and, if the persecutions in England were caused by the seditious language of the exiles, there ought to be some proof that the latter *preceded* the former ; which, however, Dr. Maitland fails to produce. He observes, in reference to the arrangement of his extracts from seditious writings :—

“ Two modes of arrangement immediately present themselves. First, the order of time ; and this I should be very glad to follow ; but in dealing with books of this kind and period it is not easy, if possible, to do it. For, in the first place, some have no dates, and offer no precise internal evidence. Secondly, some may be very reasonably suspected of wrong dates, as it is beyond all question that they bear the names of wrong places. Thirdly, in dealing with works intended for clandestine circulation among a particular sect or community, we must calculate on the probability of their having been passed from hand to hand, and circulated for a considerable time in manuscript before they were printed at all. Fourthly, (and I would take the liberty of throwing it out as a hint to the editors of books belonging to this period,) we must be cautious how we judge of the date of a fact, or the date of a book, because the fact is recorded in the book. The volume, without bearing any mark of it, may be a reprint, with alterations or interpolations, which may lead to mistakes in opinions respecting dates formed upon them.”—pp. 98, 99.

The result of all this is, that Dr. Maitland presents us with a large mass of extracts from works published against Queen Mary and her party, but without any attempt to assign any date to them, which is obviously a fatal flaw in his argument ; for he was bound to show that these writings *preceded* Mary's persecutions, if those persecutions were the effect of such seditious publications. We must be permitted also to observe, that in the judgment of many persons Mary was really an illegitimate child, and no true heir of the throne, being the issue of Henry's

marriage with his brother's wife, and having been declared illegitimate and excluded from the succession by the Parliament in the reign of King Henry VIII., and also by her brother, Edward VI. She was, in the eyes of very many persons, an usurper, as well as a bloody persecutor; and it is rather too much to assume, as Dr. Maitland appears to do, the unquestionable nature of her title to the throne. Without doubt many of these writings assailed Mary with violence, and sought her dethronement; but Dr. Maitland should at least have given us the date of these writings, when he "asks the reader to consider what the Queen and the Government of England must have thought of those persons abroad who sent over, and those in this country who circulated, such books as he has quoted from, and how they must have felt disposed, nay, compelled, to treat them?" (p. 148.) There is another remark, which we are tempted to make on all these alleged proofs,—Dr. Maitland expends more than 100 pages in quoting from certain writings; but *whose* writings are they? They are, as he tells us, the writings of the "English exiles," i. e. of men who had been compelled to escape for their lives from the realm of England! Does not this look somewhat as if the persecution had preceded the writings, instead of the writings the persecution? Dr. Maitland may depend upon it that Knox, Goodman, &c. had not merely gone on a summer tour to enjoy themselves at Geneva or Frankfort. They went there to save their lives, after having lost all their earthly possessions; nor could they have obtained refuge in France, or in the Low Countries, where persecution was raging only in an inferior degree to England. If they did write angrily and violently against the Queen of England, they did not write without having already experienced persecution; and yet Dr. Maitland would persuade us that the severities exercised against the Reformers were *caused* by these writings! The truth is, that the extracts themselves throughout speak of the cruelties, the burnings, the murders practised by Queen Mary and her party on the Protestants of England, and were in no case, as far as we can see, written prior to the Marian persecutions.

Dr. Maitland quotes at great length various extracts from the writings of Knox, Goodman, and Bale during their exile, in which they deny the title of Queen Mary to the throne, and even go so far as to contend that the sovereignty of females is contrary to the word of God. Knox's book on this subject is well known. He has not, as far as we see, attempted any further proof that the English exiles held the tenets of Knox on this point, or that his book was approved and circulated in England. However, he *assumes* that the whole "Puritan" or "Protestant" party was



committed to this doctrine; and then he proceeds to narrate with infinite satisfaction, and with every possible detail, their alleged change of doctrine on this point at the accession of Queen Elizabeth, which he ascribes to the most degrading personal objects. He endeavours to prove these exiles to be a set of designing knaves. We must make a few extracts in illustration of the manner in which this subject is treated.

“I have shown,” he says, “the grounds on which these leading men of the party denounced it as ‘monstruous,’—[we must correct an inaccuracy here; this term is that of Knox, and not that of all the others,]—and I am not aware that as long as Queen Mary lived any one of them, or of their party, published one word of reply or repudiation. It is obvious, therefore, that when they came to see the Lady Elizabeth actually stepping into the throne they must have felt themselves in an awkward predicament.

“To refer to no other points which had been discussed, she was a woman as well as her sister, and no one who has read the foregoing pages can doubt that she would consider many of the passages which I have quoted as capable of a very clear and unpleasant application to herself. Of course, if Mary was a thing accursed because she was a woman, so was Elizabeth; and, if the ‘regiment’ of one of these creatures was ‘monstruous,’ so would be that of the other. It must have puzzled the party extremely, and *we cannot doubt* that it was the subject of much thought and consultation; and, judging from the result, *we may suppose* that they who were most concerned in the matter came to a decision that, as what had been done could not be undone, and what had been said could not be unsaid, it would be best to put a good face on the matter; to throw John Knox, the most violent and notorious maintainer of the opinion overboard, at once and for ever; to say as little as possible about the way in which the subject had been treated by Goodman and others, of whom it could not be pretended that they were ‘Scots,’ and ‘straungers;’ and to say as much as could be said in the way of denial, explanation, apology, contradiction. &c., by the pen of some stanch member of the party who was not particularly and personally committed in the subject of female government. Happily for their need, they had among them a man ‘sharp in his discourse, facetious, bold, free of speech, blunt in words, stout and courageous;’ and it does credit to their sagacity or his, that he was immediately in the field as the champion of the party.”—pp. 196, 197.

The meaning of this passage is obvious. It ascribes the most gross and barefaced knavery and lying to the whole body of the English exiles, amongst whom, be it remembered, were such men as Jewell.

Let us see, then, the evidence on which Dr. Maitland makes this serious charge. The person referred to in the above extract as the “champion of the party” in their difficulty was Aylmer,

afterwards Bishop of London. Dr. Maitland states that the real reason why Strype published the "Life and Times" of Aylmer is "not once hinted at throughout the preface,"—a great act of dishonesty we suppose,—and that it was because a descendant of Bishop Aylmer's was a bookseller, and urged Strype to publish his life, supplying him at the same time with materials and papers. And now to the proofs of Dr. Maitland's charge.

He quotes from Strype a passage in which it is stated that Aylmer, before his return from exile to England, printed at Strasburg a work in answer to Knox's book, "which he wrote upon a consultation, as it seems, holden among the exiles, the better to obtain the favour of the new queen, and to take off any jealousy she might conceive of them and the religion they professed."—p. 203.

We must here take the liberty to say, that neither Strype nor Dr. Maitland himself states it as a positive matter of fact that any such consultation took place. Dr. Maitland says, "We cannot doubt" that there was much thought and consultation on the subject, and that "we may suppose" that the persons concerned, resolved to adopt a certain course of proceeding, and chose Aylmer as their instrument. But may we be permitted to suggest to Dr. Maitland, that before he imputes such gross knavery to a set of men who had suffered in the cause of religion, he ought to have some more certain ground to go on than his "suppositions" or his strong conjectures. Men are not to be set down as liars and knaves because they may be "supposed" to have acted as liars and knaves do. We require *facts* to substantiate charges of this kind; and Dr. Maitland has not supplied us with facts, but with theories and probabilities, which may be altogether mistaken.

We deeply regret to be obliged thus to point out the very insufficient evidence on which Dr. Maitland deals condemnation on large classes of men connected with the cause of the English Reformation. But we deem it merely an act of ordinary justice and charity to relieve their memories, as far as we can, from insufficiently sustained charges.

In Dr. Maitland's opinion Aylmer's attempt to answer Knox's book exhibited "a degree of assurance which has perhaps never been equalled." Why so? There is not a shadow of ground for asserting that Aylmer was not perfectly sincere and honest in his publication; or for maintaining, that the doctrines held by Knox were those of the great body of the English exiles, or that Aylmer believed them to be so, while he asserted the contrary. Aylmer's book itself, according to the extracts made from it by Dr. Maitland, states, that he had met with Knox's work a year before, and

that he would have answered it sooner, only that he understood it was about to be answered by a more competent person; but, finding at length that it had not been answered, he undertook to do so himself; and he disclaims for himself and for all his friends any further participation in Knox's views than consisted in mere silence, adding, that all "the best learned" concur with him in his doctrine in opposition to Knox. Dr. Maitland has no other mode of proving that Aylmer here spoke falsely, and intended to do so, than by asserting that "it is quite clear that Aylmer, while he did not mean to 'defame the man,' meant to remove the 'inconvenience' as much as possible from his own party, by repudiating the 'stranger' and his performances." We must be allowed to deny that, in our opinion, any thing of the kind is "quite clear," and we do not think it right thus to fix dishonest motives on a man without proof of any kind.

We must make the same remark on what Dr. Maitland says of Aylmer's description of the qualifications of preachers, which, he insinuates, was for the purpose of pointing out to the queen that she must have a body of Christian ministers in her kingdom, and that as, "of course, such pulpit men could not be had without considerable expense, it was necessary to show her majesty not only that there were very fit persons, who were willing and desirous to stir up the nation to provide her freely and amply with the means of paying all her servants (bishops among the rest, if she chose to have any), but also that these very fit men would take the office on very moderate terms." (p. 217.) Because Aylmer points out the qualifications of preachers in these times, Dr. Maitland infers at once that he meant to direct the queen's notice to the Puritans; and, because he recommends the bishops to give up their superfluities, he infers that the object was to induce the queen to select Puritan bishops. This is simply Dr. Maitland's argument, which we think most objectionable in every point of view. He subsequently describes Aylmer as a suitor for preferment on the strength of his book, apparently without the slightest reason (as assigned by him) except the assumed motive of its publication.

"It seems that for four years, all but eleven days—what an age to a keen suitor—she sat upon her throne, and slept in her bed, unmindful of her eulogist; or, to say the least, before he received any reward for his panegyric."—p. 223.

We now pass on to another branch of the subject, "The Ribalds," as Dr. Maitland designates those who assailed the prevalent superstitions by raillery and ridicule. The imputation is made to apply to all the Reformers in a greater or less degree—

even Cranmer is brought in, as connected with it and countenancing it. Dr. Maitland thus commences:—

“We were considering the mode in which the Puritan party adopted in meeting the change of religion which then took place; and it has been shown that much plainness of speech was used by them in opposing the false doctrines and superstitious practice of the Church of Rome. They concluded that the pope was Antichrist—that his faith was false, his practice idolatrous, his mass devilish, and every thing about him, or in any sort of communion with him, utterly abominable in the sight of that God whom he blasphemed by pretended worship. If they were right, the matter was surely very sad as well as serious. One would think, that if such men came to know that Chemosh and Ashtaroth had been set up in the Lord’s house, they would have entered its courts in sackcloth, and the spirit of heaviness, to displace them.

“But the matter was far otherwise. If there were men who acted under such feelings, in grave, and quiet, and grateful piety; if there were others who mistook passion for zeal, and sincerely believed themselves authorized, nay, called upon, to do and say all that prophets or apostles had ever said or done . . . ;—if there were, as we may believe, some of all these classes, there were at the same time other partisans of the Reformation, very noisy and *very numerous*, of quite a different spirit, whom, *to say the least*, they did not keep at a proper distance, or repudiate with sufficiently marked detestation. I mean those who used a jeering, scoffing humour, to turn the ministers and the services of religion into ridicule; men who employed themselves in raising a laugh against popery, at whatever expense, and in providing for the eyes and ears of even the rude multitude, who could not read, gross and profane pictures, jests, songs, interludes—all, in short, that could nurse the self-conceit of folly, and agitate ignorance into rebellion against its spiritual pastors and teachers.”—p. 226.

After this introduction, Dr. Maitland introduces on the stage Thomas Cromwell, King Henry’s vicar-general, and (as might have been anticipated) paints him in the most revolting colours, as an infidel, a scoffer, a hypocrite, and a selfish and designing villain. Having alleged that Cromwell was the grand patron of the blasphemies and ribaldry which were then so rife, and that he even kept in his household a number of persons to manufacture tracts, songs, &c. of the most offensive nature, he winds up the whole affair by the following piece of information about Cranmer in a note, where, in allusion to a quotation produced by a correspondent to show that there were persons who disapproved of ribald writings, he adds,—

“I need hardly say, that it would require many more, and much stronger and weightier, to counterbalance the single pregnant voluminous sentence of Strype,—‘Wherefore he consulting with the Lord Cromwell, his CONSTANT ASSOCIATE AND ASSISTANT [the capitals are

Dr. Maitland's] in such matters, and by his and other his friends importuning the king, a commission was issued,' &c. *Cran.* i. 72. A little further on, Strype tells us, that the archbishop 'required direction from him [Cromwell] in every thing.'"—pp. 79. 241.

Now this amounts to a distinct attack upon Cranmer himself, the leader of the Reformation, charging him, with participation in the whole system of ribaldry of which Dr. Maitland complains. But we add with satisfaction, that Dr. Maitland has not produced the slightest evidence for this gross charge against Cranmer; for the passages from Strype, quoted above, simply state the fact of Cranmer's confidence in Cromwell, but *do not prove that Cranmer was aware of all that was secretly done by Cromwell*, and do not make the slightest allusion to the publication of ribald writings. And further, even by Dr. Maitland's own admission, the only passage on which Cromwell stands charged with the concoction of such publications was *expunged* by Fox from his "Acts and Monuments;" and we may just as reasonably infer, that it was so expunged because Fox *doubted its truth*, as assume with Dr. Maitland, that it was rejected because it was thought discreditable. We confess that we look on the imputation on Cromwell, of keeping persons in his house to write scurrilous songs, &c., against the Church service, &c., as most improbable, and as requiring some good evidence to attest it.

We pass on to the instances which Dr. Maitland adduces of what he calls ribaldry. He prefaces these by the explanation that he is not referring to the controversies and contentions which naturally rose at that period, and which, even among the learned, were too often carried on in language which would not now be used; neither does he refer to the outbreaks of fanaticism which naturally accompanied such a period of excitement. We have the history of William Gardiner, an Englishman, and agent of a mercantile house at Lisbon, who took the host and chalice from a priest at Lisbon, in presence of the whole court, and acted more like a madman than a rational being. Dr. Maitland's reason for selecting this history is "to help us to judge of the light in which the *English Reformers*, and their proceedings, were likely to be viewed in foreign countries," (p. 245)—as if the freaks of this shopboy were to be rightly held as representing the spirit and principles of Cranmer and the leaders of the English Reformation! Not satisfied with this, Dr. Maitland rakes together whatever stories of fanaticism he can gather from Strype and Fox; and then, having shown the light in which "the English Reformers" were "likely to be viewed," he

proceeds to his main business—to produce instances of “*ludicrous things every where* done in derision of the old forms and the images.” And so he goes to work again, carefully extracting from Fox and Strype any instances which he can find of irreverence. One of the first extracts he produces is the following from Strype:—

“There were not a few, who, towards the declining of this year, did, more openly and commonly than before, speak of the holy sacrament with much contempt. Which, to speak the truth, the former idolatrous and superstitious doctrines thereof had given great occasion to; so that men condemned in their hearts and speech the whole thing, and reasoned unreverently of that high mystery, and in their sermons, or readings, or communication, called it by vile and unseemly terms. *They made rhymes, and plays, and jests of it.* And this occasioned chiefly the misuse of it: as it is expressed in the Act of Parliament of the first of Edward VI. cap. 1. Therefore was that act made, being the very first act of this king. And to back this act, especially when these contemptuous dealings with the sacrament continued still, and ceased not, the king sent forth a severe proclamation, December 27, against these irreverent talkers of the sacrament.”—p. 251.

Now then, admitting that there were various ungodly persons—various persons also of a fanatical or an erroneous zeal—chiefly of the lower classes of society, who were guilty of irreverent language and actions to show their contempt of superstitions which, perhaps, they did not wholly understand—admitting all this, we say, Is not the passage here produced by Dr. Maitland himself, sufficient to exonerate the Reformers, and the Reformation generally, from the disgrace of countenancing such proceedings? Here we find Edward VI., in his very first act, repressing, in the severest manner, all such profane and disgusting exhibitions, and following it up by a royal proclamation; or, rather, we find *Cranmer* and the Protector Somerset, the leaders of the Reformed cause, thus acting. Did this look much like countenancing the ribaldry of which Dr. Maitland complains; and has he even been able to produce from Strype any approbation of the acts which Dr. M. quotes from his pages? He has not done so; and in fact, Fox and Strype, as far as we have observed in their works, simply state the facts, without expressing any opinion about them. We contend, therefore, that Dr. Maitland altogether fails to substantiate his charge against the English Reformers of, “at the least,” not keeping such persons “at a proper distance;” or not “repudiating them with sufficiently marked detestation;” or, as in the case of Cranmer, of being directly mixed up with one who was the prime mover in all such acts of iniquity.



Dr. Maitland cannot, apparently, touch on a subject without finding out something to the disadvantage of the Reformers. Being led to speak of the Act of Six Articles made in the reign of Henry VIII., he remarks, in justification of this cruel and bloodthirsty legislation, that "the law was *principally* made to repress the filthiness and foolish talking of those who had no reverence for sacred things; who lived by railing and scoffing at them; and who had no principle which should prevent their abjuring or perjuring any thing that might come in their way" (p. 256). Now, when we remember that this Act decreed, that all who denied transubstantiation should be burnt as heretics; and that all who impugned the doctrine that communion in both kinds is needless—that priests may not marry—that vows of chastity should be observed—that solitary masses are right—or that auricular confession is necessary—should be held guilty of felony without benefit of clergy, we really do think that it argues some slight degree of over-confidence in Dr. Maitland to make such an assertion as we have just quoted. This Act was principally directed against scoffers. *Was it so?* Were Latimer and Shaxton, who were, in consequence, thrown into prison, and forced to resign their bishoprics, amongst these irreligious and "perjured" men? Were the 500 persons who were all presently in prison, filthy and foolish talkers, and men without principle?

Not satisfied with this attempt to justify the Act of the Six Articles as a righteously intended measure, Dr. Maitland goes on to argue, that Protestant controversialists and writers have wofully exaggerated the *numbers* of those who suffered under its penalties.

"Surely, a reader, who knows no more of the facts than what he may gather from these writers, would expect to find, as the story went on, that torrents of blood were shed, and the number of the slain incalculable. He might, indeed, consider the fact, that the 'cruel time' (not to say *any* enforcement of the Act) did not begin till more than a year after the 'bloody Six Articles' had passed, as indicating a strange degree of moderation or impotence, in those who had framed it in bloodthirsty vengeance; and this might lead him to expect exaggeration in the historians. But would he not think that he made all due allowance, if he dated the persecution from after the death of Cromwell, and, finding that thenceforth they 'suffered daily,' he assumed the charitable minimum of one sufferer per day for all England, and so limited his idea of the number of martyrs to somewhat more than five-and-twenty thousand? Would he not be startled, if any one told him that he would have to look sharp for five-and twenty, and might dismiss the thousands as being figures, not of arithmetic, but of speech? It may be a confession of ignorance; but I must say, that I have not found so many,

I have not indeed made such inquiry as would authorize my speaking positively and with precision. But precision is not wanted in such a matter."—p. 258.

Dr. Maitland certainly in this passage draws pretty largely on the principle laid down in the concluding sentence. He can lay no claim to "precision" at least. The death of Cromwell, which was followed by the persecution, took place at the end of July, 1540: from that date to the accession of Edward VI., at the end of January, 1547, is, according to *our* computation, exactly six years and a half; which comprise, in round numbers, 2370 days. Dr. Maitland, we suppose, will not pretend that the persecution under the Act of the Six Articles continued during the reign of Edward VI. The Act was, in fact, *repealed* in 1547. If Dr. Maitland's calculation of the number of sufferers under the Six Articles Act at 25,000, being at the rate of one *per diem*, be correct, we arrive at the somewhat curious and novel fact, that a hot persecution under the Six Articles Act raged against Protestantism during the whole reigns of Edward VI. and Elizabeth, as well as Mary, and that it even continued down to the year of grace 1610, the eighth year of King James I. ! We congratulate Dr. Maitland on this interesting discovery. He has evidently "looked very sharp," to use his own words, into this part of ecclesiastical history; though we cannot, of course, compliment him on a "precision" which he modestly disclaims.

But really the very admissions made by Dr. Maitland appear fatal to his attempt. If, as he allows, "strict precision" is not to be so very urgently insisted on in matters of this kind, is he not himself most unreasonable in taking such an expression as "they suffered daily," after the death of Cromwell, to imply that the writer meant to assert simply and literally, that from the time of Cromwell's death till the end of Henry the Eighth's reign some one or other was regularly killed each day of the year, Sundays, holidays, and all included; that there was a kind of organized plan, that every single day a victim of this kind should smoke in atonement for the sins of the people? We must really demur to any such interpretation. The words plainly and in all common sense mean, that after a certain time, and during a certain time, (which is not defined,) executions for the cause of religion frequently,—sometimes, perhaps, daily,—took place. We think that it is very unreasonable to strain such expressions to their most literal sense, and then, after exaggerating the numerical result more than tenfold, to turn round upon us, and say, that instead of 25,000 martyrs there are probably not more than twenty-five; but that really the subject has not been investigated so as to enable a positive and precise statement to be made. It

may be, for aught we can see, that the author to whom Dr. Maitland refers did not *mean* that there were thousands of martyrs. As far as his mere *words*, "suffered daily," go, they do not amount to an assertion that any very great number suffered.

We must pass over various succeeding details of irreverent conduct and of improper language, which Dr. Maitland has diligently accumulated; but we may notice, in passing, the fact, that from his own extracts it appears that Protector Somerset disapproved of such doings, and disclaimed for himself and his party all association with them.—(pp. 298, 299.)

Having thus laboured assiduously, if not successfully, to throw discredit in every way on the moral character of so many of those who were engaged in the English Reformation, and to represent that their conduct was so blasphemous, wicked, and treasonable, that it was absolutely necessary to put them to death, or inflict penalties upon them, Dr. Maitland next proceeds to describe the Romish leaders Gardiner and Bonner, and their party, as worthy and well-meaning men.

He begins (p. 309) with Bishop Gardiner, (rather an unmanageable subject, we should have thought,) and starts with the suggestion that "the will of Henry VIII., under which Somerset and his colleagues took the reins of government, has been suspected of being *a forgery*." Dr. M. does not tell us *who* made this accusation; but, as he repeats it without comment, we may infer that he thinks it possibly may have been so; and thus, again, we have the party favourable to the Reformation indirectly charged with want of common moral principle. Dr. M. even urges that it is very extraordinary that Gardiner's name should not have appeared in the commission, because he was a great favourite with King Henry VIII. This leads to details of Gardiner's life and doings, amongst which Dr. Maitland enters on the part alleged to be taken by Gardiner in endeavouring to procure the death of Queen Katharine Parr, and he labours assiduously to show that the whole story is incredible, having in view to prove that Gardiner was always in great favour with King Henry; and we presume, therefore, that there can be no way of accounting for his name not appearing in the commission, except on the supposition of Protestant forgery.

We have next a very lengthened discussion, which we do not mean further to notice, intended to prove that Gardiner and Bonner were not inconsistent in their opinions on the Royal Supremacy. Dr. Maitland produces many arguments to throw doubts on the genuineness of the preface by Bonner to Gardiner's book, "*De Vera Obedientiâ*;" but, after suggesting that this preface is by a different hand, and making a great many diff-

culties about the place where it professed to be printed, he comes at last to a quotation from Fox (p. 373) which establishes clearly the fact against which he has been contending, and thus renders superfluous all the preceding discussion. If Fox's narrative be true, there is no use in attempting to throw doubts on the genuineness of a preface which Bishop Bonner expressly acknowledged in open court. We do not think that there is any thing particularly objectionable in Dr. Maitland's remarks in favour of Gardiner; but whatever is said is to the credit of this persecutor, and is so far advantageous to the Romish and anti-Reformation cause.

The case of Bishop Bonner is more elaborately treated, and every possible pains is taken to represent him as a maligned and ill-used man. We extract the following passage as comprising the view which Dr. Maitland is anxious to impress upon his readers :—

“ When the reader of Fox has become sufficiently familiar with the ‘ MARVELLOUS RAGE,’ and ‘ GREAT FURY,’ that embellish so many of his descriptions of prelatical proceedings, to treat them as Mr. Burchell would have done,—when he calmly inquires what these tales, so full of rage and fury, really mean—when they mean any thing—he finds the bloody wolf transformed, (I will not say into a spaniel, for that might imply fawning,) but into something much more like a *good-tempered mastiff*, who might safely be played with, and who, though he might be teased into barking and growling, had no disposition to bite, and would not do it without orders. In plainer terms, setting aside *de-clamation*, and looking at the *details of facts* left by those who may be called, if people please, Bonner's victims, and their friends, we find, very consistently maintained, the character of a man, straightforward and hearty, familiar and humorous, sometimes rough, perhaps coarse, naturally hot-tempered, but obviously (by the testimony of his enemies) placable and easily entreated, capable of bearing most patiently much intemperate and insolent language, much reviling and low abuse directed against himself personally, against his order, and against those peculiar doctrines and practices of his Church, for maintaining which he had himself suffered the loss of all things, and borne long imprisonment. At the same time not incapable of being provoked into saying harsh and passionate things, but much more frequently meaning nothing, by the threatenings and slaughter which he breathed out, than to intimidate those on whose ignorance and simplicity arguments seemed thrown away—in short, we can scarcely read with attention any one of the cases detailed by those who are no friends of Bishop Bonner without seeing in him a judge who (even if we grant that he was dispensing bad laws badly) was obviously desirous to save the prisoner's life.”—pp. 422, 423.

We congratulate Dr. Maitland on the subject of his eulogium; we can only express our wonder at the moral courage which

he has exhibited in attempting to whitewash the character of this ferocious persecutor : it is for the readers of Fox's " Martyrology " to form their opinion whether Dr. Maitland is right or wrong in his view.

We were certainly not prepared, from the author's reputation, to find his arguments so insufficiently sustained, and his imputations against moral character so sweeping and yet apparently so unfounded. The fact is, that his controversies with various writers on the Protestant side of the question have led him by degrees to take the Romish view, which sufficiently accounts for the excessive prejudice which he has against the Reformation and so many of its friends, without any necessary leaning to Romanism as a system of doctrine and practice.

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- ART. V.—1. *Cathedral Trusts and their Fulfilment.* By the Rev. ROBERT WHISTON, M.A., Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge; and Head Master of the Cathedral Grammar School, Rochester. Second Edition. London: Ollivier.**
- 2. *Five Speeches on Ecclesiastical Affairs, delivered by* EDWARD HORSMAN, Esq., M.P., *in the House of Commons, in the Sessions of 1847 and 1848.* London: Seeleys.**
- 3. *A Few Words on Cathedral Music and the Musical System of the Church. With a Plan of Reform.* By SAMUEL SEBASTIAN WESLEY, Mus. Doc. London: Rivingtons.**

THE question which has been opened in the publications at the beginning of this article, is one of great importance in all points of view; and requires careful consideration in all its bearings. It should be the aim of all churchmen, that in any arrangement which may be made in reference to cathedrals, the interests of the Church at large shall not suffer, but be advanced; and we have reason to feel grateful to writers like Mr. Whiston, who, at this particular crisis, have devoted themselves to the investigation of the origin and uses of cathedral institutions.

Mr. Whiston's name is, of course, known to all our readers in connexion with the suit which has lately been carried on between him and the chapter of Rochester, who deemed it fitting and right to deprive him of his office of Head Master of their school, in consequence of the publication of his pamphlet on Cathedral Trusts. Into the merits of the case, as between Mr. Whiston and the chapter of Rochester, we have no disposition to enter at present, more especially since the chapter have withdrawn their act of deprivation. But the pamphlet in question contains a very great amount of information on the subject of cathedral foundations, much of which is, we are persuaded, altogether new to the majority of the Church, and which on many accounts deserves to be attentively considered.

The origin of cathedral chapters traces itself up in some sort to the time of the apostles, when elders or presbyters, under the presidency of the bishop, were instituted in every city, and, with the deacons, constituted its cathedral clergy. This body was charged in common with the care of souls in the chief city of the primitive diocese or parish; and the bishop possessed the chief



office in this ministry, and authority over each of the clergy, though he determined on nothing of importance without previously consulting the clergy. Such was, in general, the system throughout the Church for more than a thousand years, when another system was gradually introduced. The presbyters of the cathedral church were intitled canons, and began to live together in a monastery attached to the cathedral, under certain collegiate rules. They were supported out of the common fund of the Church, which also supported deacons, and other inferior ministers. In after-ages, certain lands and possessions of the Church were appropriated to particular canonries, which then became benefices, though they still retained a share of the common property of the Church. Gradually, also, they were divested of the cure of souls, by the foundation of parish churches in the cathedral cities, and the appropriation of certain funds to their endowment. So that, at length, the cathedral presbyters were, as such, certainly sine-curists, though they retained various privileges, and were still nominally the bishop's council.

Such was, in general, the position of cathedral chapters at the era of the Reformation; and the system had worked so badly, that Archbishop Cranmer endeavoured to dissuade King Henry VIII. from founding chapters on the old model for the cathedrals of newly-founded sees, and of those sees of the older foundation in which monks had previously been installed. His objections were founded on the slothfulness and self-indulgent habits into which canons or prebendaries had fallen; and we can well understand this, in remembering that they were without cure of souls, and yet possessed ample pecuniary resources.

King Henry VIII. was the founder of no less than fourteen of the chapters now existing, eight of which were in place of the monastic bodies which had formerly been possessed of cathedrals. The remaining six were for sees newly founded by King Henry VIII. And it may here be remarked of this sovereign, that, amidst all his evil deeds, he certainly did more for the Church of England than any sovereign who has ever sat on the throne of England. None of his predecessors for 300 years founded a see. He alone founded six episcopal sees, and fourteen chapters. The recent erection of the see of Manchester, so reluctantly and grudgingly conceded, merely raises the number of sees to what Henry VIII. left it, while the *suffragan sees*, of which he erected *twenty-six*, have been allowed to fall into abeyance. With all our indignation at Henry's crimes, we have never yet been able to equal his good actions in this respect. The people, entrusted to the care of the bishops, have multiplied fourfold since the time of King Henry, but our episcopate has been *diminished* since his time.

It is very true that the funds which King Henry employed in the erection of sees and chapters had belonged to monasteries which he suppressed. This suppression may have been very wrong in some respects—we are not saying whether it was so or not ; but we apprehend that in the present day, when monasteries are suppressed, their funds are wholly absorbed by the State. We have never heard of any Roman Catholic sovereign or ruler in modern times applying any part of the wealth he has gained from suppressing or robbing monasteries, to the erection of new episcopal sees and chapters.

Cranmer—the vilified and reviled Cranmer—monster as he was of hypocrisy and wickedness, if we are to believe certain controversialists, was, without doubt, the adviser of Henry in these most laudable foundations ; and we must say, with some regret, that had the intentions of Henry VIII. and Cranmer been fully carried out by the bishops and the chapters themselves, the cause of religion would have derived a far greater amount of benefit from cathedral institutions than it actually has.

We are not about to dispute or deny the fact that important benefits, in many ways, have resulted from the cathedral establishments. The solemnity of divine services in these splendid and antique edifices, and the continual offering of praise and prayer each day of the year, are in themselves benefits of no ordinary description ; and, without doubt, there have been occasional instances in which learned and pious men have been sustained by the cathedral endowments. This is all very true ; but still, if the intention of the founder of so large a number of the English cathedrals had been carried out, the results would have been far more satisfactory. There was a highly ecclesiastical character about these institutions as designed by Henry VIII. and Archbishop Cranmer. Each cathedral body formed a college ; each member of which had his allowances, his food, his dwelling, his clothing, from the common fund. There was a common hall, where all partook of their meals together. The society consisted not merely of a dean and presbyter, canons or prebendaries, but also of a deacon and a subdeacon, a schoolmaster, with scholars boarded and taught free of expense ; choristers with their teacher ; a number of servants, and a body of almsmen, who were supported by the Church. A regular fund was set apart, not only for repairing the church, but also for building bridges and mending causeways, and other charitable works. Poor scholars were to be supported at the universities. In short, the whole foundation was not only connected with the due maintenance of divine worship, but it was conceived on a scale of liberality which was largely to benefit the poor and destitute, and to promote the cause of

Christian education. We must here quote from Mr. Whiston's pamphlet.

"The means and instruments for carrying out these purposes were, in the main, ecclesiastical or collegiate ; and a general idea of the scope and nature of the cathedral establishments, as originally planned and settled by Henry VIII., may be formed from the first chapter of the old statutes of Canterbury, which is almost identical with the corresponding chapter of the statutes of all the other cathedrals of the new foundation. It is as follows :

" ' On the entire number of those who have their sustentation (*qui sustentantur*) in the cathedral and metropolitical Church of Canterbury :

" ' First of all we ordain and direct that there be for ever in our aforesaid church, one dean, twelve canons, six preachers, twelve minor canons, one deacon, one subdeacon, twelve lay-clerks, one master of the choristers, ten choristers, two teachers of the boys in grammar, one of whom is to be the head master, the other, second master, fifty boys to be instructed in grammar, twelve poor men to be maintained at the costs and charges of the said church, two vergers, two subsacristis (*i. e.* sextons), four servants in the church to ring the bells, and arrange all the rest, two porters, who shall also be barber-tonsors, one caterer, one butler, and one under-butler, one cook, and one under-cook, who, indeed, in the number prescribed, are to serve in our church every one of them in his own order, according to our statutes and ordinances.'

"In the Durham statutes, the corresponding chapter is as follows :

" ' On the total number of those who have their sustentation (*qui sustentantur*) in the cathedral church of Durham :

" ' We direct and ordain that there be for ever in the said church, one dean, twelve prebendaries, twelve minor canons, one deacon, one subdeacon, ten clerks, (who may be either priests or laymen,) one master of the choristers, ten choristers, two teachers of the boys in grammar, eighteen boys to be instructed in grammar, eight poor men to be maintained at the costs of the said church, two subsacristis, two vergers, two porters, one of whom shall also be barber-tonsor, one butler, one under-butler, one cook, and one under-cook.'

"The monastic or collegiate characters of the bodies thus constituted, is indicated by the names and offices of the inferior ministers above specified, who were intended to form a part of the establishment of the common hall, in which most of the subordinate members, including the boys to be instructed in grammar, were to take their meals. There was also another point in which the cathedrals were meant to resemble and supply the place of the old religious houses, *i. e.* in the maintenance of a certain number of students at the universities. Thus in the 'general injunctions to be given (A.D. 1535) in the king's highness' behalf to all monasteries, it was ordained that the abbot or president of every religious house should '*keep and fynde*' in some university one or two of his brothers, according to the ability and possessions of his

house : which brethren, after they were learned in good and holy letters, when they returned home, might instruct and teach their brethren, and diligently preach the Word of God.' So again it is recorded, that in the years 1536 and 1547, Henry VIII. commanded that 'every parson, vicar, clerk, or beneficed man, being able to dispend, in benefice or promotion in the Church, 100*l.* or more, should for every of the said 100*l.* yearly, give a *competent exhibition to maintain* one scholar, or more, in the grammar schools, or in the universities of Oxford and Cambridge.'

"Accordingly, one result of the suppression of the old monasteries was, that many of the younger monks and friars dependent upon them for support, were obliged to leave the universities, the population of which was considerably thinned in consequence. For this, however, some compensation was made, by imposing upon the new cathedrals the obligation of maintaining at the universities, out of their corporate funds, a certain number of students proportionate to their several possessions, and the number of the foundation scholars in their respective grammar schools. Indeed, the preamble of the act 31 Henry VIII. c. 9, for founding the new cathedrals, preserved in Henry's own handwriting, recites that they were established 'To the *intent* that children might be brought up in learnyng, and clerks noryshed in the universities.' Thus, by his regulation, the church or college of Canterbury was required to maintain (*alere, i. e.* to provide alimony for) twenty-four poor students, twelve at Oxford and twelve at Cambridge, the allowance originally granted for this purpose being estates of the value of 200*l.* 'clere by the yere.' So Chester, Ely, Peterborough, and Rochester, were required to maintain each four students in the universities, and Worcester twelve, and Westminster twenty."

In the foundation of new chapters by Henry VIII. there are certain offices mentioned, which it would have been most desirable to have retained, and for the apparent abeyance of which, in the present day, in various cathedrals, we are unable satisfactorily to account. We allude to the *Deacons*. It seems that every chapter founded by Henry VIII. was to have a "deacon and subdeacon," who are called, in some statutes, a "gospeller and epistler,"—the duty of the deacon and subdeacon being to read the Gospel and Epistle.

In the passage just quoted we find amongst the officers as planned and settled by Henry VIII. in the Statutes of the Cathedral and Metropolitical Church of Canterbury, "one deacon, one subdeacon." In the cathedral church of Durham, "one deacon, one subdeacon." Mr. Whiston states that the chapter of the statutes in which these appointments are directed, is almost identically the same in the statutes of all the cathedrals founded by Henry VIII. We find (p. 10) in a scheme for the formation of the college of Canterbury, that the "gospeller" and "epysteller" (or

deacon and subdeacon) were to have salaries of 10*l*. In the original plan for the foundation of the college of Ely (p. 12), we find the names of "Sir John Spirarde, gospeller there, 8*l*;" and "Sir Thomas Maunde, pistoller there, 8*l*." So again, in the cathedral of Rochester (p. 17), there were a "deacon and subdeacon, each 6*l*. 11*s*. 10*d*." In a table prefixed to this pamphlet, and drawn up from a manuscript of the sixteenth century, in Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, compared with the cathedral statutes, wherever it was possible, the "deacon and subdeacon" regularly appear in the list of officers of the cathedrals of Canterbury, Rochester, Gloucester, Bristol, Carlisle, Chester, Durham, and Ely, with salaries of different amounts. The list does not mention any such officers at Peterborough, Worcester, or Winchester; and of the remaining cathedrals of the new foundation we have no account in this respect. With reference to the cathedrals of the older foundation, we have no means of judging as to what their regulations were as to the employment of a "deacon and subdeacon;" but we cannot suppose that their rule varied from that adopted in the new cathedrals. Without doubt they all had their deacons and subdeacons also.

Now, with regard to the office of *subdeacon*, it could not of course be expected that any such office should remain in cathedral and collegiate churches, the order having been discontinued at the Reformation; but we should certainly have supposed that the office of *deacon*, being one of the holy orders recognized by the Church of England, would have continued in cathedrals, when Henry VIII., the founder of the majority of those collegiate bodies, expressly mentions them in his statutes given to his cathedrals. But we have looked in vain through the lists of cathedral and collegiate officers in the clergy list to find any such office as that of *deacon*. Throughout the whole list of cathedral functionaries comprised in the Clergy List, we can only find a single instance in which the offices of gospeller and epistler appointed by King Henry VIII. are still retained. This honourable exception is to be found at Norwich. Every where else, as far as we can see, the offices of gospeller and epistler, or deacon and subdeacon, have wholly disappeared. We have some notion of having heard of "gospeller and epistler" in some other cathedral; but of "deacon" we have never heard as existing in any English cathedral within our own times.

It appears from the following passage in Mr. Whiston's pamphlet (p. 46), that at the commencement of Queen Elizabeth's reign a power was given to *withdraw the salaries* paid to the deacon and subdeacon, in favour of the divinity lecturer:—

"Her royal father, Henry VIII., reserved to himself and his suc-

cessors, full power and authority to alter the original statutes of his cathedrals, and even to frame new ones. Still she did not avail herself of this power, when it was found necessary to adapt those statutes to the worship of the reformed faith, until an Act of Parliament had been passed empowering her to do so. Royal commissioners were then appointed for this purpose, and among their amendments are two which bear upon the question of suppressions. One of them occurs in Cap. XXI. of the Corpus Christi Coll. MS., intituled 'De Lectore Theologico,' and is as follows:—

“ ‘ The reader in theology shall have for his stipend 20*l.* at least; and that this may be the more easily paid, we *allow* the stipends which have heretofore been paid to the deacon and subdeacon, to be paid for the future to the said reader; and if their stipend shall not amount to the said sum of 20*l.*, let the dean and chapter be bound to supply the remainder.’ Now this injunction, it will be seen, does any thing but allow to a chapter the privilege of suppressing the offices of deacon and subdeacon, and appropriating their stipends to any other purpose except the provision for a reader in theology.”

Now, this direction, *so far as it was acted on*, doubtless left the office of deacon in cathedrals without payment from the cathedral funds; but, at the same time, there is no evidence that it was intended to suppress the office itself, and it need not have been suppressed, and we presume that in all cathedrals of King Henry's foundation, at least, it is merely in abeyance at this moment. But when we look at the constitution of the cathedral bodies, we cannot but be under the impression, that in many instances there are funds which are still applicable to the purpose of maintaining deacons, as far as they go. For we do not see the office of *Divinity Lecturer*, which was permitted to absorb the deacon's income, extant except in a very few of the cathedrals. We only find lecturers on divinity in Ely, Hereford, and Westminster. Of the latter we do not feel quite certain, as we know not whether the office of “Term lecturer,” mentioned as amongst the collegiate offices, is the same as that of “divinity lecturer.”

Since, therefore, the office of divinity lecturer only exists in two or three of the chapters out of thirty, we think there is reason to suppose that the office of deacon has not been legally divested of its revenues in all cases, and that it might be revived in many, if not all, of our cathedral and collegiate churches.

We are not disposed to enter into the feelings with which Mr. Whiston evidently regards cathedral bodies in general. There can be no doubt that the character of the system contemplated by their founders has widely altered in the course of ages; and we certainly cannot exonerate from blame, in some respects, those who, in former ages, unnecessarily deviated from the direc-



tions of founders. At the same time, it would surely be unreasonable to regard the chapters as deserving of peculiar blame in this respect, for it will be found that all corporate bodies and all institutions have a tendency to change and alteration either in essentials or non-essentials ; and looking to the perpetual system of alteration in the various parts of the Constitution, and the various foundations for educational and charitable purposes, we think that any candid and just mind will not be disposed to regard the chapters of the present day as exhibiting any such case of deviation from the regulations of their founders, as should render them peculiarly deserving of public reprobation. The alterations which have been introduced have been the slow growth of centuries, and are not the acts of our present deans and canons.

Having said thus much in vindication of the chapters from imputations which are somewhat unjustly thrown on them, we must still be permitted to express an opinion, that where it is possible to carry out the designs of founders, without any manifest inconvenience, or injustice, they ought strictly to be attended to ; and we do very earnestly press upon the attention of the chapters the question, whether they ought not to restore the office of deacon in their cathedrals, and thus not merely carry out the wishes of their founders, but supply a defect in our present hierarchical arrangements—the office of deacon being no where in existence as a distinct office. We feel assured that there are many members of chapters who must feel an interest in such a question, and who would, with a view to the general interests of the Church of England, endeavour to remedy the defect referred to.

The collegiate character of these institutions has been almost entirely lost in the course of time. Originally, the canons, minor canons, singing men, choristers, scholars, and inferior officers of each cathedral, appear to have lived within the precincts of the cathedral, and partaken of their meals together in the hall, as is still customary in colleges at the universities. The establishment of the various chapters founded by Henry VIII. included the following grades of office :—a dean, vice-dean, treasurer, sacrist, precentor, prebendaries or canons, minor canons, preachers, deacon and subdeacon, master of the school, organist, under-master, lay clerks, subsacrists or sextons, vergers, bellringers, barbitonsors and porters, choristers, grammar boys, students, bedesmen or almsmen, a receiver, a seneschal, an auditor, caterers, butlers or manciples, cooks, under-cooks. The number of names “on the books” of the college might amount to one hundred, or one hundred and fifty, or even more. It was, in fact, quite as numerous a body as an ordinary-sized college at one

of the universities. The cathedral was the college chapel, and its officers in themselves, with their families, must have formed a tolerable congregation.

We must confess that we think there is much cause for regret that this collegiate character has been lost. It is to be lamented that the canons of cathedrals were not tied down to constant residence at the cathedral, and to a collegiate life. Had they been prevented from holding other benefices in plurality, and thereby absenting themselves from the cathedral, and had the cure of souls in the cathedral city been restored to them, we should have had, perhaps, as desirable a state of things as could well have been imagined. To place a body of clergy in a cathedral close, without any duties except those of attending the cathedral service, would not, we are persuaded, have been beneficial to those clergy themselves, or to the Church generally. It would have put them in an unnatural position, and have divested them of the highest privileges of their office, and would, therefore, probably have tended to produce habits of sloth and self-indulgence. But could these institutions have been continued in the collegiate form contemplated by their founders, and restored to the original uses of cathedral bodies, *i. e.* to the cure of souls, the results would have probably been most salutary to the Church.

But the question will arise, after all, in the mind, To what causes are we to attribute such alterations in the cathedral system—alterations which are plainly not desirable in themselves, and which all, apparently, tend to the promotion of the ease or profit of individuals, without much regard to the public welfare? We do not mean to enter into all the matters of complaint which Mr. Whiston has advanced. We can only allude to the complaints which are made, that the minor canons, schoolmasters, singing men, organists, and other inferior officers of cathedrals, as well as the choristers, and grammar scholars, the students, bedesman, &c. are either entirely discontinued, or paid inadequately, and less than the founders intended, while the whole increase in the value of cathedral property has been absorbed by the dean and canons, and the patronage of the benefices in the gift of each chapter, has become a matter of private accommodation to their members for the preferment of their own families. We need not refer to the fact that the dean of a metropolitan cathedral was actually deprived a few years since in consequence of his practice of selling the presentations of livings in his gift, and merely escaped in consequence of an oversight in the process for his removal. We naturally ask, What is the cause of such serious defects and abuses as have certainly grown up? What

is the cause of that *worldly spirit* which has so extensively existed in cathedral establishments, and which has led to their downfall?

In the first place we must say, with great regret, that those whose especial duty it was to exercise a systematic supervision of the chapters have not adequately felt the extent of their duties in this respect. Visitations of chapters have been rarely held. In the trial of the Dean of York, it appeared that the late Archbishop of York had never held a visitation of his cathedral church, during an episcopate of thirty years, until he was obliged to hold one for the purpose of correcting abuses which had become unbearable and notorious. We apprehend that visitations of chapters have been exceedingly rare occurrences in this country. We never remember, at least, to have heard of such a visitation, except in the case of the Dean of York, in which inquiry was regularly and minutely made whether the statutes of the Church were observed.

Now this ought not to have been so. The founders of cathedrals certainly expected the bishops, who are visitors of those societies, to discharge their office without fear or favour, and with sufficient frequency. We cite the following extract from the Statutes of the Cathedral of Rochester, founded by King Henry VIII., as given in Mr. Whiston's pamphlet, p. 120:—

“ Statute XXXVII. On the visitation of the Church :—

“ There is no work so piously begun, so prosperously continued, so faithfully consummated, but that it is easily undermined, and by carelessness and negligence overthrown. No statutes are framed so sacred and firm, but that by length of time they come into oblivion and contempt, unless there be kept up continued watchfulness and zeal of piety. And that this indeed may never come to pass or possibly happen in our Church, *We* relying upon the *faithfulness* and *diligence* of the Bishop of Rochester for the time being, *do* constitute him visitor of our cathedral church of Rochester, willing and commanding that with Christian faith and ardent zeal of piety he *do watch and industriously take care*, that these statutes and ordinances of our Church published by us be *inviolably observed*, and its rights, liberties, and privileges defended and maintained. And that this may be so, We ordain and will, that the bishop himself so often as he shall be requested by the dean, or by the canons, nay, even *if not requested, do, at any rate once in every three years*, in his own person (unless a great necessity hinder him), and if not, by his chancellor, *visit* our Church, and summon the dean, the canons, the minor canons, the lay clerks, and all the other officers of our Church to a suitable place. And by virtue of this present statute, we grant the bishop full power and authority to interrogate the dean, canons, &c. about all and singular the articles comprised in our statutes, and about any other articles soever concerning the condition, advantage, or honour of our Church, and to compel every one of them,

on his oath, to tell the actual truth of the Church. And with respect to all delinquencies and charges, of any kind soever, let the bishop *punish and reform them*, when discovered and proved, according to the measure of the delinquency and charge, and *do all* things which shall seem necessary for *the reformation of abuses*, and which shall be determined to pertain by right to the office of a visitor. And we will and command that, as well the dean as the canons, and the other officers of our Church, do in all the premises obey the bishop himself. Moreover, because we *wish* these our *statutes to continue for ever*, if any dissension shall hereafter arise between the dean and canons, about the true meaning of our statutes, *all of which we will should be understood according to their plain and grammatical sense*, We will and decree, that any clause of a statute about which the controversy shall arise, be referred to the Archbishop of Canterbury, by whose interpretation, *if not contrary to our statutes*, we order those who have doubted to stand and obey it. Nevertheless, we *forbid* the visitor and the expounder of our statutes and all others, of whatsoever dignity and authority, to make any new statutes or *dispense with any one*. We also forbid the *dean and the canons of our Church* from *receiving* statutes of this kind, under the *penalty of perjury and perpetual removal from our Church*."

The author of statutes like this certainly provided, as far as language can go, for the perpetual observance of his regulations. But he had, after all, to depend upon human instrumentality in carrying his designs into effect, and hence they have been subject to the vicissitudes experienced by other institutions. The visitors appointed by his statutes were indulgent and easy men, or else confided the management of cathedrals to their deans and canons. They were satisfied to leave the observance of the statutes to the good feeling of the members of chapters, and only interfered when appealed to in some particular case. The result of such an indulgent course of proceeding was, of course, that the statutes were neglected in various points, and deviations from the founder's injunctions became gradually customary and universal. The chapters have had their share of responsibility for their departing from the regulations which they were pledged to adhere to; but then the bishops have been scarcely less responsible, because, if they had discharged their office of visitors, the statutes would have been upheld. There are some remarks on this subject in Mr. Whiston's pamphlet which deserve transcribing.

"Very apposite, also, are the words of Mr. Hope, the eloquent advocate of the chapters, on this same subject of episcopal visitation. They were spoken in the House of Lords a short time before the Bishop of Rochester pleaded his oath as a reason for not supporting the measure which Mr. Hope opposed, and they deserve quoting, not only as being full of truth, but as expressing the feelings of a well-informed friend of

deans and chapters, and conveying a warning to them in terms reproachful, indeed, but instructive, if not prophetic.

“‘Now, my lords,’ he said, ‘I fully admit that they (the bishops) have considerable power over the institutions as visitors of them; and *most deeply* do I wish that the bishops of this Church in the last century had applied themselves to their ordinary and legitimate power in this respect. Had they done so, those bodies would at this time have held so high a station in the opinion of the country, that it would have been impossible that we should ever have had a measure such as this suggested to us. But this is the way in which we proceed in all our modern reformatations. First, we neglect and abuse the institutions of our ancestors; and then we turn upon them in anger, or in hastiness, and destroy that as useless which it only rested with ourselves to make most useful.’ And if this is true generally; most assuredly has it rested with visitors and deans and chapters to make our cathedral institutions most useful and most popular; a support to the Church, and a blessing to the nation; objects of veneration with the rich, and of grateful affection with the poor; and such they might have made them by simply and honestly fulfilling the will of the founder, and carrying out faithfully his injunctions. Instead of this, cathedrals have been suffered to exemplify the good old law, that those should keep who can; whereas they ought to have been enduring and unchanging patterns of whatsoever things are true, whatsoever things are just, whatsoever things are of good report.”

We have, therefore, the authority of Mr. Hope for stating, that the tacit abrogation of many of the statutes of the cathedrals has been the fault of those who were bound by the statutes, and by considerations still higher than those founded on any such human authority, to a vigilant inspection of the capitular bodies. And must we not attribute to the same cause the decay of discipline generally? How many of the canons and rubrics have become obsolete in practice, though they are still legally binding, and have never been abrogated by any authority. In this case, as in that of the cathedral statutes, no small amount of responsibility rests on the hierarchy of former generations; and (shall we say it?) of the present generation also. For it is a very great difficulty in the way of any faithful member of the Church, who may wish to obey what the Church has directed, and what has never been abrogated by any authority, to find, that preceding prelates have acquiesced in deviations from the Church’s rules, and that the chief pastor who is set over him, is following in their footsteps. He is placed in a position which he ought not to be required to occupy. He has to take a course which is a tacit reproof to others, and even to his own spiritual superior; and he has to advocate the claims of authority, while authority is not maintained by its living representatives. The result of ill-judged

indulgence or want of zeal amongst the rulers of the Church in past generations is, that obedience to the Church's directions, however good and reasonable in themselves, is held to be an innovation. This is not as it should be.

But then, another question here suggests itself. How has it happened that the bishops of the Church have been men of such easy dispositions, or have shown so moderate an amount of zeal in behalf of the Church's institutions and directions? The reason is evident. It arises from the system of appointment to bishoprics which has grown up within the last century and a half. As soon as bishoprics passed away from the patronage of the Crown (which was anxious, for reasons of State, to secure the appointment of the most deserving men as bishops) to that of the Prime Minister, there could not be any room for hoping that any qualifications would be regarded except those which were connected either with personal or political considerations. Accordingly so it has been too commonly; and under these circumstances we could only have an episcopate whose zeal for the Church was of a very limited description, and with whom the care of the temporalities of their sees and of the Church generally was a primary consideration. So convinced are we of the mischief of ministerial appointments to bishoprics, that we would gladly give up all the temporal advantages enjoyed by our episcopate, including their endowments and their seats in Parliament, if the State would consent on these terms to transfer the election of bishops from the hands of the Minister of the day, to some body or bodies in which the majority of the Church should agree to place it. The present system has a tendency to set aside that qualification without which all others are of no avail—religious earnestness. A minister—a man of the world, will never, if he can help it, appoint a priest of well-known zeal and devotion to the episcopal bench. He may appoint a learned or an able man to some office in the Church, in order to acquire the character of a patron of classical or other learning. He may appoint men of no decided character, in order to provide pliable instruments for carrying out government measures. He may appoint personal friends without regard to qualification; and may find himself obliged, with equal unscrupulousness, to nominate the relatives or friends of members of the government. But in this, as in all other cases, in which the real objects of appointments are not attended to, but are superseded by other considerations, the necessary result must be that, on the whole, the objects themselves suffer. If the command of armies or fleets in a war were dispensed, not with a view to the real fitness of the commanders selected, to carry out the great objects of the nation, but with reference to family interest, or politics only, the interests



of the State would suffer. And so it must be with the Church, when her commands are distributed without reference to positive qualifications. To fill the office of a Christian bishop none but an *apostolical* man—a man of purity, zeal, humility, charity, wisdom, should be sought for. These are the first and most essential considerations, which we say, with grief, are, notoriously, never made the subject of consideration by those to whom the appointment of bishops is entrusted; and we have had to lament, in consequence, the apathy of a century and a half—the relaxation of sound discipline—the decline of sound learning—the laxity of religious opinion verging towards philosophical indifference—the discontinuance of synods—the abeyance of much of the episcopal office—the discouragement of more lively and earnest devotion—the misapplication of ecclesiastical patronage—and other evils of many descriptions.

We wish to see the Church in the most perfect harmony and alliance with the State, as far as the State will permit the alliance; but we object to any system which tends to make the Church the slave of the State, or which impairs her health, by infecting her leading and noblest organs with the spirit of the world. It is against the intrusion of the spirit of worldliness into high places that all members of the Church are bound to protest. We would rather see error itself than apathy and lukewarmness. The one might be resisted and exposed; but the other is a less assailable evil, and yet a more eating canker. Hence it meets with the severest reprobation from God, in terms which suit the case of every worldly intruder into the office of the supreme care of souls. “I know thy works, that thou art neither cold nor hot: I would thou wert cold or hot. So then because thou art lukewarm, and neither cold nor hot, I will spue thee out of my mouth. Because thou sayest, I am rich, and increased with goods, and have need of nothing; and knowest not thou art wretched, and miserable, and poor, and blind, and naked: I counsel thee to buy of me gold tried in the fire, that thou mayest be rich; and white raiment, that thou mayest be clothed, and that the shame of thy nakedness do not appear; and anoint thine eyes with eyesalve, that thou mayest see. As many as I love, I rebuke and chasten: be zealous therefore, and repent.”

This language was addressed by St. John to the bishop of the Church of the Laodiceans; and it has been, doubtless, applicable to many other bishops since that time. And, in general, it is a solemn and awful warning against the growth of the spirit of worldliness amongst rulers and dignitaries in the Church.

This is no question between one set of opinions and another:

it is a question which concerns the existence of religion in general. It is whether religious earnestness and devotion to the cause of Christ is to prevail, or whether the spirit of the world, which is *opposed* to Christ, is to prevail. We are deeply convinced that to place the nomination of the heads of the Church in the hand of mere politicians, is to taint it at its source. True it is, that pure water sometimes comes forth from that impure fountain; and we have continually to pray that the grace of God may be extended to those who have been called in His providence to the highest offices in the ministry. But it is not possible to avoid the conviction, that State patronage, as exercised by prime ministers, has been, for a long series of years, amongst the greatest, though most quiet and unsuspected, evils from which the cause of Christianity has been suffering in this country. We are satisfied that this feeling is extensively prevalent amongst Churchmen, whatever may be the difference of their views in some respects. More especially does it exist amongst those of the laity who have been enabled by their position in the world to see something of the working of the present system, and to ascertain the motives and principles of selection which actuate ministers in their appointments to ecclesiastical benefices. The disgust of such men is very great at what they have seen and known; and it may be, that the tendency in their minds would be, in some instances, to desire the removal of all those temporal distinctions and advantages with which the episcopate is surrounded, in the hope of rendering it an object of less value in the eyes of politicians and of worldly clergymen. The speeches of Mr. Horsman in parliament exhibit something of this spirit; and the manner in which they have been received in parliament and in the country, shows what is working in the minds of many amongst us.

There is something in Mr. Horsman's tone which appears to be at times too harsh and violent; and we feel uneasy in perusing some of his details, which appear rather too personal. Still, on the whole, we are inclined to hope that Mr. Horsman, though somewhat unscrupulous in his mode of attack, and perhaps somewhat hasty in adopting some of his inferences, is actuated by a desire to promote the efficiency of the Church in general. In the "Five Speeches" which we have mentioned above, Mr. Horsman's chief subject of complaint is the alleged faults of the ecclesiastical commissioners in the administration of the funds placed at their disposal. According to his statements, the commissioners, who include all the episcopal bench in their number, have permitted the bishops of various sees to receive incomes which amount to 26,000*l.* a year above the sum intended by the

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legislature, the wealthier sees paying less than they ought in the way of contribution, and the poorer sees being more liberally aided than was contemplated. The large sums expended on episcopal residences by the ecclesiastical commissioners are also referred to; and the whole is contrasted with the comparatively small amount of money employed in the augmentation of new parochial benefices and the erection of parsonage-houses. The unfavourable impression created by this disposition on the part of the commissioners to provide for their own pecuniary interests appears to have been one of the principal motives which influenced Mr. Horsman in opposing the erection of the see of Manchester and the three other sees proposed by government. But at the same time we are glad to see that he is far from being opposed to the appointment of new bishops, provided their incomes are on a moderate scale. The following passage contains important matter :—

“ Her Majesty’s ministers have not explained to us wherein lies the necessity for these bishops, or the number which they consider eventually desirable. It is evident they do not stop at four; but we hear in other quarters, and some of them of high authority, that there is a need for 4000 more clergymen, and of sixty additional bishops to make the work of superintendence efficient and complete. How can they ever expect to get any thing approaching that number? And is it desirable they should, whatever be the necessity, if the new bishops were to be of the same order as those we have already? I think the distance in this country between rich and poor is too great everywhere, but no where is the gulf so wide and so deplorable as between the prelates and their clergy. If you must have more bishops, they must be of that order which the Member for the University has suggested—an order more in accordance with the feelings and necessities of the time, and through whom the benefits you desire might be safely and effectually attained. In the Church’s earlier days suffragan bishops were an useful and efficient body; and their appointment, the necessity once proved, would not be so unpopular as increasing the number of your baronial prelates. The Hon. Baronet apprehended there might be some difficulty about the payment. I think I can show how to overcome that.

“ Take at once the whole number of bishops you desire—take sixty suffragans;—place them in the great towns and populous districts, with ample, not extravagant salaries, say 1500*l.* a year,—requiring in all 90,000*l.* a year. Dividing then our population of sixteen millions into eighty-six districts, there would thus be about 186,000 in each, and so far the amount of superintendence would be well adjusted.

“ But then comes the payment; and on this point the Member for the University of Oxford anticipated difficulty. I am prepared to show how it may be got over, and in this way.

“ No one can have cast his eye over our cathedral towns without

observing how little their great establishments contribute to the sacred purposes for which they were intended. Not only have the Church services degenerated into cold and unimpressive forms, so as to lead virtually to a discontinuance of congregational attendance, but the system of non-residences and pluralities, abolished every where else, has an effect decidedly injurious to religion. It is notorious that in our cathedral towns there is the least education and the most Dissent. Now I propose to attempt some remedy for this.

“ And I do so upon the plan suggested by one who must be held a very high authority, since it was to him that the Government were indebted for their measure in 1836. Every leading provision of their Act was taken from Lord Henley; on one practical point only did they materially depart from his suggestions, and that was on the constitution of the commission, in which experience has proved that he was right. In Lord Henley’s plan of Church Reform, accompanied by a letter to the King in 1832, he makes this proposal, with regard to the cathedrals :—

“ ‘ In the administration of the cathedral property, the first consideration which naturally arises, is that due consideration be made for the celebration of cathedral service. For this purpose (as one great object will be the abolition of every thing approaching to a sinecure, that can be dispensed with,) it will be most convenient to entrust the performance of divine service exclusively to the dean, assisted by such a number of chaplains as shall be deemed necessary. As his residence will be for nine months in the year, he shall perform the same quantity of public duty as the incumbents of our great London livings. But as there will be no occasional duty—no registries to be kept—no vestries to attend—no visiting of the poor and sick, his labours will be extremely slight.’

“ In each cathedral now there is a dean whose average income is 1680*l.*—four canons with average incomes of 800*l.*—and six minor canons, each with 150*l.* Reckoning the cathedrals at twenty-six (there are more, but one or two may be poorer than I have said), the return stands thus :—

	Average Income.	Total.
26 Deans	£1680	£43,680
104 Canons	800	83,200
156 Minor Canons	150	23,400

“ Now if, in accordance with Lord Henley’s proposal, we reduce this establishment to a dean with 1000*l.* a year, and the minor canons, we shall leave 1900*l.* a year for the cathedral services, and have the following surplus :—

	Incomes.	Surplus.
Deans 26	£26,000	£17,680
Canons 0	0	83,200
Minor Canons 106	23,400	—
		£100,880

“ Here, therefore, is a sum of 100,000*l.* ; more than sufficient for the most extravagant number of suffragans that would be wanted. The advantages of this plan would be threefold—First, you get the whole amount now paid to the Ecclesiastical Commissioners’ Episcopal and Common Fund, for the augmentation of poor livings. Secondly, you bring in your cathedrals to aid the general wants of the country, establishing a resident clergy, between whom and their congregation ties and sympathies are formed, and you elevate the tone of your cathedral service. Thirdly, you get, if you need them, more bishops, and without any difficulty either as to number or payment. Prove the necessity before Parliament, and it will thus supply your deficiency by an addition to the episcopacy of an efficient and popular body, who will form a link between the prelates and the clergy—aiding the one, controlling and encouraging the other.

“ While, however, I express this preference for suffragan bishops, supposing more bishops to be needful, I think I have given a picture of parochial destitution sufficient to prove that the evil is of a very different character, and needs a very different remedy. Our first thought must be for our parochial poor : our first duty is to bring home religious instruction to them. Of this too I am quite sure, that an enlargement of the episcopacy would not alone make it more efficient.”

This passage brings us back to the subject of cathedral establishments, in which, as we have already seen, very great and undesirable alterations have been permitted to take place. The collegiate character has been allowed to fall wholly into abeyance, and a number of offices contemplated by the founders have been suppressed. Funds destined for charitable objects have long ceased to be so applied. We lament these alterations extremely, but we fear the time is gone by for the revival of the cathedral system, according to the plans of the founders of chapters. It has been too long permitted to remain in abeyance, and the whole body of cathedral dignitaries have been accustomed to so totally different a view of the case, that we cannot look on a return to the original constitution as feasible. The cathedral bodies have, for a long series of years, stood before the world as complete sinecurists, and generally as the most opulent of the clergy, without any higher personal claims than their brethren. Appointed by political friends or by relatives, they have been too commonly guided by considerations of the same kind in dispensing the large patronage entrusted to them. And the result of all has been, that the chapters have had no hold upon the public mind—no services to appeal to—no practical usefulness to show—so that they have been unable to resist the alienation of their funds to objects of a more obviously useful character. And we earnestly hope that, in the end, they may not entirely perish, but be restored to that cure of souls in

the cathedral city of which they ought never to have been divested, and which would have ensured their residence in the sphere of their duties, and prevented them from holding benefices in plurality. The cathedrals have been ousted of their rights by parish churches in cities. Though nominally the parish church of the whole diocese, the cathedral has actually no cure of souls annexed to it. Why should not the surrounding parishes be brought once again into connexion with the cathedral and its clergy? One of Mr. Horsman's most effective speeches is taken up almost entirely with statistics, intended to show the very small number of persons who avail themselves of daily service at the cathedrals. Perhaps, if he had extended his inquiries to Sunday services, the number in attendance might still have seemed small in comparison with the capacity of the cathedrals. And yet this is, after all, the fault of the system of the Church in reference to the cathedrals, and is not to be attributed wholly to the chapters. Is it not a fact that the whole of each cathedral city is parcelled out into parishes, each with its parish church and priest; and is not the ecclesiastical system, therefore, so arranged in those places, that the whole of the inhabitants are virtually drawn away from the cathedral? Is not the cathedral necessarily left *without a congregation*, except as it is made up by cathedral officials and their families, and casual visitors? This is really and simply the fact. If the cathedrals have not as good congregations as parish churches, it is because they have ceased to be in any sense parish churches; because they have lost the cure of souls, which they had for a thousand or twelve hundred years, or, in some cases, still later.

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**ART. VI.—1.** *Minutes of the Committee of Council on Education, with Appendixes. 1847-8-9. England and Wales. Schools of Parochial Unions. Presented to both Houses of Parliament by command of Her Majesty. London. Printed by Clowes and Sons for Her Majesty's Stationery Office. 1849.*

**2.** *Return to an Address of The Honourable the House of Commons, dated July 21st, 1849, for a copy of so much of the Minutes of the Committee of Council as relates to the establishment of Normal Schools for Training Masters for Workhouse-Schools, together with a Statement of the Measures which have been taken in consequence for providing buildings for that purpose, the sums expended in giving effect to the said Minute, and the Funds out of which the expenditure has been defrayed. Ordered by the House of Commons to be printed, Aug. 1st, 1849.*

IN the year 1839 an attempt was made, as our readers are aware, to lay the foundations of a system of so-called National Education, the supreme direction of which was to centre in a Government Education Board—the Committee of Council on Education,—to the exclusion of the Bishops of the National Church, to whose province the superintendence of National Education properly belongs. One of the leading features of the scheme was the essentially secular character of the education to be imparted; religious instruction was carefully distinguished from the general tuition of the school, to be admitted under such restrictions and regulations as must have rendered it, practically, altogether nugatory; the avowed object being to substitute for the national faith, of which the Church is the witness and guardian, a colourless, tasteless compound, nicknamed “general religion.” This notable scheme, after being concocted in the dark, was brought forward, not by any of the constitutional methods usually employed in adjusting our institutions, but by a novel mode of proceeding, half-administrative and half-legislative, in the unobtrusive form of a letter addressed by one member of the Government to another. Lord John Russell, at that period Secretary of State for the Home Department, broke ground by a letter to the Lord President, then as now the Marquis of Lansdowne, who in his reply entered into further explanations, which were followed up by a Minute of the Committee of Council. The minute having been duly recorded, the scheme was considered *un fait accompli*, and the only

thing remaining to be done was an application to Parliament for the necessary funds.

Unfortunately for the ministerial contrivance, there was more vigilance and firmness in the legislature of that day than had been calculated upon; the correspondence and minute had scarcely come to the knowledge of Parliament, when the most determined opposition was at once set on foot; and, while the grant passed the Lower House with a majority so slender as to amount in reality to a defeat, the Upper House supported the late Primate with an overwhelming majority in his solemn protest against the contemplated encroachment upon the religious character of the education to be imparted to the rising generation. The result was the compact of 1840, the guarantees of which have been frittered away piecemeal in the subsequent controversies between the Committee of Council and the National Society; the former body framing, under the *inspiration* of Mr. Kay Shuttleworth, Minute after Minute, in contravention, not of the spirit only, but of the very letter of the terms agreed to by the Church. Still, however cunningly the engagements of the educational treaty of 1840 were evaded, and however insidiously the distinction between secular and religious education was introduced into the management of Church Schools by the Committee of Council, the last-named body was restricted to the position assigned to it by the compact—that of a body charged with the distribution of the Parliamentary Grant, and exercising, in consideration of it, a certain degree of supervision over all schools, whether belonging to the Established Church, or to other religious denominations, which obtained a share of the public money voted for educational purposes. The idea of a State machinery of education, distinct from that of the Church and of other religious bodies, under the immediate direction of the Committee of Council, appeared to be fairly given up, in deference to the will of Parliament, and to the unequivocally expressed sense of the country at large.

Will it be believed, that the scheme which the resistance of Parliament, and especially that of the late Archbishop of Canterbury, backed by the House of Lords, effectually obstructed in the year 1839, has actually been carried into effect in 1849, unsuspected by the legislature and the country. Yet such is the astounding fact. An official report, recently published, exhibits the plan in question in a state of complete organization, and in full operation. A normal school for the training of teachers, separated from all connexion with the Church,—a body of inspectors, placed, like the normal school, under the immediate superintendence of the Committee of Council,—and a system of centralization, which, through this normal school, and through the

inspection connected with it, gives to that unconstitutional board of education a footing in every parish in England and Wales,—such is the machinery for introducing a purely secular education into the country, which has been clandestinely prepared under the auspices of the Committee of Council. The remarkable talent of the Secretary of the Committee, for achieving important measures by “unobtrusive” methods, has been brought into full play on this occasion; for, although the general outline of the proposed scheme is contained, intermixed with other “extracts,” in the Minutes of the Committee of Council of 1846, no suspicion of the real character of the design was entertained, until in July last the “John Bull” newspaper sounded the alarm in an article, founded apparently upon information obtained through some private channel, from which we borrow the following statement of the leading facts of the case:—

“Among the sums appropriated in the Education Grant of the present year there is an amount of 18,000*l.* for Kneller Hall, Twickenham. On inquiry it turns out that this ‘Hall’ is intended as a Normal School for the training of schoolmasters for Union Houses, upon the system contemplated in 1839, of excluding all religious tenets from the general teaching of the school, admitting religious instruction only as an ‘extra,’—like dancing, fencing, or music, in fashionable boarding-schools,—out of regular school hours. This infidel college is to be committed to the direction of a Mr. Temple, who acts at present as substitute for Mr. Kay Shuttleworth at the Council Office, as Principal, and of a Mr. Palgrave, a clerk in the Privy Council Office, as Vice-Principal, and is to come forthwith into active operation.

“That this is but the beginning of a more extensive scheme for undermining the religious education of the country, is obvious. One such Training College being once established, others will follow in due time; and as the Committee of Council have ample means and opportunities of impeding the extension of Diocesan and other Training Schools founded upon a religious basis, not only by withholding or curtailing the money-grants hitherto made to such institutions, but by giving a decided preference in the scheme of Government remuneration provided for by the Minutes of August and December, 1846, to the masters trained at their ‘universal’ halls of knowledge, over those educated in ‘sectarian’ institutions, it is easy to foresee that infidel schoolmasters from the Government Training School will, by degrees and ‘unostentatiously,’ find their way into many other schools besides those for which ostensibly Kneller Hall has been set on foot. Thus in another generation we may expect to see the country overrun by a host of secular schoolmasters dependent on the Council Office, who shall, in every parish where they can find admittance, form a counterpoise to the influence of the Church, and be turned, as occasion may serve, into electioneering agents and preachers of political doctrines, as has recently been done both in Germany and in France, the parochial teachers edu-

cated on the principle of no religion being among the most active and dangerous promoters of the democratic movement.

“What renders this renewed attempt to revolutionize the education of the country still more profligate, is the fact, that, before any indication of it was permitted to appear in the educational estimates, the establishment of the godless College had been actually accomplished. No less a sum than thirty thousand pounds, we have been assured, has already been expended upon Kneller Hall, the amount being supplied from the funds at the disposal of the Poor-Law Commissioners; whether by way of permanent appropriation out of that fund, or by way of loan to be replaced out of the Education Grant, we have been unable to ascertain. In either case, the compact entered into in 1839, on the subject of education, has been grossly violated, and even the very inadequate control exercised by the annual money vote of the Lower House of Parliament has been effectually got rid of by a discreditable juggle, in order to enable the Government to foist upon the country a theory of education which was not only repudiated by the solemn decision of the Legislature ten years ago, but stands at this moment condemned before all the world, by the frightful fruits which it has borne on the Continent of Europe.”—*John Bull*, July 7th, 1849.

In confirmation of these observations we have now lying before us an octavo volume of between 300 and 400 pages (51 pages text, and 315 pages appendix) and a scanty Parliamentary return of two folio pages,—the official publications cited at the head of this article,—which, with the characteristic coolness and reserve observable in the revelations vouchsafed from time to time by the Committee of Council, acquaint us with much that is no less surprising than novel, while they leave us in the dark on a variety of points on which clear and detailed information is greatly to be desired. Such as they are, however, we propose to give our readers a brief analysis of their contents.

At the outset of the volume containing the Minutes of the Committee of Council, we have the Cabinet soliloquizing, as in 1839,—the most convenient method, undoubtedly, of legislating on a subject which, in Parliament, would not fail to give rise to the most strenuous opposition. Instead of encountering the hostile opinions of those who are still bold enough to stand up in the senate in defence of our national faith, the Secretary of State for the Home Department—this time not Lord John Russell, but Sir George Grey—addresses a letter, dated “18th November, 1846,” to the Lord President of the Council, being, as he says, “desirous of bringing under his lordship’s notice the subject of the appropriation of sums granted by Parliament towards defraying the expenses of salaries of schoolmasters and schoolmistresses for the children of the destitute in Poor-Law Unions in England and Wales;”—the first grant for this purpose having been made for

the half-year ending 31st March, 1847, and the Home Secretary "anticipating" that similar grants will be made in future years. From this exordium it might be supposed that the Lord President was scarcely cognizant of this parliamentary grant; but this would be a great mistake. It would rather appear as if the whole subject had been fully canvassed before between the Lord President and the Home Secretary, and that of the result of their deliberations, as much as was thought expedient, was now thrown into a form fit to be hereafter officially communicated to Parliament.

"I am aware," says the letter, "from the communications which have taken place between your lordship and myself on this subject, that you entirely concur in the importance of rendering the application of such grants conducive to the increased efficiency of workhouse-schools; and I think that this object may be very materially promoted by the assistance of the Committee of Council on Education."—*Minutes*, p. xiv.

The Home Secretary, to whose department the subject of poor-law unions, and consequently of workhouse-schools, belongs, thinks the Committee of Council on Education (of which he himself is a member) might assist him; and with a view to secure that assistance he addresses himself to the Lord President as the chairman of the Committee of Council. He does not do so, however, like a man who does not know what he wants, or what he would be about; on the contrary, he has the plan of the assistance he requires all ready cut and dried. The plan, in fact, has been concocted by the Committee of Council on Education; and it has been adopted by the Home Secretary simply with a view to relieve the Committee of Council of the appearance of dictatorial interference, by making the interposition of its authority for enacting its own schemes look like a favour done to another department of the State.

"I inclose to your lordship," the letter continues, "a paper *addressed to me*<sup>1</sup> by Mr. Kay Shuttleworth, containing some valuable suggestions on this subject; and I would request that this paper may be submitted for the consideration of the Committee of Council, with a view to the adoption of such measures as, upon consideration, shall appear best calculated to improve the character of the instruction given in the workhouse-schools. I entirely agree in the opinion expressed by Mr. Kay Shuttleworth, that the inspection of these schools cannot properly be discharged amidst the other urgent claims on the time and attention of Assistant Poor Law Commissioners; and I think it is very desirable that this duty should be confided to persons of knowledge and experience, whose time could be devoted to it, and who should be selected for

<sup>1</sup> The title of the paper itself is, "Paper prepared at the request of the Right Hon. Sir George Grey," &c. &c.

the office by the Committee of Council<sup>2</sup>. The establishment of a normal school, for the training of masters for workhouse-schools, is another point of the utmost importance. The establishment of a school of this character, for training masters for prison schools, is also under my consideration; and, although it is essential that the two classes of children should be kept totally separate, the qualifications of the instructors would be the same, and it would probably tend to the efficiency, as well as the economy, of the arrangement, if the two objects were to be combined, and one good normal school established for training masters for both purposes. If your lordship should concur in this opinion, I would propose that the requisite steps should be taken, under the direction of the Committee of Council, and with the sanction of the Lords Commissioners of the Treasury, for the formation of such schools. The choice of a site, and the details of the arrangements, may best be considered when the subject comes before the Committee."—*Minutes*, pp. xiv. xv.

Here, then, by the simple interchange of the "opinions" of three individuals, the Lord President, the Home Secretary, and Mr. Kay Shuttleworth, we arrive by a short cut at the establishment of that which Parliament struggled against most vigorously, when first proposed, viz. :—

1. The subjection of all the workhouse-schools to *the Committee of Council as the supreme educational authority*, without giving the heads of the Established Church so much as the trouble of expressing their opinions.

2. The appointment of *a staff of inspectors* for the exercise of their newly acquired powers, again *by the sole authority of the Committee of Council*, and without reference to the sanction or otherwise of any ecclesiastical authority.

3. The establishment of *a normal school for the training of masters under the sole authority and direction of the Committee of Council*.

It does not for a moment occur to the Secretary of State for the Home Department, that it is not competent for him, by his simple endorsement of the "opinions" of Mr. Kay Shuttleworth, to confer upon the Committee of Council an authority against which upon a former and very recent occasion the Legislature and the heads of the Church have recorded their most decided objections. As if the exercise of such a power on his part was in the strictest conformity to law and established usage, he assumes the fundamental points of his scheme as a basis for immediate action, the only things which remain to be considered being matters of detail, such as the choice of a site and other like arrangements.

Before we proceed to ascertain what the "requisite steps"

<sup>2</sup> The remaining part of this extract, from the words "The establishment of a normal school," &c., is the first document given in the Parliamentary return of August 1, 1849.



were, which the Committee of Council took upon the recommendation of the Home Secretary, it may be worth while to take a look at the "inclosed paper," the production of Mr. Kay Shuttleworth. The "paper" sets out with a few paragraphs of sententious abuse of the existing workhouse-schools—the generality of which are, we dare say, bad enough—by way of introduction to the proposition that, in order to remedy this state of things, "a sound practical education"—that is, education in accordance with the taste, the judgment, and the creed of Mr. Kay Shuttleworth,—is indispensable. He says:—

"To overlook this consequence of the preceding steps of legislation would be to betray a want of confidence in *those moral agencies which the authors of the Poor Law Amendment Act have been accustomed to plead as the true means of elevating the poor.*"—*Minutes*, pp. v. vi.

The phrase which we have marked in italics is remarkable, and inadvertently expressive of the principle which lies at the root of all the endeavours and aspirations of the Committee of Council on Education. It is not on religion, not on Christianity, much less on any definite form of Christianity, that "the authors of the Poor Law Amendment Act," who are also the progenitors of the Committee of Council on Education, rely for "elevating the poor." Their dependence is on certain "moral agencies," to be directed by the Committee of Council through inspectors, teachers, and pupil teachers, and a system of secular instruction, with a dash of "general religion" thrown in, as a sop to the prejudices of a people who have not yet cast off all their religious feelings, nor repudiated all their ecclesiastical traditions.

Mr. Kay Shuttleworth next takes notice of the fact, that, "in the estimates of the Poor Law Commissioners for the year 1846-7, 30,000*l.* was voted for the salaries of the schoolmasters of workhouses;" and, after indulging in a few conjectures as to what he "conceives" to have been "the general outline of Sir Robert Peel's plan for the application of this parliamentary grant," he proceeds to offer a few suggestions for the better carrying out of his own "conception" of another man's plan. The formation of *district* schools, as distinguished from *union* schools, involving the removal of the children from the workhouse altogether, is a favourite project of Mr. Kay Shuttleworth; and we are not prepared to say that we should not agree with him, if the children thus separated from all the demoralizing influences of their pauper condition, instead of being subjected to the "moral agencies" of what the Secretary of the Committee of Council calls a "sound practical education," were to be placed under the nurture and guardianship of their spiritual mother.

The establishment of district schools, however, does not appear

to be attainable for the present, owing to the opposition of the Boards of Guardians, of whom Mr. Kay Shuttleworth expresses a charitable hope that by-and-by they will "acquire a more enlightened view of their responsibilities and interests;" and, waiting this promised illumination, he is willing to content himself with the minor achievement of "introducing progressive improvements into the existing schools." The heads under which he classes his suggestions for this end are:—

"I. The adequacy of the salary of the schoolmasters and mistresses available from this grant.

"II. Whether any and what conditions may properly be required from the Boards of Guardians in consideration of the grant of the salary.

"III. The mode of appointment, and qualifications to be required.

"IV. The officers by whom the school is to be examined, and the nature of the inspection.

"V. The mode of dismissal."—*Minutes*, p. vii.

Under the first head he finds fault with the amount of the parliamentary grant. There are 600 unions, and at least 700 workhouse-schools in England and Wales. The grant of 30,000*l.*, therefore, gives an average of 45*l.* to each such school, apportioned by Mr. Kay Shuttleworth in the proportion of 30*l.* to the master and 15*l.* to the mistress. Instead of this he proposes that the master should receive 40*l.*, the mistress 25*l.*, making a total charge of 45,500*l.* The reader will observe, that although Mr. Shuttleworth contemplates the reduction of the number of schools by the establishment of district schools, he forms his estimate of the grant upon the supposition that all the existing schools shall be provided with efficient masters and mistresses. This, however, is the least remarkable feature in his calculations. On the plea that "persons trained with the hope of having charge of parochial schools" would not be induced to undertake the duties of schoolmasters in a workhouse, he deems it essential that there should be established, in connexion with some good and efficient school, like Norwood school, "a normal school for the training of masters for workhouse-schools, in which they should be prepared for their peculiar position, and in return for their training enter into engagements of service in workhouse-schools for a certain period."

"If such an establishment provided fifty trained masters annually, and the average duration of their service in a workhouse (having a regard to all casualties) were twelve years, these establishments would, ere long, be supplied with a class of efficient masters."—*Minutes*, p. ix.

What is to become of the succession of masters trained at the

normal schools, supposing them, as, of course, the great majority of them would do, to outlive their period of twelve years' service, is not stated; it is not, however, difficult to guess. But of this more anon.

Under the second head, the conditions to be imposed on the guardians for the supply of such masters, there are many excellent regulations as to the schoolmaster's position in the workhouse, the general tendency of which, however, is to emancipate him from the control of the workhouse authorities, and to bring him more immediately under the control and superintendence of the Committee of Council on Education. One of those conditions deserves special notice, bearing, as it does, upon the remoter objects of the scheme, and illustrating, in a remarkable manner, the far-sightedness of Mr. Kay Shuttleworth; we allude to condition D, which makes it compulsory on the Board of Guardians to support, at the discretion of the Inspector of the Committee of Council, "one or more of the most proficient and skilful monitors as assistants to the master," to be apprenticed to him, and provided with a small stipend by the guardians. By this regulation, the Committee of Council will have it in their power to secure an unlimited extent of recruits for their normal school, and their staff of secular schoolmasters, without any difficulty as to funds; any workhouse-school being liable to become, upon the simple *dictum* of the Committee's Inspector, a nursery for the normal school.

Another remarkable feature in this paper of "opinions" is the religious qualification required for the different degrees of certificates to be given to the masters and mistresses, on examination by the inspector. These certificates are, in the first instance, to be of four kinds: certificates of "permission," of "probation," of "competency," and of "efficiency." Throughout there is a marked disproportion between the amount of secular and religious knowledge required of the teacher. The lowest certificate, which only tolerates the teacher *ad interim* till his (or her) place can be supplied by a better, unless he improve himself to the satisfaction of the inspector at the next year's examination, requires that he should read fluently, write correctly for dictation, and be perfect in the first four rules of arithmetic; but in point of religious knowledge it will suffice that he should be able to "answer verbally a few simple questions respecting *the life of our Saviour*." The second certificate, which requires ability to write an abstract of a narrative from memory, in a neat hand and correctly; to work questions in the four simple and compound rules of arithmetic, and to prove his skill in the examination of a class in a reading-lesson, makes, under the head of religion, no higher demand than "to

answer correctly in writing a few simple questions on the life of our Saviour *and his disciples*." The third certificate carries secular proficiency as far as the ability "to describe in writing the organization of his school, explaining the methods of instruction and discipline which he employs, and the course of instruction communicated by him;" to work any question in "the arithmetic of whole numbers, including simple interest;" to "parse and explain the construction of English prose narrative;" to answer questions in "geography, especially that of the United Kingdom and the English colonies;" to "conduct a class, in the presence of the inspector, in such lessons as might be required;" but in point of religious knowledge it rests content with the ability to reply to "a series of questions on *the Scripture narrative and the geography of Palestine*." The highest certificate, that of efficiency, requires evidence of "sound attainments" in "English grammar, composition, etymology, decimal arithmetic, geography, the outlines of English history, and the history and art of organizing and managing a school," and, as concerning religion, in "*Biblical knowledge*," with a special mention of "*Palestine*," under the head of *geography*. No trace whatever appears, on the face of the regulations, of any religious doctrine; creeds and catechisms are wholly out of the question; there is no requirement of "religious" knowledge which Tom Paine might not have abundantly satisfied, no guarantee whatever that the masters formed under the operation of this system shall not be, but rather a strong probability that they will be, a set of Socinians, rationalists, and infidels, attached to no particular religion, belief, or communion, to whom the Bible will be nothing more than a repository of historical and geographical knowledge, the notes to Charles Knight's "Pictorial Bible" containing the "sum" of their "theology."

Under the fourth head of "suggestions," it is proposed that the whole country should be divided, for the purposes of this scheme, into four districts of inspection,—four educational provinces,—with an inspector to each; the metropolitan one being smaller than the rest, in order to leave the inspector time for visiting the normal school, and performing other special services. The qualifications of these functionaries are not "suggested;" they are in the breast of the Committee of Council and of their Secretary: and it is fair to suppose that they would be chosen without reference to their creed, or rather with reference to their having no creed. Clergymen would be wholly out of the question—except, perhaps, such as, having sought relief, under Mr. Bouverie's bill, from the trouble and snare of subscription, might relapse, like Mr. Marshall, the Popish inspector, into the simple condition of "esquires."

The fifth head, which treats of the dismissal of schoolmasters, is curious chiefly as a specimen of the instinctive propensity of the writer's mind to grasp power by indirect and tortuous methods. He sets out with the broad proposition, that the dismissal of schoolmasters should be "vested in the Poor Law Commissioners." But this concession of power to the Commissioners is considerably modified by what follows:—

"If the examination of workhouse-schools, and of candidates for these offices, *were* confided to the Inspectors of Schools, the *necessary* communication with the Poor Law Commissioners would be made *through the office of the Committee of Council on Education*; and, with respect to the appointment and dismissal of schoolmasters, the Poor-Law Commissioners would *receive the Reports of the Committee of Council on Education*, who would award the certificates by which the salaries would be determined.

"*All communications to the Inspectors of Schools from the Poor Law Commissioners would necessarily pass through the office of the Committee of Council on Education.*

"The schoolmaster should be amenable, as a part of the staff of the workhouse, in all respects, to the direct interference of the Poor-Law Commissioners; but, *in what related to school discipline and management*, the Commissioners would *seek information from the Committee of Council on Education.*"—*Minutes*, pp. xiii. xiv.

Thus far Mr. Kay Shuttleworth, and his "paper" of "opinions" and "suggestions." We now return to the proceedings of the Committee of Council on Education, by which these airy nothings have been clothed with substance and reality. They consist of two sets of minutes, dated, respectively, 21st December, 1846, and 18th December, 1847, in which the "paper" of Mr. Kay Shuttleworth is distinctly recognized, but in such terms as do not commit their Lordships to its contents, while, at the same time, the adoption of the suggestions made in it is implied throughout. The Minutes of December 21st, 1846, appear in the General Minutes of the Committee for 1846, previously published, where they seem to have passed muster in the crowd, and to have attracted no particular notice. They consist of two distinct Minutes; the first of which, omitted, for some unaccountable reason, from the volume just published, has reference to the normal school; the other, which is inserted in the recent volume, is to the following effect:—

"The Lord President brought under the consideration of their lordships a letter received from the Secretary of State for the Home Department, dated 18 November, 1846<sup>s</sup>, calling their attention to the

<sup>s</sup> The letter referred to above, p. 111.

fact that 15,000*l.* were granted in the late Session of Parliament towards defraying the expense of salaries of masters and mistresses of pauper schools, and to the importance of rendering grants for this purpose in future years conducive to the increased efficiency of such schools.

“The Lord President also communicated to their lordships a paper, prepared at the request of Sir George Grey, on the administration of these grants.

“From these documents it appeared, that there were upwards of 700 workhouse-schools, and that little progress had hitherto been made in the establishment of schools of industry for districts of unions, owing to the limitation of the radius of such districts in the Act of Parliament authorizing their creation, and also to the limitation of the expense for which the rate-payers under this Act might be rated towards the erection of the requisite buildings. Their lordships were of opinion, that it was expedient to employ inspectors for the examination of workhouse-schools, in order that by their suggestions to the guardians, and upon their reports, measures might be adopted in the administration of these grants to procure the improvement of these schools.

“*Resolved*,—That it is desirable to train the pauper children now in workhouses in habits of industry.

“That with this view, and for the purpose of improving workhouse-schools, four inspectors be appointed, with authority to examine the condition of schools for the education of pauper children, and to ascertain the character and qualifications of the persons employed as school-masters and mistresses, in order that unfit and incompetent persons may no longer be employed in that capacity, and that measures may be taken for awarding salaries according to the qualifications of the masters or mistresses, and the extent of the duties they have to perform.

“That instructions be prepared for the guidance of such inspectors.”  
—*Minutes*, pp. xv. xvi.

In addition to this Minute, there appears to have been another, which is not given in the volume before us; for a Minute of December 18th, 1847, refers to a recommendation made to Her Majesty by the Committee of Council, for the appointment of ~~five~~ [the Minute of 21st December, 1846, mentions only *four*] inspectors, four of whom were, as it appears from the same Minute, in operation in the latter part of the year 1847. Of the appointment of these inspectors, of their duties, salaries, &c. &c., there is no account. That the inspectors, five in number, were in office and in full work, is clear from a variety of documents; but the history of their introduction to their duties is wholly wanting. A letter, containing instructions to Her Majesty's inspectors of schools of parochial unions in England and Wales, does, indeed, appear in the collection; but that bears date of February 5th, 1848; whereas in December, 1847, four of the inspectors had been already at work “for some months.” The



Minute of December 18th, 1847, seems to account for this by stating that their Lordships conceived it expedient to permit the organization of the new Commission of the Poor Laws ere they issued instructions to Her Majesty's inspectors: this, however, is a lame excuse, for it is manifestly impossible that the inspectors could have been appointed and set to work without instructions of some sort; and we are, therefore, led to the conclusion, either that written instructions were given to them, which, for some reason or other, are suppressed in the collection now printed, or, that this new machinery in the hands of the Committee of Council was brought into operation under the mere verbal instructions of the Secretary of the Committee of Council, who is unquestionably the most irresponsible officer in the whole extent of Her Majesty's dominions.

Be this as it may, the Minute of the Committee of Council, dated 18th December, 1847, together with the letter of instructions of February 5th, 1848, and the "Extracts" included in the return, from "Supplementary Letters of Instructions," furnish evidence of the extent to which, as far back as 1847, and wholly unnoticed and unsuspected, a system of State education has been in force throughout the country. From these documents it appears, that the five inspectors' have been at work

<sup>4</sup> One of the most grievous features of the arbitrary and unconstitutional conduct of the Committee of Council is the fragmentary and capricious manner in which information as to their proceedings and schemes is conveyed to Parliament and the public. Thus, some of the Minutes of 1846 are the latest in the collection published in 1848; now, in 1849, we are permitted to know—in extract at least—the proceedings of the Committee to the close of 1847; while the documents of a much later date (some reaching down to June 1849), which could not be kept from publicity, having been put into official circulation, indicate a further expansion of the plans of the Committee, the true character of which will not be fully disclosed till after a further lapse of time, when the mischief done shall be beyond recall. The measures resorted to with regard to the Management Clauses, which were in "unobtrusive" operation for years before they came fairly under public notice, are by no means a solitary instance, but a mere exemplification of the habitual tactics of the Committee of Council, whose evident aim and endeavour is to foist upon the country by surreptitious methods a system of education antagonistic to the Church, and subversive of all true religion.

<sup>5</sup> The five Inspectors are: 1. E. CARLETON TURNELL, Esq., for the "Metropolitan District," comprising the Counties of Middlesex, Kent, Surrey, Sussex, and parts of Essex, Hertfordshire, Berkshire, and Buckinghamshire;—2. JOSHUA RUDDOCK, Esq., for the "Southern District," comprising the Counties of Cornwall, Devon, Dorset, Hants, Oxford, Somerset, and Wilts, a portion of Berkshire and Buckinghamshire;—3. H. G. BOWYER, Esq., for the "Eastern and Midland Districts," comprising the Counties of Lincoln, Norfolk, Suffolk, Cambridge, Huntingdon, Nottingham, Leicester, Northampton, Bedford, Warwick, and Stafford, and a portion of Essex and Hertfordshire;—4. T. B. BROWNE, Esq., for the Northern Districts, comprising the Counties of Northumberland, Cumberland, Durham, Westmoreland, York, Lancaster, Chester, and Derby;—5. JELINGER C. SYMONS, Esq., B.A., Barrister at Law, for Wales, and the Counties of Worcester, Hereford, Salop, Monmouth, and the chief part of Gloucestershire. This division of the country into "Districts" is very nearly coincident with that adopted by the intruded popish epis-

from the latter part of 1847, visiting every union school in the United Kingdom, and placing every master and mistress after examination under the immediate control of the Committee of Council. According to the Minute of 18th December, 1847, the salaries of all the teachers employed under the Poor Law Commissioners, which were provisionally suffered to continue upon the old scale, are for the present year (1849) dependent on the certificates obtained by them at the examination of 1848, these certificates themselves being *determined by the Committee of Council on Education*, upon the "Report and Examination Papers submitted by Her Majesty's Inspectors of Schools." The same Minute provides "that one-half the stipends of pupil-teachers (under the Minutes of August and December, 1846), and the entire gratuities to the teacher for the successful education of apprentices, be granted to teachers of workhouse-schools holding certificates of competency or efficiency, on condition that the stipend of the pupil-teacher be *reserved by the Committee of Council on Education*, to form a fund which shall be given to him on his leaving the workhouse, if he successfully complete his apprenticeship, *in order to provide for his further education in any training school which he may enter with their Lordships' approbation.*"

The "Letters of Instructions" to the inspectors have reference chiefly to the regulations contemplated by the Committee for the classification of the masters and mistresses, with reference to their competency and consequent remuneration; to the views entertained at the Council Office with regard to the introduction of the industrial element into pauper schools; and to certain limitations of the power of the inspectors, which the excessive zeal of these functionaries appears to have called forth, by exciting the jealousy of the guardians and other authorities connected with the Poor Laws. There is one passage, however, on the subject of the religious instruction contemplated in union schools, to which it is desirable that attention should be called. The passage is as follows:—

"The letter of the Poor Law Commissioners to the Chaplain of the Norwood School of Industry, conveying their view of the mode in which his spiritual instructions might most effectually promote the education of such children, deserves your attentive perusal.

"Before this letter was issued, it was submitted to the Bishops of London and Winchester, and approved by them; it may therefore be

copate, and, superseding the old established divisions, both civil and ecclesiastical, is itself a curious feature of the scheme, reminding one involuntarily of the recorded opinion of Mr. J. Kay, that Protestantism will not do for the masses, that Popery is the thing for them.

regarded as having authority, and the experience of several years now confirms the wisdom of its suggestions. If this letter be not in the hands of the chaplains of the Unions which you visit, it may be well to introduce it to their consideration."—*Minutes*, p. xxi.

No copy of the letter here referred to is given in the volume, nor any clue to the circumstances under which the approbation of the two prelates named by Mr. Shuttleworth may have been obtained; but, remembering the facility with which that gentleman has been wont to procure the highest sanction for his plans, we feel some curiosity, we confess, to know what these instructions are, which, we are told, "may be regarded as having authority." As a general rule, it appears that the office of the Poor Law Chaplains in superintending the religious instruction of the children is recognized,—a recognition which would be more satisfactory if the position of these functionaries were less precarious and dependent, and if there were any trace in the Papers before us that it is intended to commit to them any thing beyond a merely nominal share of the superintendence of the schools, and, in the event of district schools being formed, to appoint Chaplains as superintendents over them. As it is, the Chaplain plays in these documents an exceedingly insignificant and almost supernumerary part, and he will not, under the arrangements here contemplated, be in a position to counteract the infection of a purely secular tone of mind which the masters and mistresses trained under the auspices of the Committee of Council are likely to import into the Parochial Union Schools.

From the instructions given to the inspectors, and still more from their reports, it is evident that in the teaching of the schools under the direction of the Committee of Council religion is intended to be made as little prominent as we have already seen that it is in the examination of the teachers. From this observation we must, however, except the report of Mr. Browne, who has placed sentiments on record in relation to this point which do him great credit, but which, we fear, ill accord with the general spirit of the system under which he is employed.

"Defective," he says, "as the education of the poor has hitherto been in this country, religious instruction has clearly been the point least neglected, and it is probable that to the deeper influence and more extensive prevalence of religious principles here, more than to any other single cause, we owe our freedom from the convulsions which have recently agitated the Continent of Europe. No system of general education, I am persuaded, of which the Scriptures are not made the basis, can be expected to accomplish moral, nor, perhaps, even intellectual results of importance. As false views of human nature seem inseparably associated with infidelity, which regards man at one

time as a monster of selfishness, and at another as destined to reach a vague and visionary perfection by his own unassisted efforts, and thus consigns its followers either to despair of themselves and their species, or urges them upon impracticabilities,—so the Bible is not only the solitary record of religious truth in existence, but appears also to have the power of teaching common sense beyond all other books. It enables us to estimate ourselves rightly, by setting before us, with a singular healthiness of tone, and a constant reference to duty, the world as it is, men as they are : it acts upon the understanding through the heart and the conscience ; it is light, and growth is a consequence of light.

“ But as the Bible not only furnishes us with rules and principles of conduct, not only elevates and purifies the mind and feelings, but reveals to us the mystery of our redemption and ‘the words of everlasting life,’ no ordinary responsibility must rest upon those who would attempt in any degree to diminish its influence, much more to exclude it from mixed schools, such as those in workhouses, where children of all religious persuasions may meet, on the plea that it is differently interpreted by different sects. It may be that these alleged differences of interpretation among Protestants are greatly exaggerated. It may be added, with more confidence, that such points do not, or need not, arise in the study of those passages of Scripture which are best adapted to the comprehension of children, and that therefore the assumed difficulty can hardly be said to exist. And here I am enabled to speak from personal experience, as not only many children in the schools I have inspected belong to various denominations, but teachers also ; and it is very probable that this state of things may continue, if ordinary discretion is exercised, without discord, and without compromise of religious truth.

“ The advocates of a merely secular education will, I am aware, profess that they do not intend to deprive children of religious instruction, but maintain that it should be given to the children of each denomination apart, and out of the school, by their respective ministers. In the case of Roman Catholic children this may be unavoidable ; but such an arrangement can hardly fail to have a bad effect on the mind of the child. He will naturally attach most importance to that kind of knowledge which obtains for him distinction among his fellows, and if the Bible is excluded from his school, it will probably sink in his estimation. Many educated men may recollect instances of the display of a similar feeling in the course of their own experience. There is, further, little security that such instruction in private will be effectually given, for whatever is not done openly is seldom done well.

“ A merely secular education is the most prodigious of experiments ; and they who maintain a proposition so strange and extravagant, as that a child will walk in the right way without right principles to guide him, or with such principles only as he may himself select, are bound to specify instances, and those neither few nor ambiguous, where their scheme has been tried and prospered. All who have any definite

religious opinions must feel the importance and desire the acceptance of what they sincerely believe to be true.

“To avoid unfair attempts at proselyting, which would be an abuse of the workhouse, and at the same time to avoid all compromise of religious truth, seems difficult; but it is a difficulty to be overcome, not by art or study, but by a simple and honest mind, and which can hardly indeed be overcome otherwise. If the Bible is read in a cavilling spirit, or to justify preconceived opinions, it may become the germ of controversies innumerable: it should be read with a sincere desire to ascertain its real sense; but all compromise produces indifference to truth, and destroys the teacher's power over the consciences of children.

“Believing, then, that sound Scriptural principles form the only real security for the future good conduct and happiness of every child, I have always made religious instruction the most important point in the examination of schools. At the same time, I can fully subscribe, from my own experience, to the opinion of Inspectors generally, ‘that there is most religious knowledge in those schools where the reading of the Scriptures is united in a just proportion with secular instruction,’ and that ‘no ordinary sacrifice is made of the veneration due to the word of God, when it is constantly applied to a secular use.’”—*Minutes*, pp. 145—147.

With these observations, as far as they are opposed to a merely secular education, we, of course, fully accord; but we apprehend considerable difficulty in their practical application, from the proposed exclusion of all distinctive doctrines, the instruction being confined to the vague generalities of what are called “sound scriptural principles,”—a phrase which practically means nothing at all, where it is left to chance what shall be considered “sound scriptural principles,” and where probably any distinctive religious dogma, however scriptural, would be objected to as “sectarian.” Under such circumstances, and with teachers whose religious qualifications are restricted to “sound biblical knowledge,” there is reason to fear that the experiment of teaching a “general religion” will not be much more successful in English union schools than it appears to have been in Germany, according to two anecdotes told by Mr. Browne, which we transcribe in this place, as they accurately embody the sort of thing which we imagine will result from the system pursued by the Committee of Council.

“I was present at an examination in a German mixed school, consisting of Protestant and Roman Catholic children. With the view, I suppose, of securing impartiality, the schoolmaster was a Roman Catholic, and the schoolmistress a Protestant. The schoolmaster examined a class on the subject of the marriage at Cana. He drew the attention of the children to the facts, that the rain which fell in vineyards was imbibed by the alimentary vessels of the vine through the roots and the leaves; that it contributed to the growth and juice

of the grapes, which, when ripened by the heat of the sun, were gathered, pressed out, and, after fermentation, became wine. He thus gave a good physical lesson ; but its effect on the minds of the children must surely have been to lead them to confound a miracle with the ordinary operations of nature.

“ He probably felt himself precluded from the subject of religion as dangerous ground, and was therefore compelled to exercise his ingenuity in secularizing Scripture.

“ In another German school, where I heard the history of Ananias and Sapphira read, and where both the inspector, a Protestant clergyman, and the schoolmaster were present, the moral and religious points were very imperfectly elicited. The inspector and the teacher alternately harangued the boys instead of questioning them ; and, of the few questions asked, some were trivial and irrelevant, as, ‘ Into how many languages has the Bible been translated ? ’ ” — *Minutes*, pp. 146, 147.

The fears which upon this account we cannot help entertaining, are confirmed by certain indications which occasionally peep out in the inspectors’ reports, and even in the report of Mr. Browne himself, of a tendency to curtail the exercise of reading the Bible in the schools, and to substitute for it the reading of books of secular information. We feel as strong an objection as any one to the desecration of the Bible as a mere reading-book ; but we object still more strongly to the neglect of the Bible, under pretence of veneration for it, in schools in which the opportunities of the children to be taught reading are exceedingly limited. That the Bible should not be made a spelling-book, is agreed on all hands ; but, when children have attained a sufficient proficiency in the rudiments of the art of reading to enable them to read connected sentences, and the reading of a portion of Holy Scripture daily occupies as much of their time as they can give to the exercise of reading, we contend that no secular book should be permitted to supplant the Bible. It is far better that a child should leave school, well versed in the Bible, though possibly backward in the art of reading in other books, than that he should have gained a certain facility of reading in secular books, at the expense of his knowledge of the Bible. We are the more urgent on this point, because it appears, from the reports of the inspectors, that their interference in the system of the work-house-schools has had a general tendency to diminish the reading of the Bible, and to introduce books of miscellaneous contents in its place ; and one of them, Mr. Bowyer, has had the candour to record the effect of this proceeding. Having made two tours of inspection through his district, and visited the same schools at the distance of six months, he gives the following tabular statement of the result of the alterations introduced in compliance with his directions.



Condition of Workhouse Education at the time of my First Tour, extending from October 14, 1847, to May 10, 1848<sup>6</sup>.

	Boys.	Proportion of Boys under each Head to the Total Number.	Girls and Infants.	Proportion of Girls and Infants under each Head to the Total Number.
PRESENT . . . . .	4307	. .	4790	. .
Number of Children reading the Scriptures with ease . . . . .	1440	1 in 2.98	1362	1 in 3.49
Ditto Books of General Information with ease . . . . .	745	1 in 5.78	596	1 in 8.03
Number of Children Writing on Paper from Copies . . . . .	1761	1 in 2.44	1247	1 in 3.84
Ditto on Slates from Dictation and Memory . . . . .	482	1 in 8.93	311	1 in 15.40
Number of Children in Arithmetic—				
Addition . . . . .	445	1 in 9.67	475	1 in 10.08
Three Simple Rules . . . . .	653	1 in 6.59	517	1 in 9.26
Compound Rules and Reduction . . . . .	524	1 in 8.21	302	1 in 15.86
Proportion and Practice . . . . .	172	1 in 25.04	16	1 in 299.37
Geography . . . . .	256	1 in 16.82	57	1 in 84.08
Grammar . . . . .	60	1 in 71.78	13	1 in 368.46
History of England . . . . .	61	1 in 70.60	30	1 in 159.66

Condition of Workhouse Education at my Second Tour, extending from May 10, 1848, to November 15 in the same Year.

PRESENT . . . . .	3663	. .	3927	. .
Number of Children reading the Scriptures with ease . . . . .	1226	1 in 2.98	1005	1 in 3.92
Ditto Books of General Information with ease . . . . .	801	1 in 4.57	606	1 in 6.51
Number of Children Writing on Paper from Copies . . . . .	1716	1 in 2.13	1296	1 in 3.03
Ditto on Slates from Dictation and Memory . . . . .	332	1 in 11.02	204	1 in 19.25
Number of Children in Arithmetic—				
Addition . . . . .	393	1 in 9.32	431	1 in 9.10
Three Simple Rules . . . . .	715	1 in 5.12	601	1 in 6.51
Compound Rules and Reduction . . . . .	654	1 in 5.60	330	1 in 11.90
Proportion and Practice . . . . .	176	1 in 20.81	32	1 in 122.71
Geography . . . . .	443	1 in 8.26	238	1 in 16.55
Grammar . . . . .	132	1 in 27.75	56	1 in 70.12
History of England . . . . .	110	1 in 33.3	44	1 in 89.22

<sup>6</sup> Minutes, p. 74.

From this table it appears that, while in almost every branch of instruction a marked improvement had taken place, the facility of reading the Holy Scriptures had remained stationary among the boys, and actually retrograded among the girls; whereas it ought to have improved, at the very least, in the same ratio in which the pupils generally advanced in knowledge and intelligence.

This consideration becomes still more weighty when the class of books is taken into account which has at the suggestion of the inspectors been introduced into these schools. Among them, we regret to find that the lesson-books of the Irish National Education Board occupy a conspicuous place, which is but another specimen of the insidious system which is at work by the agency of the Committee of Council, and which aims distinctly at supplanting the National Church as the teacher of the rising generation, by a system of State instruction of an essentially secular and—as far as it professes any religion—latitudinarian character. We are, therefore, far from displeased to find from the reports that the good sense of the guardians offers considerable obstruction to the introduction of so much secular knowledge into the schools, and that the process of enlightening these functionaries as to what constitutes “sound practical education” is not quite as rapid and successful as Mr. Kay Shuttleworth appears to have anticipated.

Before we take leave of the inspectors’ labours, we must not omit to notice two topics which are much dwelt upon, and which, on account of their evident importance, deserve the most careful consideration. One is a new theory, originating, we presume, in that famous nursery of educational theories, the Council Office, which contemplates no less an innovation in the education of our pauper children than the association of the two sexes in the school during a certain portion of the day. It is scarcely worth while to recapitulate, much less to refute, the arguments adduced in support of this un-English proposal. We only mention it, as one of the dangers which are threatening the education of our people under the auspices of the Committee of Council, whose educational vagaries, if not checked, will terminate in rationalism and socialism as their legitimate results. The other point to which we are desirous of directing attention is one on which we are happy to be able to express our concurrence in the plans contemplated by the Committee of Council, viz. the connexion of industrial, and especially of agricultural pursuits, with pauper schools. That this would be an immense improvement cannot for a moment be doubted, even without the conclusive evidence supplied from various quarters as to the general inability

of pauper children to get their livelihood by honest means after leaving the workhouse-school. As the case stands at present, the workhouse-schools are little better than seminaries for young criminals, who, after burdening the country with the cost of their so-called education, entail upon it the further expense of their repeated capture, imprisonment, and eventual transportation, to say nothing of the injury inflicted by them upon society while they are at large. The reports of Mr. Bowyer and Mr. Symons are particularly full on this subject, and the latter throws out a suggestion which has struck us as being exceedingly valuable. He says:—

“I am of opinion that it would be advisable to have a school for each county, and for each division of the larger counties. In this case the maximum distance of the district school from each of the workhouses to which it belonged would be from 15 to 20 miles (exceptional cases excepted). This would enable a single horse to go and return from the district school to any of the workhouses during a day. I suggest that a horse be kept for this express purpose. It would be a very trifling item in the expenditure of a farm school, and it would give a constant and easy means of transit for the children who might require removal to and fro. It should be the rule to send all children to the district school as soon as they enter the workhouse, without reference to the probable period of their stay. By such means only shall we obtain the full measure of the benefit we justly expect from district schools. The inconvenience of sending the children frequently backwards and forwards, even if it occurred as often as the objectors imagine, would be nothing compared to the evil of leaving them in the workhouses.

“Such an arrangement, moreover, would entirely supersede the necessity of retaining any school teachers whatever in the workhouses.”—*Minutes*, p. 25.

It is quite refreshing once more to hear mention made of the county as a recognised subdivision of the kingdom. Why, indeed, should not every county have its agricultural and industrial schools—or schools, if one be found insufficient—for the instruction and education of its pauper children? And why should not that school be committed to the charge of the proper civil and ecclesiastical authorities of the county? What need is there of a Committee of Council, with its secretary and inspectors? why not place the school under the control of the lord-lieutenant and the magistracy of the county, with the bishop for its visitor, the master being supplied from a diocesan training school, or, if preferred, from a central normal school for the education of industrial and agricultural teachers, under the auspices of the National Church? With such a provision for the training of the children in sound principles of religion and loyalty, there might

be hope of the pauper population of our land being retrieved from the state of degradation into which it has fallen.

Unfortunately there is not much hope that Mr. Symons' suggestion, in the enlarged form in which we have reproduced it, will find favour at the Council Office; still the idea is valuable, and should not be lost sight of. Better times may come, and with these, better measures, when a practical hint of this kind may come into use. In the mean time it behoves us to keep a watchful eye upon the movements of those anti-national and anti-religious theories of education that are now in the ascendant; and, with this view, we resume our examination of the evidence to be gathered from the documents on pauper education, which are lying before us.

In order to estimate the importance of the movement made, or rather the march stolen, by the Committee of Council in this matter, it is desirable to ascertain as far as possible the extent and working of this branch of national education; for which purpose different elements must be taken into account. One of them, and a very striking one, is the greater facility and success with which the education of children entirely under the control of their teachers is conducted, as illustrated by the following table, inserted in Mr. Bowyer's report, which is founded upon the result of his own observations, compared with those of the Rev. H. Moseley, in his Report of the National Schools of the Midland district, being nearly coincident with the district under Mr. Bowyer's inspection':—

Total Number in the Schools.	National School Children.	Workhouse Children.
Number in the Schools	10,042	7,590
Reading the Scriptures with ease . . . . .	1 in 7·31	1 in 3·41
Writing on paper . . . . .	1 in 4·88	1 in 2·52
In the 4 Simple Rules . . . . .	1 in 3·71	1 in 3·55
In the Compound Rules . . . . .	1 in 11·78	1 in 7·73
In Proportion and upwards . . . . .	1 in 43·66	1 in 32·80
In Grammar . . . . .	1 in 10·77	1 in 40·47
In Etymology . . . . .	1 in 38·18	1 in 59·82
In History of England . . . . .	1 in 10·66	1 in 49·41
In Geography . . . . .	1 in 6·34	1 in 11·17

With the exception of the last four branches of education, which are generally neglected in workhouse education, there is a

' Minutes, p. 77.

remarkable balance in favour of the latter, even in its present indifferent state. Those who are practically acquainted with the drawbacks upon the progress of children at parochial schools, arising from irregularity of attendance, and other causes which residence in the workhouse at once cuts off, will not feel surprised at this result; and we may infer, from the contrast which the two kinds of schools exhibit even now, how great would be the superiority of schools in which the children of the poor are lodged and boarded, if they were conducted by masters and mistresses equal in ability to the generality of national school teachers. At the same time it must be borne in mind, that in proportion as schools of the latter class are more powerful than the ordinary national schools, in the same manner does it become a question of the utmost consequence, what sort of education is imparted in them, whether sound and religious, or unsound and latitudinarian, that is, practically irreligious.

Another element for ascertaining the importance of pauper education, as a branch of the general education of the people, is the number of children which are likely to come under the operation of the former. From the reports of the inspectors we learn, that the workhouse-schools inspected by them—and it is evident that they have not yet completed their survey of the country—contain an average of 50,000 scholars. Admitting this to be the whole number of children throughout the country lodged in workhouses, even that would amount to about one-twentieth of the children under instruction in the day schools of the Church. But there are passages in the reports which lead to a suspicion that the Committee of Council intend, by their scheme of pauper education, to get a much larger portion of the children of the lower classes within their grasp. The number of 50,000, above mentioned, includes only the children of in-door paupers. But inquiries have been set on foot to ascertain the number of out-door pauper children; and the object with which this has been done will be seen by the following extract from Mr. Symons' report. After pointing out the restrictions which impeded the establishment of district pauper schools, under the statute 7 and 8 Victoria, c. 101, Mr. Symons thus proceeds:—

“These limits have been since removed by the 10 and 11 Vict. c. 82, which enables the Poor Law Commissioners to form district schools, wherever ‘the major part of the Guardians of the several Unions, and parishes not in union, proposed to be combined, shall previously thereto consent *in writing* to such combination.’

“This recent Act has unlocked the wise provisions of 7 and 8 Vict. c. 101, which I will take the liberty of recapitulating, as they are all-important to the due consideration of the subject.

“ Section 40 enacts—

“ ‘ That it shall be lawful for the said Commissioners, as and when they may see fit, by order under their hands and seal, to combine Unions, or parishes not in union, or such parishes and Unions, into school districts, for the management of any class or classes of infant poor not above the age of sixteen years, being chargeable to any such parish or Union, who are orphans, or are deserted by their parents, or whose parents or surviving parent or guardians are consenting to the placing of such children in the school of such district.’

“ I think it is clearly the intent of this clause that it shall be competent to the Boards of Guardians to send *all pauper children* to the district school falling within the above conditions, so long as they are anywise chargeable to their respective parishes or Unions. The words ‘any class or classes’ appear to me expressly to include the children of out-door paupers, as well as all children within the workhouse, of a fit age to be removed from their mothers, and whose parents or guardians do not object to such removal. These are very important powers, which must materially enhance the value and extend the usefulness of this salutary Act of Parliament.

“ Perhaps there are no children in the kingdom whom it is more essential to rescue from the mismanagement of their parents, and the bad example of their families and companions, than the children of out-door paupers,—a class usually characterized by habits and vices disastrous to the morals of young persons, exposed to the contamination of their influence and society. I deem it therefore as essential, if not more so, to give such children the benefits of the moral and industrial discipline of a district school, as to afford it to the children now subjected to the contagion and confinement of a workhouse.

“ My Lords will observe, from the table inserted in the Appendix, that I have endeavoured to procure returns of the number of these out-door children, and the proportion they bear to the in-door children. It appears that of the whole number no less than 88 per cent. are out-door children. This gives an ample supply for moderately sized district schools, even in districts which are not populous.”—*Minutes*, pp. 253, 254.

Now, if we apply this proportion to the number of in-door pauper children before mentioned, viz. 50,000, it appears that there are about 370,000 children of out-door paupers throughout the country, which the present measure of the Committee of Council contemplates; making in all upwards of 400,000 children to be placed entirely under the control of the Committee of Council, its inspectors and teachers. This raises the question into one of first-rate national importance; for it amounts to no less than this, whether it be desirable for the well-being of this country, that an intellectual area, equal to nearly one-half of that occupied by the National Church, should be surrendered to the secular and secularizing influence of the Committee of Council,



being withdrawn for this purpose from the influence of the National Clergy, under whose superintendence these children at present fall, and to whose cures they belong. But this is not the whole extent of the projected encroachment. Mr. Symons in his report goes on to say:—

“I may perhaps be allowed to suggest that, in cases where the parents of a large family are struggling creditably against adverse circumstances, and are compelled to apply for temporary relief, it may often effectually aid them, and prevent their lapsing into a state of entire pauperism, to admit one or two of their children into the district school; this, with the consent of the Poor Law Commissioners, would be perfectly practicable. I have, however, felt it right to abstain from encouraging the notion that these district schools will be open to the admission of the children of parents nowise chargeable to parish relief; for the present law does not warrant it, however beneficial it may hereafter become. Such a measure has been often suggested to me.”—*Min.* p. 254.

It is easy to see what an opening there is here for the still further extension of the secular education scheme of 1839, now revived in connexion with the pauper education of the country; and what a powerful effect in alienating the affections of the great mass of the people from the National Church, and the faith of their fathers, would be produced, in one or two generations, by the education of half, perhaps more than half, the children of the poor, in separation from her ordinances and in total ignorance of her doctrines, with no more of religious knowledge than the Socinian has in common with the Churchman. Nor will the vastness and subtlety of this far-seeing scheme astonish those who have watched the proceedings of the Committee of Council from their origin, and the various attempts—not forgetting the Factories Education Bill—made with a view to break in pieces, if possible, that great rock of offence to the latitudinarian faction in the State, sound Church teaching throughout the land.

One more link, however, is still wanting to complete the evidence of the extent of this scheme; it is that to which we adverted at the outset of our article, viz. the Normal School at Kneller Hall. The history of this establishment is left in convenient obscurity even by the present publication of the Committee of Council, and the Parliamentary return of the 1st of August, 1849; and it is only by circumstantial evidence that the deficiency of information can be supplied. The volume cited at the head of this article contains not one word of explanation on the subject. There is only in the “paper” prepared by Mr. Kay Shuttleworth, at the request of Sir George Grey, the suggestion of such an establishment, which might provide fifty trained masters annually. In the reports of the inspectors,

“Kneller Hall” is once or twice mentioned by name; and at other times the normal school is alluded to, but without any further indication of its nature and extent beyond Mr. Bowyer’s observation,—the most circumstantial mention of the “Hall” anywhere in the volume,—that “the most important of those measures (of the Committee of Council for pauper education) are, the establishment, at Kneller Hall, of a training school for workhouse-schoolmasters, and the introduction of pupil-teachers into workhouse-schools.” Indeed, so little is said about this institution in the volume before us, that its very existence might escape the reader’s attention but for a flaming lithograph of its magnificent frontage opposite the title-page, and four ground-plans of its different stories at the end of the book. The Parliamentary return of the 1st of August, however, contains a Minute on the subject, dated the 20th of December, 1846, which is also printed among the Minutes of the Committee of Council of 1846, to the following effect:—

*“Normal Schools for Training Masters for Workhouse-Schools, and for Penal Schools.”*

“Their lordships had further under their consideration the measures required to carry into execution the suggestions of the Secretary of State for the Home Department, for the establishment of normal and model schools for the training of masters of schools for pauper and for criminal children.

“*Resolved*—That a building be erected for the normal school, providing accommodation for a principal, vice-principal, two masters, and for 100 candidate teachers.

“That it be referred to the Lord President and Secretary of the State for the Home Department, to cause plans to be prepared for this purpose.

“That, as two years must elapse before this building can be ready for occupation, premises be in the mean time procured, in which the normal school may be temporarily conducted; and that these premises be situated, if possible, near some workhouse or other school, which may serve as a practising school during the interval.

“That, in connexion with the normal school, a model school of industry be erected for the pauper children of some of the London unions, who may be received into this school, either on contract by a steward with the unions, or by letting the building to a district of unions for the reception of children, under the direction of a board of management, according to the provisions of the 7 and 8 Vict. c. 101.

“That, in connexion with this normal school, but distinct and separate from the school for pauper children, a school be erected for criminal children, and that plans of buildings for the school of industry for pauper children, and for this separate penal school, be prepared and submitted to the Secretary of State for the Home Department.

“ That it be referred to the Lord President and Secretary of State for the Home Department, to cause regulations to be prepared for the management of the normal school, and of the practising schools as connected with it, as well as for the pauper school of industry and the penal school.

“ That an area of at least 10 acres is desirable for the normal school, 10 acres for the pauper school, and 10 for the penal school, in order that training in gardening, and the management of a cottage farm, may be successfully pursued.

“ That the following general estimate of outlay on the buildings, and of annual expenditure, be approved :—

*Buildings.*

	£.
The buildings of the normal school . . .	10,000
The buildings of the pauper school . . .	5,000
The buildings of the penal school . . .	5,000
Annual charge of normal school . . .	3,500

“ That it be referred to the Lord President and Secretary of State for the Home Department to direct the selection of the buildings required for the temporary management of the normal school, and to determine the number of officers which may be required during the gradual growth of the establishment.

“ That the qualifications of the candidates for the offices of teachers in these schools be subjected to a careful examination, under the direction of the Lord President; and that the several schools be, from time to time, inspected by Her Majesty’s Inspectors, and a report thereon submitted to the Committee of Council, and transmitted by their lordships to the Secretary of State for the Home Department.”—*Minutes*, pp. 13—15.

Why this Minute has not been transferred, along with other papers relating to the Union Schools scheme, to the volume specifically devoted to this subject, we are, of course, unable to explain. The omission could hardly be accidental; and from the fact that the account given of the Kneller Hall establishment in the Parliamentary return does not tally with the scheme set out in the Minute, it would appear that subsequent Minutes must have superseded it. At the same time no such further Minute, nor any document whatever, calculated to throw light upon the internal organization of Kneller Hall, is given in the Parliamentary return. The only information contained in the Parliamentary return, beyond the short extract from Sir G. Grey’s letter of the 18th of November, 1846 (see p. 111), and the Minute of the 21st of December, 1846, given above, is the following statement :—

“ Pursuant to this Minute, and with the approval of Her Majesty’s

Commissioners of Woods and Forests, and with the consent of the Lords Commissioners of the Treasury, an estate at Kneller Hall, comprising about 45a. 1r. 24p., was purchased for 10,500*l.*, or, including interest on purchase-money from the 8th of August to the 17th of September, 1847, for 10,557*l.* 10*s.* 6*d.* The expenses attending the title and conveyance amounted to 366*l.* 8*s.* 5*d.*

"A contract with the builder has been entered into for 17,836*l.* 6*s.* 2*d.*, with subsequent additions, amounting to 1,788*l.* 0*s.* 5*d.*,<sup>8</sup> with the same approval and consent.

"Fixtures of various kinds, exclusively of furniture, have been contracted for to the amount of 2,293*l.* 9*s.*"

"A clerk of the works has been employed for 68 weeks, at 4*l.* 14*s.* 6*d.* per week, 321*l.* 6*s.* A gardener and general workman, living on the premises, has been employed for 63 weeks, at 18*s.* per week, 56*l.* 14*s.*; and for 26 weeks, at 20*s.* per week, 26*l.* Total expense of servants up to present time, 404*l.*

"Miscellaneous expenses, such as repairs, &c., 422*l.* 19*s.* 5½*d.*; against which is to be set proceeds of sale of grass and crops, 236*l.* 16*s.*; balance of expenses, 186*l.* 3*s.* 5½*d.*

"The foregoing expenses are charged upon the grant annually voted by Parliament for education.

"The officers already appointed, are :—

"1. The Rev. F. Temple, M.A., lately Fellow of Balliol College, Oxford, Principal, at a salary of 600*l.* per annum, to rise to 800*l.* in three years, with a furnished house.

"2. F. T. Palgrave, Esq., Fellow of Exeter College, Oxford, Vice-Principal, at a salary of 400*l.* per annum, to rise to 500*l.* in three years, with furnished rooms.

"3. Mr. Tate, one of the masters in the Battersea Normal School (author of some of the most approved works connected with elementary instruction, and a highly successful teacher), third master.

"4. Mr. Tilleard, formerly a student at Norwood and Battersea, and for some time a pupil of M. Fellenberg, fourth master."

Though it is here stated in general terms, that "the foregoing expenses are charged upon the grant annually voted by Parliament for education," it does not appear exactly how this large outlay was met. It is by no means improbable that the amount was

	£	s.	d.
<sup>8</sup> Library and reading room . . . . .	498	0	5
Baths and Washhouses . . . . .	540	0	0
Works connected with supply of water . . . . .	750	0	0
<sup>9</sup> Gas fittings . . . . .	296	14	0
Iron work in kitchen . . . . .	366	10	0
Iron work in baths . . . . .	363	15	0
Bells . . . . .	16	10	0
Warming apparatus . . . . .	300	0	0
Waterworks . . . . .	950	0	0

saved out of the 30,000*l.* grant for workhouse schoolmasters and mistresses which came into operation on the 1st of October, 1846. Of the appropriation of this money, amounting to the close of the current quarter to 90,000*l.*, no account appears in the volume before us; the salaries, according to the scale fixed by the Commissioners, did not come into operation till the 1st of April of the present year; and, up to the end of June last, the annual salaries sanctioned by the Committee of Council did not amount to more than 10,974*l.* 16*s.*—This one year alone, therefore, would leave a large balance at the disposal of the Committee; and, whatever may have been the payments made under the previous arrangements, it is hardly to be supposed that they greatly, if at all, exceeded the above amount. In any event there must have been a large margin left, for defraying the expense of the five inspectors, and, it is not unreasonable to suppose, for the erection of Kneller Hall. The first grant specifically for Kneller Hall, was for 18,000*l.* in the present year; yet the Hall is already built at an outlay, including the purchase of the site, of upwards of 30,000*l.*, as was correctly stated by the *John Bull* in July. But even then no intimation was given of the nature of the Kneller Hall establishment, nor, we may be sure, would the unostentatious character of the whole of the proceedings connected with it have been dragged into light, but for the disclosures which took place through the vigilance of the friends of the Church, and the consequent inquiries in and out of Parliament. The money, therefore, which has been spent upon this establishment is money spent *distinctly without Parliamentary sanction*, for an object *distinctly repudiated by Parliament*. The discovery having taken place so late in the Session (the return being “ordered to be printed” on the day of the prorogation) rendered it impossible for Parliament to follow up the inquiry; but we trust that the surreptitious manner in which 30,000*l.* has been spent, literally behind the back of Parliament, in pursuance of a scheme against which, had it been honestly announced and canvassed beforehand, the country would have risen as one man, will not be suffered to escape next Session, but that the whole of this flagrant transaction will then be brought under the consideration of both Houses, and the entire Poor Law Education Scheme, of which Kneller Hall is the *focus*, dealt with according to its deserts.

Meanwhile it will not be uninteresting to investigate the capabilities of Kneller Hall, as far as they can be ascertained by examining the lithographs before mentioned. On them we have counted eighty-six dormitories—besides the principal’s and master’s bedrooms—of the average dimensions of 8 feet by 12; capable, therefore, of accommodating at least two beds each, or, in the whole, making

allowance for the sleeping accommodation of domestics, at least 160, and 180 candidate teachers. This calculation is confirmed by the size of the dining-hall, 30' 6" by 29' 6", in which there would certainly be room for five tables seating thirty-two persons each; and by the size of the "oratory," 36 feet by 21, also large enough to accommodate about that number. On comparing the Minute of the 21st of December, 1846, which speaks of 100 candidate teachers, with Mr. Kay Shuttleworth's letter, on which the Minute is founded, and which supposes an annual supply of fifty teachers, it would appear that two years is the average period fixed for training, and that, therefore, Kneller Hall is capable of providing eighty teachers per annum.

The question, then, arises, what employment there could be for eighty schoolmasters issuing annually from this academy of secular knowledge and "general religion." The workhouse-schools are, as we have seen, from 600 to 700 in number; and of the old masters 226 have already obtained certificates. About 400 new masters, therefore, is the very outside of what can be required, and these would be supplied in the course of five years; after which there would be no market for the *alumni* of Kneller Hall, supposing them to be destined for workhouse-schools only. But even this is reckoning upon a far larger demand than will actually occur, the Committee of Council having determined upon the formation of district schools in which the children of from four to five unions would be collected together. After this measure shall have been effected, there will be from 150 to 180 district schools at most; a number abundantly sufficient, at the rate of from 140 to 160 boys in each school, to accommodate 25,000, that is the total number of boys, being one half of the 50,000 children under inspection in workhouse-schools. Now it is quite impossible to suppose that an establishment able to produce eighty new teachers per annum should be set on foot for supplying say 180 schools. We know from Mr. Kay Shuttleworth's letter that he reckons the average servitude of each master at twelve years; consequently 180 schools would not require more than fifteen teachers per annum; and the supply, therefore, would be more than five times the demand. Comparing this with what has before been stated as to the contemplated extension of the scheme to the children of out-door paupers, we have a remarkable confirmation of the conclusion to which we were led by the remarks of Mr. Symons. For schools containing upwards of 200,000 boys, an annual supply of eighty masters will not be too much, yielding, with an average servitude of twelve years, the requisite number of recruits to keep up a staff of 960 masters, or one master to about 200 boys.

There is, however, a further question which suggests itself. It



is this : If Kneller Hall provides masters sufficient not only for the in-door but for the out-door paupers' children, detaining each master for twelve years in the service of the pauper education department, what is to become of all those teachers when their period of servitude shall have expired? Supposing the pupil-teachers of the pauper schools, who are to recruit the Kneller Hall establishment, to be transferred to it between the ages of sixteen and eighteen, they would, after remaining at the Hall for two years, and conducting a pauper school for twelve years, be in the very prime of life at the end of their servitude, and, if replaced by other men, they must necessarily seek employment in other schools. Into what market, then, would they be thrown?

The answer is obvious. The Committee of Council have long sought a quarrel with the National Society, and have got it at last. While they have thrown every obstacle in the way of cordial co-operation with them on the part of the Church, they have made every preparation for meeting the emergency of an open rupture. While consistent clergymen may be compelled to forego all assistance from the State for the foundation and support of their schools, and Diocesan Training Institutions may have to contract their operations, partly from a diminution of their funds through the loss of State assistance, and partly from a decrease in the demand for strict Church schoolmasters, the Committee of Council will be ready to supply, from their stores at Kneller Hall, teachers after their own heart to any parochial school, where the clergyman shall, either with a view to pay his court to the powers that be, or to a latitudinarian diocesan, or else from dire necessity, be induced to accept State assistance, and a State-trained master. Thus by a gradual but sure process, by an insensible expansion of the State system of education, and a progressive cramping and hampering of the Church, that great change will in due time be brought about, against which the Church raised her voice ten years ago in solemn protest.

The change will be brought about, that is to say, if the Church is sufficiently blind to the machinations of her enemies, and sufficiently supine and unfaithful to her trust, to permit their schemes to be carried into effect. But we hope for better things. The Education battle is about to be fought between the Church and the Committee of Council. The coming session of Parliament will on this subject be decisive; and it is not amiss, therefore, that the Kneller Hall scheme should have exploded at this very time, completing the evidence, if evidence were needed, of the perfidious designs of that most unconstitutional, as well as arbitrary, of State authorities, the Committee of Council on Education. Let only Churchmen in general, and the clergy in particular, remember the sacredness and weightiness of their trust

in this matter, which is a trust not only for the good deposit of God's truth and ordinance, but for the souls of the poor committed to their keeping ; a trust which we cannot better describe than in the forcible language of Archdeacon Manning, in his recent Charge :—

“ We are the guardians of the children of the poor—the busy, the over-laboured, the untaught, of all who need instruction ; and this wardship none but the parents themselves can revoke. We should betray our trust to our Master and to our flocks if we suffered any person or power to come between us and the children of our people. So long as their parents confide them to us, none may take them away.

“ When we speak, therefore, of the laity, we do not mean a number of politicians, nor a handful of benevolent theorists, nor a few active friends of education, nor the subscribers of 10s. or 20s. a-year to a parish school, but the great multitude of our people, and specially the heads of houses and families throughout the ten thousand homes of our land. In the name of this great multitude, in the name of the poor of Christ, and in the name of the whole body on whom the baptism of Christ has impressed the spiritual priesthood of faith, we, as pastors, taken from among them and set apart, not for ourselves but for their sakes, to be the servants of their necessities, and the trustees of their spiritual inheritance, are bound in duty to stand firm against the assumption of the sacred name of laity by any other person or persons whatsoever. Let the true laity be called on to speak for itself ; not, I say, the handful of those who can afford a few yearly shillings to vote in school committees, but the millions of the free and great flock tended by fifteen thousand pastors,—let them say to whom they will intrust the care and oversight of their children, the guardianship of their Christian rights, and the execution of their Christian duties, and we shall readily acquiesce in their decision. In so popular a question, nothing less than the voice of the people ought to decide it.

“ If the laity of the Church are to be invoked, it must be not the laity of wealth—the laity of any particular grade—not a class-laity, but the laity of the whole people of Christ. As pastors and trustees for the rights of parents, we hold in their name and by their powers the guardianship they have intrusted to us over the education of their children. No experiment may be tried upon them ; and the voice of the poor father who cannot contribute ten yearly pence to the parish school, where his child is taught, is weightier than the vote of all those who have confided to us no such sacred trust. When a fraction of the laity is invoked, we must invoke the whole, the whole flock of Christ in this land ; and they, be it remembered, have not as yet spoken, and are not as yet represented in this great question. They and all they hold dearest are at stake, and yet they have neither voice nor vote. In behalf of those who have been solemnly committed to us, and whose representatives in this their deepest interest we are, we are entitled to be heard, speaking in the name of the laity.”—*Archdeacon Manning's Charge*, 1849, pp. 65—67.

ART. VII.—*Essays.* By R. W. EMERSON. *Nature, an Essay, Orations, &c. &c.*

THE reputation enjoyed by that "transatlantic thinker," whose name we have set forth in the heading to these remarks, suggests matter for grave reflection. When we find an essayist of this description, who seems to be "a setter forth of new gods," belauded alike by Tory and Radical organs, by "Blackwood" and "the Westminster," by the friends of order and disorder—when we find his works reproduced in every possible form, and at the most tempting prices, proving the wide circulation they must enjoy amongst the English public generally—we feel that we too should not leave them disregarded, that we should bestow something more than the mere incidental notice on them which we have hitherto found occasion to indite. We are credibly informed that these essays find many readers and admirers amongst the youth of our universities. Here is a more special "moving cause" for our examination into this theme,—the "rationale" of what we may well call the Emerson mania. We shall discuss a few of the leading tenets of the Emersonian philosophy, as calmly and dispassionately as we may; and, if we give offence to the idolaters of this "transatlantic star," we can only say that truth is too serious a matter to be trifled with, and that we hold ourselves bound, in this instance, to speak out plainly. To plunge, then, "in medias res,"

" 'Tis true, 'tis pity; pity 'tis, 'tis true!"

But men in this age, ay, and women too, grow weary of truth and reason: sober sense offends, and unity annoys them; they long for a concert of harmonious discords to wake them from their drowsy lethargy. To the mental palate, thus diseased, novelty is the chief provocative. A new cook comes, and mingles poison with his sauces. What then? The flavour is pungent, and a moral evil may often be an intellectual pleasure.

Some reflection of this nature is needed to re-assure us when we see men and women, whom we have believed sensible and amiable, hailing the glare of such a treacherous marshlight as the American paradox-master before us, as though it were the advent of a new and brilliant star. Mingled considerations oppress us in treating such a theme: on the one hand, our knowledge of the great mischief wrought in so many cases by this mighty phrasemonger

would urge severest ridicule as the first of duties ; on the other, there is really such an amount of showy cleverness, of external brilliancy, and, now and then, of even happy audacity, about this quasi-philosopher, that we feel we should not do him justice, nor have any chance of reducing him to his rightful level in the estimation of his rapt admirers, did we not testify our sense of those merits which, in some degree, excuse their adoration, and which cannot fail to strike the most prejudiced observer.

True it is, that when a man throws forth thoughts at random, as Emerson does, without the smallest regard to self-consistency or reality, he cannot fail, here and there, to light on a quarter, or a half truth, or perhaps even on a whole one. Let a man possessed of a competent knowledge of counter-point sit many hours at a piano, forcing the chords into endless combinations, now and then a happy musical idea can scarcely fail to flit across the air ; small praise to the strummer ! The man of higher taste and nobler imagination would far rather abide under the imputation of barrenness, than afflict his own soul and senses by the production of the false, the common, and the vile. There is a certain order of wealth that is near akin to poverty.

What shall we think of *his* philosophy, who can seriously tell us, "With *consistency* a great soul has simply nothing to do?" Order is divine : disorder is a blot, an error, an absurdity. How, then, shall we esteem *his* wisdom, who boasts, "I unsettle all things. No facts are to me sacred ; none are profane ; I simply experiment, an endless seeker, with no past at my back?" Unconnectedly does this writer jerk forth his sayings ; here is a perception, there a second, there a third ; make the most of them ! only ask not for sequence or completeness ! And yet a myriad waves *apart* will make but one wide and desolate swamp ; blend half of these in one, and a broad lake spreads forth, to mirror the azure skies, and refresh the eye with beauty.

Nevertheless, despite this vagueness and seeming boundlessness of thought, we soon learn that the philosophy of Mr. Emerson (if we may so call it) is restricted within a system's narrow limits, as well as that of his neighbours ; there is no logic in his form of utterance, certainly, but by-and-by we begin to perceive that he is trading on a small stock of positive ideas, though he casts them into so many incongruous shapes, and is at so little pains to reconcile one with the other. We find that this essayist has a science, a morality, a *religion* of his own, and that, with all his pretensions to indefinite catholicity, he tests all things (as from the infirmity of man's nature he must needs do) by this special standard.

The one cardinal error of Emerson is to take the unit for the mass, the individual for the universal, the ego for Deity. With all

his contempt for those more sensible thinkers than himself, who have assented to a revealed scheme as truth absolute, and hold all other truths in subordination to that master-principle, he yet constantly, nay, continuously, assumes that human nature and the world are what *he* sees them to be, and *can be* nothing beyond this. He confounds relative with absolute existence. He seems to fancy the stars *are not*, until *we* behold them. Because to us, and for us, individually, things only are as we receive them, he conceives that fact and truth are dependent upon *our* perceptions. He regards man as a constantly inspired "revealer of the absolute;" we use, in a degree, his own cant, to render ourselves acceptable to any of his deluded admirers, who may possibly be found amongst the readers of this article. He fancies that what he calls "the over-soul," or universal reason, is *potentially* common to all, but actually possessed only by those who are *inspired*; and these he regards as the infallible teachers of humanity.

Nevertheless, let it not be supposed that the errors of Emerson are those of Carlyle; that the former is only an imitator and disciple of the latter. Emerson, though less brilliant, and perhaps less genial, certainly endowed with less descriptive or dramatic power, is the better thinker of the twain: though here, if ever, is the place to say "*bad is the best!*" Carlyle, however, inculcates the worship of genius; Emerson denounces all adoration save that of self: Carlyle is by nature a mental slave; and Emerson the embodiment of self-glorification. The one commands us to kneel in the dust before *force*, whether displayed for good or evil, as being in its essence divine; the other forbids us to set the most glorious actions, the most mighty works, above, or even on an equality with, our own private notions of them. Which of these creeds is more mischievous, it were difficult to say: the cant of either is disagreeable; but we should say that that of the idol-worshipper was the more odious, that of the self-idolater the more absurd. When the man, whom we know to place no faith in the bare existence of his God, echoes with rapturous and servile adulation the scriptural phrases of the Puritanic world, because emblematic to him of a real *trust* of some kind, which he is unable to share, we cannot but feel disgust; but we laugh outright at the comic self-sufficiency of that teacher who cries with a sober face and earnest voice, "If *I* see a trait, my children will see it after me, and, in course of time, all mankind—for *my* perception of it is as much a fact as the sun."

But should we not, perhaps, go more steadily to work, and say a few words—a very few, on each of the first twelve Essays in the volume before us, leaving "Nature," and "Addresses," and "Orations," for some future occasion, or rather altogether on

one side? For, in truth, owing to the small number (already hinted at) of Mr. Emerson's real notions (we will not say, ideas), the careful consideration of a single page, taken at random from his writings, would almost exhaust the theme. But let us proceed in order due.

First, then, our author discourses on "History," in which discourse his aim is to set forth his one great principle, that each man must assume *his* superiority to present, past, and future, subject these to his own nature, and receive or reject them without the slightest regard for authority, or apparently any external testimony whatever. And here let us remark, how very acceptable such teaching must have been, must still be, to weak, silly, half-formed youths, and all other inferior natures, which have too much vanity to know true honest pride, and would gladly think their own small "self" the epitome, nay, the circle, of the universe. Mr. Emerson says it is so. Hear him! (let us pass over the blasphemy of his motto!) "There is one mind common to all individual men." How satisfactory! Nay, more: "He that is once admitted to the right of reason is made a free-man of the whole estate." Is *this* not sufficiently explicit! Know, then, "What Plato has thought, *he* may think; what a saint has felt, *he* may feel; what at any time has befallen any man, *he* can understand. Who hath access to this universal mind is a party to all that is or can be done; for this is the only and sovereign agent." Very intelligible, and very reasonable, no doubt; and, above all, conducive to modesty. But this is only "the starting;" our American warms with his theme: "A man," that is, each man, "is the whole encyclopædia of facts." What a pleasing conviction! Youth behind the counter, rejoice: for thou art All, and the All is in thee. Thou hast been wont to consider thyself a learner: know that the teachers of all ages shall come and bow down themselves before thee! "The moon" is in "the turnip" at last. How intoxicating must be this draught of self-delusive nectar to the imagination of many an honest boy!

Mr. Emerson simply puts out of question the great facts, that human perceptions of the Infinite must be finite at best, and that two of the greatest, and highest, and deepest sources of our conviction are authority and reverence. Nine-tenths of our material knowledge even we must take on trust: we cannot prove all things for ourselves. How, then, should we be entitled to conclude that our individual perceptions of moral and religious truth must be higher, and clearer, and more worthy than those of genius and of holiness? True it is, that to us, finally, our own sense of things must be the nearest and most important, though it



follows not, as Mr. Emerson assumes, that things *are*, because we think we see them. But, then, how is this sense *formed* which is to be our ultimate guide? The stanchest stickler for private judgment cannot reasonably affirm, that this should not be modified by those external aids which are here so unceremoniously rejected, or rather seemingly forgotten. Truth, Mr. Emerson, is not dependent upon perception. The great is great, the beautiful is beautiful, whether you or we see it or not. We may exclude the glorious sunshine, by absolutely closing our eyes to its beams; but we cannot force the daylight to fade because we blind ourselves.

“Why should we make account of time, or of magnitude, or of form?—the soul knows them not!” Really! but the soul *does* know them; and if yours is ignorant, good “essayist,” confined to the contemplation of your own ego, be assured that you are nothing but an isolated straw, driven to and fro by the breeze, without any fixed place in the wide world of spirits! History is, indeed, only of interest in as far as it speaks to the soul; but, if it does not speak to it, it follows not that history is barren, but more probably, that the soul is shallow, and “dead in life.”

It were endless to comment on all the self-contradictions of this writer; but it is amusing to find one who refers all things back to the individual ego, assuming that the human mind could not devise the form of a cherub, nor of a scroll to abut a tower, until it had seen some cloud or snowdrift, suggestive of these forms. The combinations of the imagination are endless; they may, they will, find their counterparts in nature; but they need not be stolen from it, though little minds will always conceive them so to be.

The atheism of the writer peeps out pretty broadly, where he commends the “Prometheus Bound,” as emblematic of man’s natural opposition to pure *Theism*, “his self-defence against *this untruth*,” “*a discontent with the believed fact, that a God exists*.” Very pretty, Mr. Emerson; very pretty, indeed; and well-meaning young men study you with reverence, and young ladies dote upon you—poor innocents! Finally, “History shall walk incarnate in every wise and just man;” in every self-trusting philosopher, in every Emerson, in fine, or Emersonian! And, when we have once ascertained this fact, why not shut up our books, and begin to live history ourselves? After all, we are we, and all is in us. There is no resisting such arguments. We cannot wonder that simple souls should be fascinated and overpowered. But we would say to all that have thus been led astray, (and would that our voice could reach them!) return to

the paths of reason, and bathe your spirits in light; learn to revere! *learn to learn!* Believe us, you shall not be "*the less*" for it.

Let us move onward. The Essay on "Self-Reliance" meets us next, and this is bolder still. "To believe your own thoughts, to believe that what is true for you in your private heart is true for all men,—that is *Genius*." And happily this genius, we find, may be the lot of all, at least of every Emersonian: the fact is strongly urged upon them throughout these Essays. "Speak *your* latent conviction, and it shall be the universal sense!" But it will not do for us to be for ever quoting these eternal strummings upon one false note. Our readers must already see, that there is a unity of some kind in Mr. Emerson's multiplicities and contradictions.

But a very little more need be cited here: the precious fruits of this doctrine concerning individual infallibility must be seen to be estimated. Further on, then, we read: "No law can be sacred to me but that of my own nature: good or bad are but names, very readily transferable to that or this; the only right is what is after my constitution, the only wrong what is against it." A convenient doctrine verily! We are ready to give Mr. Emerson credit for the best possible *intentions*; but perhaps his admirers will be disposed to admit, that such teaching is not *quite safe*.

We find it difficult to say, how infinitely petty this self-idolatry appears to us, as manifested in its fear of all influences from without. Let us be ourselves! Let us live for whim, if *we* are only *we*! Let us not be swayed by fact or truth! Let us isolate our souls at any risk; and, then, we must be original, and, being infallible, must grow divine. And are there thousands of good people who have swallowed all this? Why do not they remember, that while they love God and man aright, nothing can deprive them of their individuality? Influenced they must indeed be, whether they like it or no, by a thousand foreign causes. They cannot grow up "all alone," and *have a world to themselves!* It is very hard, certainly; but God *will* guide us and control us; and even our fellow-creatures *will* sway us and form us, and in no slight degree govern us, however stern may be our resolve of independence. "Be a Non-conformist!" cries Mr. Emerson: "so can you alone be great." Alas! we may protest on one or two special points; but, if we mean to live with our fellow-men, we *must conform* in all important particulars, or we shall find ourselves outlaws indeed.

After a strong fling on the part of our philosophic friend at "conformity and consistency," which he dooms as "ridiculous,"

and of which he devoutly hopes to have heard the last, we have much more repetition, and then some inflated pantheism or atheism,—we prefer the plainer phrase. Much is prated respecting “Instinct” and “Intuition,” on which it would be a pity to waste time and good paper. All things are to be wrought, not for the sake of good, absolute good, but to please the “ego.” We will not waste more words on this folly. Then prayers are denounced; all prayers, at least, save *action*: they are “a disease of will.” Man himself is God, or at least the purest embodiment of the “over-soul.” Prayer, therefore, is “meanness,” nay, absurdity. “*It supposes dualism and not unity in nature and consciousness.*” That is, it supposes man and God to be two, whereas they are only one. “*Sancta simplicitas!*” in people, who would stare at you grievously affronted, and would even have a right to be so, if you called them no Christians, and yet who admire this blasphemous rubbish. Ah, poor Emerson! can *you* believe this sad twaddle? or do you not happily vindicate here that character for inconsistency of which you are so proud? Have you really never had occasion to pray for a child, or wife, or for yourself? If not, how very great, or (in strictest confidence) how very small your soul must be! Are you really fearful, in your vanity, to acknowledge the Almighty providence above you, of which you are the unwilling servant, nay, the slave? For

“Blindly the wicked work the will of Heaven!”

Not that we would believe you wicked; far from it! we think a human being could scarcely write with such weak audacity who realized his own theories. You must be better than you imagine for.

The life of man is a life of grace: grace created, redeemed, sustains him. Didst thou make thyself, or thy world? Are not the evidences of infinite design around thee? Tell us not of an antiquated argument, when we utter the revelation of the human heart. Individuality is essential to every particle, to every form, in creation: a thing that is not individual is nothing. We may cheat ourselves with words, if we think fit; but a God, who could not love, who did not guide, who would not keep us, if we sought him, who did not in fine hear prayer, were no God at all, were nothing better than a non-entity. Either nature is divine and self-created, or there is One Supreme who permeates the visible universe, but to whom that universe is but as a viewless speck in a boundless ocean of glory. And to this All-Infinite nothing can be great, nothing small; He hears, He loves the humblest child of clay. But since, in truth, the human intellect might sink in the contemplation of this

amazing mystery, God has become visible in man, incarnate in the *Lord Christ Jesus*. This Revelation stands on a pinnacle, which all storms and tempests must assault in vain, lofty as the highest aspirations of the soul, yet broad and plain as truth. Unless we chose to believe our Lord and his Apostles (may we dare to write the word?) *impostors*, and the whole sacred volume one comprehensive falsehood, (and how, feeling its holiness, its sublimity, knowing the glorious self-sacrifice of its originators, can we attain to this Voltairean audacity?) what must remain for us? Nothing but to love, tremble, and adore!

We will not waste words on Mr. Emerson's most monstrous hypothesis, that "the Everlasting Son" proclaimed only the God-head of all humanity when He announced his own. *He* must be a narrow-minded fanatic indeed to his own vain and silly creed, who can persist in such an error as this. But Mr. Emerson's self-sufficiency never deserts him. "Men's creeds," he says, "are a disease of the intellect." He has said it! We had better let the subject rest, or this profound teacher will annihilate our simple faith.

And now the "teacher" digresses, and descends a little to anathematise "travelling." It is, he informs us, "a fool's paradise."—"I seek the Vatican;" "I affect to be intoxicated," &c., "but I am *not* intoxicated." We can well believe it. But are we really compelled to accept your standard, friend, because "a fact perceived by you becomes of necessity one for all ages?" If so, we wish you would cultivate more pleasant perceptions, and, on mature reflection, consent to think better even of travelling.

We have some more rather clever though paradoxical talk respecting Society's never advancing, but we cannot pause to examine it: it is one of those few approaches to a half truth which this writer sometimes stumbles on, perhaps against his will.

Next, he treats of "Compensation:" his reprobation of a certain clergyman and his congregation is highly comic. The doctrine complained of is, the belief of mankind that another world is needed to set right the inequalities of this. Of course, there is compensation even here: in a certain sense, and in a degree, the good may be said to be the happy, and the evil the unhappy on our earth; *but* there is such a thing as callous triumphant sensuality, or as virtuous woe. Good hearts do break sometimes; bad hearts do rejoice, after their kind, up to the very hour of their departure. Who has not seen instances in his own individual experience? We will not follow Mr. Emerson's "arguments" on this head. We advance to another theme. When he tells us, then, the true doctrine of *Omnipresence* is, that God re-appears,

*with all his parts* in every moss and cobweb, we can only repeat our former query, Can the man, who gives utterance to such wholesale rubbish, place any confidence in it himself? We trow not.

In this Essay there are, however, some striking ideas, some few happy images, some self-evident indeed and very harmless truths, which are, nevertheless, utterances of the honest human understanding. The whole is one of those "talkifications" which make us hope that the *man* is better than his "philosophy."

Next, "Spiritual Laws" come on the tapis, and are discussed in the former strain: we find less and less of novel matter or treatment to record. Self—self—self—is the eternal cry, though it finds utterance in many illustrations, some happy and some unhappy. We do not altogether dislike a bold passage towards the conclusion, and, by way of fair play, we will quote it: "Let the great soul, incarnated in some woman's form, poor and sad and single, in some Doll or Jane, go out to service, and sweep chambers and scour floors, and its effulgent daybeams cannot be muffled or hid; but to sweep and scour will instantly appear supreme and beautiful actions, the top and radiance of human life, and all people will get mops and brooms, until, lo, suddenly the great soul has enshrined itself in some other form, and done some other deed, and that is now the flower and head of all living nature." There is truth in this, despite the grotesque exaggeration: how it agrees with the remainder of Mr. Emerson's system rests not with us to explain. It might have been Carlyle's.

Now comes a paper on "Love," which we rather like: but after an eloquent passage about lovers, which has some poetry in it, and much else that may, perhaps, by courtesy be counted "*very clever*," and to which we are anxious, as opponents, to give all due credit, the old troublesome notions show themselves, and suggestions are made that we should only love for the sake of what we get for *self*; that "our affections are but tents of a night," &c. But we will not pause for further cavils here, however just. We quote one pleasing passage, which recalls, as we fancy, something either in Washington Irving, or in Bulwer's "Eugene Aram," that book so striking and so artistic despite its partial immorality. "The rude village-boy teazes the girls about the school-house door; but to-day he comes running into the entry, and meets one fair child arranging her satchel: he holds her books, to help her, and instantly it seems to him as if she removed herself from him infinitely, and was a sacred precinct. Among the throng of girls he runs rudely enough, but one alone distances him: and these two little neighbours, that were so close just now, have learnt to respect each other's personality." Oh! Mr. Emerson, if you

would more frequently condescend to observe, and give up *aspiring to teach*! Be assured, nobody listens to your philosophic twaddle: nobody at least who has a *mind*, worthy of the name, an independent intellect such as you admire. But let us not be too crabbed over this paper.

The essay on "Friendship" is far more objectionable; inflated in language, and misty in sentiment. We cannot exactly make out what Mr. Emerson wants, whether his friends should be friends indeed, through weal and woe, or merely sympathisers, for he states the case both ways, backwards and forwards, twice or thrice, and we are not quite sure where he ultimately settles. There is all the difference in the world betwixt an alliance founded not only on mutual esteem, but also on mutual assurance of active and sincere regard, and a mere literary or æsthetic sympathy, which seems to be what this author aims at as his ideal of true friendship. These sympathies of taste or of imagination may be very pleasant things in their way, and are so; they are like some beautiful forest-glade which we chance to encounter on our pilgrimage, where we rest for the noon-tide hour, but whence we start again with only a momentary regret; they make no deep impression on the *heart*. Compared with the substance of true friendship, they are only shadows, however fresh and green, and "kindly." When sympathy unites men on higher themes than those commanding a mere literary interest, (such a theme, for instance, as religion,) where both feel themselves working for a great good, the benefit of their fellow-men, or the glory of God, this communion of thought and feeling approaches the nature of true friendship, and, under favourable circumstances, may easily ripen into that noble bond. But we must not allow ourselves to be longer detained by Mr. Emerson's transcendental speculations.—Some part of what he says on "Prudence" seems sufficiently prudent, as far as we can make out a definite intention, and, indeed, there are various happy passages in this little essay which might repay perusal. Prudence, we may venture to remark, is little known to Mr. Emerson, though he discourses so learnedly on the theme. Were he gifted with that prudence, of which modesty seems an essential element, he would scarcely have perpetrated the majority of the essays before us, and we should therefore not have had to hold him up as a sad warning against the very error he condemns (Imprudence)—

"To point *his* moral, and adorn *his* tale."

"Heroism" is, of course, another variation of the old strain "be *thyself*, and therefore all that is wonderful and perfect!" It is chiefly remarkable for its characteristic praises



of "Beaumont and Fletcher," whose flashy noisy vanities and pompous boastings, placed in the mouths of their constantly contemptible and wonderfully inconsistent heroes and heroines, have evidently far more attraction for Mr. Emerson's fancy than the calm, quiet greatness of Shakspeare's men and women, who rarely deal in these grandiose protestations,—characters such as the calm Pagan "Brutus," seduced to ill, indeed, but noble in his fall; or the cheerful Christian hero, "Henry the Fifth," so truly *great* in all things, and therefore not ashamed of kneeling to his God, and ascribing all glory to Him only.

We have some pleasant glimpses of the nature of "mob-sway" in this paper, calculated to inspire us with no little gratitude that universal suffrage is not yet established among ourselves; that the monster many are not supreme, that the sober middle classes and "gallant" upper classes retain their due influence. Now follows an essay on "the Over-soul." As may be suspected from the title, this is very *transcendental*; and having already dealt with its "philosophy," which is but another variation of the old weary strain, we shall leave it alone in its glory. It contains, we may observe, a vast amount of blasphemy, and is altogether extremely offensive.

The paper on "Circles" is more amusing, though this contains much of mischievous audacity also. What a pity is it that men will write on subjects of which they do not understand the very elements! Here, for instance, we are told that "we can never see Christianity from the catechism," as if a man who does not recognise the existence of a God had any right to teach Christians the nature of Christianity; and this announcement is followed up by a very impertinent, not to say, impious gloss on what Mr. Emerson calls "a brave text of Paul's." We shall not trouble our readers with it. What *the last facts of philosophy* are in this thinker's estimation, we may learn from the following extract, which only "caps" a long passage, couched in the self-same strain:—"The poor and the low have their way of expressing the last facts of philosophy as well as you. 'Blessed be nothing,' and 'the worse things are the better they are,' are proverbs which express the transcendentalism of common life." It is a kind of circular indifferentism, inferring that good things and bad all come to one end at last, which is here aimed at by our philosopher. But the part of this essay, in which the writer's inordinate, and we could almost say delightful, conceit (did it not prove so mischievous in its effects) displays itself to most advantage, is perhaps the following:—"Beware when the great God lets loose *a thinker* on this planet! *Then all things are at risk!* It is as when a conflagration has broken out in a great city, and

no man knows what is safe, or where it will end! There is not a piece of science, but its flank may be turned to-morrow; there is not any literary reputation, not the so-called eternal names of fame, that may not be revised and condemned. *The very hopes of man, the thoughts of his heart, the religion of nations, the manners and morals of mankind, are all at the mercy of a new generalization!* Generalization is always an influx of the divinity into the mind. Hence the thrill that attends it." This delicious morceau we have extracted in full; indeed, we had not the heart to curtail it. We are not aware that we have ever met with a passage in which the *vis comica* is carried to a higher point of daring. The first outbreak, after the letting loose of "the thinker," is delightful! "*All things are at risk.*" Good reader, do you not tremble? The subsequent climax is tremendous:—"hopes of man," "religion of nations," "morals of mankind,"—all at the mercy of this awful "thinker," who is to extirpate them all, if he so pleases, by means of a mysterious battle-axe, "*a generalization!*" Here the image is irresistibly suggested of a Will o' the Wisp, dancing up and down upon his little swamp, impressed with the firm conviction, as far as firmness can pertain to so volatile a creature, that nothing but his merciful forbearance prevents his setting moon, and stars, and universe in flames, by means of his potent tail and fiery beard. But when honest people are found to run after this inflated marshlight, and incur no little danger of sinking in the swampy ground on which it flourishes, being likely at all events to plunge up to the chin in mud and water, and sure not to escape without many a miry strain,—this grotesque extravagance becomes something more than a laughing matter, and calls for severe reprehension and rebuke. By-the-by, this very Mr. Emerson was employed in America to harangue *a large body of theological students, dispersing to their pastoral cares.* What a satisfactory idea does this give us of American orthodoxy in essentials! We do not mean to suggest that all religious bodies in America were represented at the university in question,—we humbly trust that the Episcopal Church was not. But we digress.

The paper on "Intellect" contains little that is novel, excepting a very preposterous outburst at its conclusion in favour of the old pagan philosophers Hermes, Empedocles, Olympiodorus, Synesius, &c. How much, we venture to inquire, does Mr. Emerson really know of these men? How much has he really read of their compositions? We suspect that this is an instance in which the trite "*Omne Ignotum pro Magnifico*" may find an apt and needful application. But Mr. Emerson dwells in a world of shadows, and therefore these pagan unrealities might well call forth his ardent sympathy. Men of this author's order

like everything which they do not understand ; mainly, we suppose, because self-admiration is their unfailing characteristic, and they rarely, if ever, understand themselves.

The twelfth and last Essay treats of " Art," and is designed to teach us, that the date of poetry, painting, sculpture, and music has expired ; nevertheless, we are to take comfort, and cultivate art still, " in eating and drinking," and further, " in the shop and mill, the assurance-office and the joint-stock company,"—an appropriate American conclusion, against which it is scarcely worth our while to protest. There is something infinitely amusing in the tone of patronage to art which our " thinker" assumes. Hear him once more ! He has just condescended to bestow some praises on certain pictures of Raffaele's, and now continues :—  
" Yet, when *we* have said all *our fine things* about the arts, we must end *with a frank confession*, that the arts, as we know them, are but initial." Afterwards we learn, " they are abortive births of an imperfect or vitiated instinct ;" but here the philosopher soars too high for our weak senses to follow him. In sober truth, we have but another instance here of that inordinate vanity which is Mr. Emerson's most besetting literary sin. Not possessing genius himself, being unable to create a great picture, or a real poem, or an oratorio, and only gifted with the unfortunate faculty (however common) of writing high-sounding twaddle about each and all of them, he is extremely anxious to convince the world and himself that this twaddle is quite as great or greater than the works of art in question, and that an Emerson is equal to a Shakspeare, a Raffaele, or a Beethoven. The puddle from the tanning-yard, not content with troubling the lake's purity, goes bubbling, and hissing, and steaming on, as though it were lord of all, and the lake were only there that it might be able to sail about in it and defile the azure waters. But let us waste no more words on this exhibition of absurdity.

We shall now draw these observations to a close, noted down for the benefit of some, whose eyes, under God's blessing, they may in some degree avail to open. Certainly the very dangerous nature of this man's speculations are not sufficiently realized, and parents and those in authority are not duly on the watch against them.

We have run through twelve of Mr. Emerson's Essays, and discovered more of paradox than of truth, and perhaps more of evil than of paradox. Had we looked further, we should have found little or nothing better, though there are two or three happy descriptions of natural scenes in the Essay on Nature : for Mr. Emerson's mind travels round a vicious circle, and is almost incessantly occupied in inculcating self-idolatry. Once more, and

in conclusion, we assure him and his admirers, that the universe is *not* included in that very petty section of it which is reflected on the mirror of his or their individualities. To self-conceit creation seems to have originated in *its* finite perceptions, and to have reached the goal of being when *its* approval is obtained; and nevertheless the world would have gone on very well without it, and will, no doubt, go on, when it shall have been gathered to its fathers. To the mite in the sunshine a ray of light is the universe: nevertheless there *is* a world beyond.—And *his* range of thought must be contracted indeed, his perceptions infinitesimally narrow, who cannot love and reverence his fellow-men as oftentimes equal or superior to himself—who cannot recognise and adore his God.

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ART. VIII.—*The Conquest of Canada. By the Author of "Hochelaga."* In 2 vols. 8vo. London: Bentley, 1849.

THOSE who are already acquainted with "*Hochelaga*" will welcome with pleasure a work by the same author on the same soil; and we can confidently assure them that any pleasurable anticipations which they may form will be fully realized by a perusal of the volumes now before us. They embrace, indeed, not merely the last struggle between France and England for the possession of those vast and interesting territories which lie between the great lake-chain and the Northern Ocean, but contain a full history of Canada, from its first discovery to its final reduction by the arms of Britain, and convey much information regarding the natural productions of the country, and the customs of its aboriginal inhabitants. The author has employed great research, and gives the result in a very attractive form: his style is eloquent, his narrative lucid; and we generally, though not universally, coincide in his views. Having said thus much by way of prelude, we proceed to our vocation, with the certainty of gratifying ourselves, and the hope that we shall gratify our readers, by a rapid sketch of "*The Conquest of Canada*."

After a very interesting account of all the speculations of the ancients regarding the existence of the Western World, and of those voyages of discovery, either real or imaginary, which preceded the exploit of the great Genoese, Mr. Warburton briefly, but strikingly, touches on the career of Columbus, and then proceeds:—

"It was by accident only that England had been deprived of these great discoveries. Columbus, when repulsed by the courts of Portugal and Spain, sent his brother Bartholomew to London, to lay his projects before Henry VII., and seek assistance for their execution. The king, although the most penurious of European princes, saw the vast advantage of the offer, and invited the great Genoese to his court. Bartholomew was, however, captured by pirates on his return voyage, and detained till too late; for in the mean while Isabella of Castille had adopted the project of Columbus, and supplied the means for the expedition.

"Henry VII. was not discouraged by this disappointment: two years after the discoveries of Columbus became known in England, the king entered into an arrangement with John Cabot, an adventurous

Venetian merchant, resident at Bristol, and on the 5th of March, 1495, granted him letters patent for conquest and discovery. Henry stipulated that one-fifth of the gains in this enterprise was to be retained for the crown, and that the vessels engaged in it should return to the port of Bristol. On the 24th of June, 1497, Cabot discovered the coast of Labrador, and gave it the name of *Primavista*. • • •

“ A large island lay opposite this shore: from the vast quantity of fish frequenting the neighbouring waters, the sailors called it *Bacallaos*; Cabot gave this country the name of St. John's, having landed there on St. John's day. Newfoundland has long since superseded both appellations. John Cabot returned to England in August of the same year, and was knighted, and otherwise rewarded by the king; he survived but a very short time in the enjoyment of his fame, and his son Sebastian Cabot, although only twenty-three years of age, succeeded him in the command of an expedition destined to seek a north-west passage to the South Seas.

“ Sebastian Cabot sailed in the summer of 1498; he soon reached Newfoundland, and thence proceeded north as far as the fifty-eighth degree. Having failed in discovering the hoped-for passage, he returned towards the south, examining the coast as far as the southern boundary of Maryland, and perhaps Virginia. After a long interval, the enterprising mariner again, in 1517, sailed for America, and entered the bay which a century afterwards received the name of Hudson. If prior discovery confer a right of possession, there is no doubt that the whole eastern coast of the North American continent may be justly claimed by the English race.

“ Gasper Cortereal was the next voyager in the succession of discoverers: he had been brought up in the household of the King of Portugal, but nourished an ardent spirit of enterprise and thirst for glory, despite the enervating influences of a court. He sailed early in the year 1500, and pursued the track of John Cabot as far as the northern point of Newfoundland: to him is due the discovery of the Gulf of St. Lawrence, and he also pushed on northward by the coast of Labrador, almost to the entrance of Hudson Bay.”—vol. i. pp. 27—31.

Portugal and Spain each attempted to explore the northern continent, but with little success and less credit. The expeditions of Cortereal were rather slave-trading ventures than voyages of discovery; whilst those of Ponce de Leon aimed at an imaginary good, and obtained little real benefit. The beautiful coast, which he surnamed Florida, from the richness and variety of its flowers, has passed not only from the crown, but even from the race of Castille:—

“ The first attempt made by the French to share in the advantages of these discoveries was in the year 1504. Some Basque and Breton fishermen at that time began to ply their calling on the great bank of



Newfoundland and along the adjacent shores. From them the island of Cape Breton received its name. In 1506, Jean Denys, a man of Harfleur, drew a map of the Gulf of St. Lawrence. Two years afterwards, a pilot of Dieppe, named Thomas Aubert, excited great curiosity in France, by bringing over some of the savage natives from the New World: there is no record whence they were taken, but it is supposed from Cape Breton. The reports borne back to France by these hardy fishermen and adventurers were not such as to raise sanguine hopes of riches from the bleak northern regions they had visited: no teeming fertility or genial climate tempted the settler, no mines of gold or silver excited the avarice of the soldier, and for many years the French altogether neglected to profit by their discoveries."—p. 84.

The decree by which that disgrace to humanity, Alexander the Sixth, divided the western hemisphere between the crowns of Castille and Portugal, impeded, though it did not suppress, the maritime discoveries of other nations. It was not long ere the Reformation, by denying the authority, destroyed the effect of the papal bull as far as regarded England; and France, though adhering to the communion of Rome, showed an early determination to dispute the Borgia grant:—

"In the year 1523, Francis I. fitted out a squadron of four ships to pursue discovery in the west; the command was intrusted to Giovanni Verazzano of Florence, a navigator of great skill and experience, then residing in France: he was about thirty-eight years of age, nobly born, and liberally educated; the causes that induced him to leave his own country and take service in France are not known. It has often been remarked as strange, that three Italians should have directed the discoveries of Spain, England, and France, and thus become the instruments of dividing the dominions of the New World among alien powers, while their own classic land reaped neither glory nor advantage from the genius and courage of her sons. Of this first voyage the only record remaining is a letter from Verazzano to Francis I., dated 8th of July, 1524, merely stating that he had returned in safety to Dieppe.

"At the beginning of the following year Verazzano fitted out and armed a vessel called the Dauphine, manned with a crew of thirty hands, and provisioned for eight months. He first directed his course to Madeira; having reached that island in safety, he left it on the 17th of January, and steered for the west. After a narrow escape from the violence of a tempest, and having proceeded for about nine hundred leagues, a long low line of coast rose to view, never before seen by ancient or modern navigators. This country appeared thickly peopled by a vigorous race, of tall stature and athletic form: fearing to risk a landing at first with his weak force, the adventurer contented himself with admiring at a distance the grandeur and beauty of the scenery, and enjoying the delightful mildness of the climate. From this place he followed the coast for about fifty leagues to the south, without dis-

covering any harbour or inlet where he might shelter his vessel; he then retraced his course, and steered to the north. After some time Verazzano ventured to send a small boat on shore to examine the country more closely: numbers of savages came to the water's edge to meet the strangers, and gazed on them with mingled feelings of surprise, admiration, joy, and fear. He again resumed his northward course, till, driven by want of water, he armed the small boat, and sent it once more towards the land to seek a supply; the waves and surf, however, were so great, that it could not reach the shore. The natives, assembled on the beach, by their signs and gestures eagerly invited the French to approach: one young sailor, a bold swimmer, threw himself into the water, bearing some presents for the savages, but his heart failed him on a nearer approach, and he turned to regain the boat; his strength was exhausted, however, and a heavy sea washed him almost insensible up upon the beach. The Indians treated him with great kindness, and, when he had sufficiently recovered, sent him back in safety to the ship.

“Verazzano pursued his examination of the coast with untiring zeal, narrowly searching every inlet for a passage through to the westward, until he reached the great island, known to the Breton fishermen, Newfoundland. In this important voyage he surveyed more than two thousand miles of coast, nearly all that of the present United States, and a great portion of British North America.”—p. 37.

Another expedition under the same commander was devoid of any result. In 1525 Stefano Gomez sailed from Spain for Cuba and Florida, whence, coasting northwards, he reached Cape Race on the south-eastern coast of Newfoundland. His object in steering to the north was to discover the north-west passage to India,—that fatal mirage which has lured so many noble spirits across the shifting desert of the barren sea to fail and to perish. The other delusions of early times have left us. The philosopher's stone no longer excites the ambition of our scholars and chemists; our mechanics no longer attempt to produce perpetual motion in perishable things; the ancien régime, with all its faults and follies, has passed away for ever; and popery has, generally speaking, lost all hold either upon the heart or the head of the educated classes on the European continent. But the north-west passage still remains a monument of past ignorance and present perversity, like a hoar-headed barbarian, who (the last of his own generation) yet survives to tell the tale of the past to his civilized descendants.

How far Gomez penetrated is unknown; but there is reason to believe that he entered the estuary of the St. Lawrence, and traded on its banks. A Spanish tradition asserts, that the Spaniards reached these shores before the French, and, disappointed with finding no symptoms of gold or silver mines,

repeatedly cried out "*ca nada!*" *here (there is) nothing*; whence the name Canada. This, however, is evidently one of those punning derivations by which ingenious idlers attempt to account for names with the origin of which they are unacquainted. The word Kannata or Kannada signifies village, or a collection of Indian cabins, in the dialect of several of the tribes which inhabited the shores of the Gulf of St. Lawrence when the French arrived there, and it is clear the name Canada arose from a misconception of the strangers, who, whenever they asked the name of an inhabited spot, received for answer a word which they supposed to denote the whole country.

"In the year 1534, Philip Chabot, admiral of France, urged the king to establish a colony in the New World, by representing to him in glowing colours the great riches and power derived by the Spaniards from their transatlantic possessions. Francis I., alive to the importance of the design, soon agreed to carry it out. JACQUES CARTIER, an experienced navigator of St. Malo, was recommended by the admiral to be intrusted with the expedition, and was approved of by the king. On the 20th of April, 1534, Cartier sailed from St. Malo with two ships of only sixty tons' burthen each, and 120 men for their crews. He directed his course westward, inclining rather to the north; the winds proved so favourable, that on the twentieth day of the voyage he had made Cape Bonavista in Newfoundland. But the harbours of that dreary country were still locked up in the winter's ice, forbidding the approach of shipping; he then bent to the south-east, and at length found anchorage at St. Catherine, six degrees lower in latitude. Having remained here ten days, he again turned to the north, and on the 21st of May reached Bird Island, fourteen leagues from the coast.

"Jacques Cartier examined all the northern shores of Newfoundland without having ascertained that it was an island, and then passed southward through the Straits of Belleisle. The country appeared every where the same bleak and inhospitable wilderness; but the harbours were numerous, convenient, and abounding in fish. He describes the natives as well-proportioned men, wearing their hair tied up over their heads, like bundles of hay, quaintly interlaced with birds' feathers. Changing his course still more to the south, he then traversed the Gulf of St. Lawrence, approached the main land, and on the 9th of July entered a deep bay; from the intense heat experienced there, he named it the '*Baye de Chaleurs.*' The beauty of the country, and the kindness and hospitality of his reception, alike charmed him; he carried on a little trade with the friendly savages, exchanging European goods for their furs and provisions.

"Leaving this bay, Jacques Cartier visited a considerable extent of the gulf-coast; on the 24th of July he erected a cross thirty feet high, with a shield bearing the fleur-de-lys of France on the shore of Gaspi Bay. Having thus taken possession of the country for his king in the usual manner of those days, he sailed on the 25th of July on his home-

ward voyage. At this place two of the natives were seized by stratagem, carried on board the ships, and borne away to France. Cartier coasted along the northern shores of the gulf the 15th of August, and even entered the mouth of the River St. Lawrence, but, the weather becoming stormy, he determined to delay his departure no longer: he passed again through the Straits of Belleisle, and arrived at St. Malo on the 5th of September, 1534, contented with his success, and full of hope for the future.

"Jacques Cartier was received with the consideration due to the importance of his report. The Court at once perceived the advantage of an establishment in this part of America, and resolved to take steps for its foundation. Charles de Moncy, Sieur de la Mailleray, vice-admiral of France, was the most active patron of the undertaking; through his influence Cartier obtained a more effective force, and a new commission, with ampler powers than before. When the preparations for the voyage were completed, the adventurers all assembled in the cathedral of St. Malo, on Whit-Sunday, 1535, by the command of their pious leader; the bishop then gave them a solemn benediction, with all the imposing ceremonials of the Romish Church."—p. 45.

On the 19th of May, Cartier again set sail, his fleet consisting of three small vessels, the largest being not more than 120 tons burthen. Separated by storms from each other, they all made for Newfoundland, where the leader's vessel arrived first, on the 7th of July. On the 26th her consorts joined her. We proceed in Mr. Warburton's own glowing language; for to abridge in such a case would be unpardonable.

"Having taken in supplies of fuel and water, they sailed in company to explore the Gulf of St. Lawrence. A violent storm arose on the 1st of August, forcing them to seek shelter. They happily found a port on the north shore, at the entrance of the Great River, where, though difficult of access, there was a safe anchorage. Jacques Cartier called it St. Nicholas, and it is now almost the only place still bearing the name he gave. They left their harbour on the 7th, coasting westward along the north shore, and on the 10th came to a gulf filled with numerous and beautiful islands. Cartier gave this gulf the name of St. Lawrence, having discovered it on that Saint's festival day. On the 15th of August, they reached a long rocky island toward the south, which Cartier named l'Isle de l'Assumption, now called Anticosti. Thence they continued their course, examining carefully both shores of the Great River, and occasionally holding communication with the inhabitants, till, on the 1st of September, they entered the mouth of the deep and gloomy Saguenay. The entrance of this great tributary was all they had leisure to survey; but the huge rocks, dense forests, and vast body of water, forming a scene of sombre magnificence such as had never before met their view, inspired them with an exalted idea of the country they had discovered. Still passing to the south-west of the

St. Lawrence, on the 6th they reached an island abounding in delicious filberts, and on that account named by the voyagers Isle aux Coudres. Cartier, being now so far advanced into an unknown country, looked out anxiously for a port where his vessels might winter in safety. He pursued his voyage till he came upon another island, of great extent, fertility, and beauty, covered with woods and thick-clustering vines. This he named Isle de Bacchus : it is now called Orleans. On the 7th of September, Donnacona, the chief of the country, came, with twelve canoes filled by his train, to hold converse with the strangers, whose ships lay at anchor between the island and the north shore of the Great River. The Indian chief approached the smallest of the ships with only two canoes, fearful of causing alarm, and began an oration, accompanied with strange and uncouth gestures. After a time he conversed with the Indians who had been seized on the former voyage, and now acted as interpreters. He heard from them of their wonderful visit to the great nation over the salt lake, of the wisdom and power of the white men, and of the kind treatment they had received among the strangers. Donnacona appeared moved with deep respect and admiration ; he took Jacques Cartier's arm, and placed it gently over his own bended neck, in token of confidence and regard. The admiral cordially returned these friendly demonstrations. He entered the Indians' canoe, and presented bread and wine, which they ate and drank together. They then parted in all amity.

“ After this happy interview, Jacques Cartier with his boats pushed up the north shore against the stream, till he reached a spot where a little river flowed into a ‘goodly and pleasant sound,’ forming a convenient haven. He moored his vessels here for the winter on the 18th of September, and gave the name of St. Croix to the stream, in honour of the day on which he first entered its waters : Donnacona, accompanied by a train of 500 Indians, came to welcome his arrival with generous friendship. In the angle formed by the tributary stream and the Great River stood the town of Stadacona, the dwelling-place of the chief ; thence an irregular slope ascended to a lofty height of table-land : from this eminence a bold headland frowned over the St. Lawrence, forming a rocky wall 300 feet in height. The waters of the Great River, here narrowed to less than a mile in breadth, rolled deeply and rapidly past into the broad basin beyond. When the white men first stood on the summit of this bold headland, above their port of shelter, most of the country was fresh from the hand of the Creator ; save the three small barks lying at the mouth of the stream, and the Indian village, no sign of human habitations met their view. Far as the eye could reach, the dark forest spread : over hill and valley, mountain and plain ; up to the craggy peaks, down to the blue water's edge ; along the gentle slopes of the rich Isle of Bacchus, and even from projecting rocks, and in fissures of the lofty precipice, the deep green mantle of the summer foliage hung its graceful folds. In the dim distance, north, south, east, and west, where mountain rose above mountain in tumultuous variety of outline, it was still the same ;

one vast leafy veil concealed the virgin face of nature from the stranger's sight. On the eminence commanding this scene of wild but magnificent beauty a prosperous city now stands: the patient industry of man has felled that dense forest, tree by tree, for miles and miles around; and where it stood, rich fields rejoice the eye; the once silent waters of the Great River below now surge against hundreds of stately ships; commerce has enriched this spot; art adorned it; a memory of glory endears it to every British heart. But the name **QUEBEC** still remains unchanged; as the savage first pronounced it to the white stranger, it stands to-day among the proudest records of our country's story."—pp. 42—53.

Proud indeed is the sound of that name to England, and in the pride that it awakens there is nothing to gall or wound our defeated adversaries. The conquest of Canada, the capture of Quebec were achieved by British valour, not yielded by French cowardice. The conduct indeed of our opponents on the occasion was such as to raise the merit of our success to the highest attainable point, whilst the courage and skill of the conqueror was such as to make even defeat itself honourable. But we are anticipating. Let us return to that period when the white intruder, of whatever nation, was a stranger in the home of the native Canadian.

"The chief Donnacona and the French continued in friendly intercourse, day by day exchanging good offices and tokens of regard. But Jacques Cartier was eager for further discoveries: the two Indian interpreters told him that a city of much larger size than Stadacona lay further up the river, the capital of a great country: it was called in the native tongue Hochelaga; thither he resolved to find his way. The Indians endeavoured vainly to dissuade their dangerous guests from this expedition: they represented the distance, the lateness of the season, the danger of the great lakes and rapid currents; at length they had recourse to a kind of masquerade or pantomime, to represent the perils of the voyage, and the ferocity of the tribes inhabiting that distant land. The interpreters earnestly strove to dissuade Jacques Cartier from proceeding on his enterprise, and one of them refused to accompany him. The brave Frenchman would not hearken to such dissuasions, and treated with equal contempt the verbal and pantomimic warnings of the alleged difficulties. As a precautionary measure to impress the savages with an exalted idea of his power as a friend or foe, he caused twelve cannon loaded with bullets to be fired in their presence against a wood: amazed and terrified at the noise, and the effect of this discharge, they fled howling and shrieking away. Jacques Cartier sailed for Hochelaga on the 19th of September. . . . The voyage presented few of the threatened difficulties; the country on both sides of the Great River was rich and varied, covered with stately timber, and abounding in vines. . . . The place where the French first



landed was, probably, about eleven miles from the city of Hochelaga, below the rapid of St. Mary. On the day after his arrival Jacques Cartier proceeded to the town. . . . The road was well beaten, and bore evidence of being much frequented; the country through which it passed was exceedingly rich and fertile. Hochelaga stood in the midst of great fields of Indian corn; it was of a circular form, containing about fifty large huts, each fifty paces long, and from fourteen to fifteen wide, all built in the shape of tunnels, formed of wood, and covered with birch bark; the dwellings were divided into several rooms, surrounding an open court in the centre, where the fires burned. Three rows of palisades encircled the town, with only one entrance; above the gate, and over the whole length of the outer ring of defence, there was a gallery, approached by flights of steps, and plentifully provided with stones and other missiles to resist attack. This was a place of considerable importance in those remote days, as the capital of a great extent of country, and as having eight or ten villages subject to its sway. The inhabitants spoke the language of the great Huron nation, and were more advanced in civilization than any of their neighbours; unlike other tribes, they cultivated the ground, and remained stationary. . . . Three miles from Hochelaga, there was a lofty hill, well tilled and very fertile; thither Jacques Cartier bent his way after having examined the town. From the summit he saw the river and the country for thirty leagues around, a scene of singular beauty. To this hill he gave the name of Mont Royal, since extended to the large and fertile island on which it stands, and to the city below. Time has now swept away all trace of Hochelaga: on its site the modern capital of Canada has arisen; 50,000 people of European race, and stately buildings of carved stone, replace the simple Indians and the huts of the ancient towns."—vol. i. p. 58.

The destruction of the ancient town, however, does not lie at the door of the French settlers. In fact, the tale of its ruin is unknown. After a time it vanishes from history without remark. It ceases to be mentioned for a while, and then, when inquired after, is found no longer in existence.

Jacques Cartier returned safe to France, carrying with him the chief Donnacona, whom he had treacherously entrapped, having unjustly suspected him of sinister designs. The prisoner was, however, soon reconciled to his fate by the kind treatment and great distinction which he experienced. But his death in France raised suspicions in the minds of his countrymen, which, though carefully concealed, destroyed for ever their confidence in the French.

To trace the fortunes of the French adventurers and the colony which they founded, from the departure of Jacques Cartier on his first voyage, to the capture of Quebec by the British in 1629, would be a tedious and unprofitable task. Such narratives lose

all interest when stripped of their details. It is painful as well as tiresome to read of a series of mistakes and mishaps, of domestic quarrels, party contests, and petty wars, when deprived of those striking facts and heroic exploits which alone render such subjects bearable. This portion of his work has been admirably executed by the author. He has indeed contrived to throw a charm over the incidents of a border struggle, and to give a wholesome interest to the minutiae of a court intrigue. One circumstance strikes us as worthy of remark. The French Huguenots were anxious to have made Canada their refuge, but their intention was frustrated by the jealousy of Romanism. It were vain as endless to speculate on the possible consequences of this desire, had it been carried out.

But let us return to our narrative :—

“ When the French received the news of the loss of Canada, opinion was much divided as to the wisdom of seeking to regain the captured settlement. Some thought its possession of little value in proportion to the expense it caused ; while others deemed that the fur-trade and fisheries were of great importance to the commerce of France, as well as a useful nursery of experienced seamen. Champlain strongly urged the government not to give up a country where they had already overcome the principal difficulties of settlement, and where, through their means, the light of religion was dawning upon the darkness of heathen ignorance. His solicitations were successful, and Canada was restored to France at the same time with Acadia and Cape Breton, by the treaty of St. Germain-en-Laye. At this period,” proceeds our author, “ the fort of Quebec, surrounded by a score of hastily-built dwellings and barracks, some poor huts on the island of Montreal, the like at Three Rivers and Tadoussac, and a few fishermen’s log-houses elsewhere on the banks of the St. Lawrence, were the only fruits of the discoveries of Verazzano, Jacques Cartier, Roberval, and Champlain, the great outlay of La Roche and De Monts, and the toils and sufferings of their followers, for nearly a century.”—p. 99.

We have no space to afford a due eulogium to the great and good Champlain, who stamped the first permanent impression upon New France. His name will ever be gratefully remembered in the land of his adoption, and honoured by all good men throughout the world. He died in December, 1635<sup>1</sup>. And now commences

<sup>1</sup> In the same month, to the deep regret of all good men, death deprived his country of the brave, high-minded, and wise Champlain. He was buried in the city of which he was the founder ; where, to this day, he is fondly and gratefully remembered among the just and good. Gifted with high ability, upright, active, and chivalrous, he was at the same time eminent for his Christian zeal and humble piety. “ The salvation of one soul,” he often said, “ is of more value than the conquest of an empire.”—p. 101.

the regular history of Canada, and here the author pauses to review the character and condition of the country when it became the abode of a race of European extraction. His account of the physical phenomena, general appearance, and natural productions of the country, with the manners and customs of its inhabitants, is extremely entertaining, though to some of our readers portions will probably be already familiar, and some of the results arrived at may perhaps admit of question. There is, however, a racy vigour and a rude eloquence in this part of the work which well accord with the subject. After occupying five chapters with these interesting subjects, our author devotes three more to the history of the British settlements, and then takes up the thread of his narrative again, saying:—

“ Having noticed the principal features of the origin and progress of the English colonies, the powerful and dangerous neighbours of the French settlement, in the New World, it is now time to return to the course of Canadian history subsequent to the death of the illustrious founder of Quebec.”

Long and fierce was the struggle between the rival nations, embittered by hereditary animosity, and sharpened by the love of gain as well as that of glory and power. The accession of Indian allies on either side gave a ferocity to the warfare hitherto unknown in the contest waged between England and France—a ferocity which spread from the barbarians to the colonists, and even infected the European commanders. Much was the suffering inflicted, many were the atrocities perpetrated on either side ; and it was a happy result for both peoples which terminated the internecine hostility of New France and New England by placing them both under British rule. Strange that the victory which gave us the one deprived us of the other—strange that the success of Wolfe laid the foundation of the defeat of England—strange that the overthrow of Montcalm prepared the way for the triumph of France ! That such, however, was the case, there can be no doubt. Let us, however, proceed.

“ By the treaty of Utrecht in 1713, Louis the Magnificent ceded away for ever, with ignorant indifference, the noble province of Acadia, the inexhaustible fisheries of Newfoundland, and his claims to the vast but almost unknown regions of Hudson’s Bay ; his nominal sovereignty over the Iroquois was also thrown into the scale, and thus a dearly purchased peace restored comparative tranquillity to the remnant of his American empire.”—vol. ii. p. 13.

More than thirty years afterwards the then Governor of Canada—

“ The Comte de la Gallisonière proposed that Monsieur du Quesne, a skilful engineer, should be appointed to establish a line of fortifications through the interior of the country, and at the same time urged the Government of France to send out 10,000 peasants to form settlements on the banks of the great lakes and southern rivers. By these means he affirmed that the English colonies would be restricted within the narrow tract lying eastward from the Alleghany Mountains, and in time laid open to invasion and ruin. His advice was, however, disregarded, and the splendid province of Canada soon passed for ever from under the sway of France.”—vol. ii. p. 25.

“ In the year 1750, commissioners met at Paris to adjust the various boundaries of the North American territories. . . . The English commissioners, however, soon perceived that there was little chance of arriving at a friendly arrangement. The more they advanced in their offers, the more the French demanded; futile objections were started, and unnecessary delays continued: at length Mr. Shirley and his colleague broke up the conference, and returned to England. It now became evident that a decisive struggle was at hand.”—vol. ii. p. 33.

After a long and doubtful contest, in which success alternated between the rival powers, the scale became turned completely in favour of France, till at length the genius of Montcalm and the inefficiency of his antagonists seemed likely to subjugate the whole continent to the sway of the house of Bourbon. It was not until the great Earl of Chatham was securely established as Prime Minister of England that success once more attended the arms of our countrymen.

“ This illustrious man knew no party but the British nation, acknowledged no other interest. To exalt the power and prosperity of his country and to humble France was his sole aim and object. Personally disagreeable to the highest power in the state, and from many causes regarded with hostility by the several aristocratic confederacies, it needed the almost unanimous voice of his countrymen, and the acknowledged confidence of those powerful men whose favour he neither possessed nor desired, to sweep away those formidable difficulties, and give to England in the hour of need the services of her greatest son.

“ For the remainder of the campaign of 1757, however, the energy and wisdom of Pitt were too late brought to the council, and the ill-conducted schemes of his predecessors bore, as has been shown, the bitter fruit of disaster and disgrace. But no sooner was he firmly established in office, and his plans put in execution, than the British cause began to revive in the western hemisphere, and, although still chequered with defeat, glory and success rewarded his gigantic efforts. He at once determined to renew the expedition against Cape Breton, and, warned by previous failures, urged upon the king the necessity of removing both the naval and military officers who had hitherto conducted the operations. With that admirable perception, which is one of the

most useful faculties of superior minds, he readily discerned in others the qualities requisite for his purpose,—his judgment ever unwarped, and his keen vision unclouded by personal or political considerations. In Colonel Amherst he had discovered sound sense, steady courage, and an active genius; he, therefore, recalled him from the army in Germany, and, casting aside the hampering formalities of military rule, promoted him to the rank of Major-general, and the command of the troops destined for the attack of Louisburgh. At the same time, from the British Navy's brilliant roll the minister selected the Hon. Edward Boscawen as admiral of the fleet, and gave him also, till the arrival of General Amherst, the unusual commission of command over the land forces. With vigorous zeal the equipments were hurried on, and, on the 19th of February, a magnificent armament sailed from Portsmouth for the harbour of Halifax on the Acadian peninsula. The general was delayed by contrary winds, and did not reach Halifax till the 28th of May, where he met Boscawen's fleet coming out of the harbour; the admiral, impatient of delay, having put all the force in motion, with the exception of a corps 1600 strong, left to guard the post. No less than twenty-two ships of the line and fifteen frigates, with 120 smaller vessels, sailed under his flag, and fourteen battalions of infantry with artillery and engineers, in all 11,600, almost exclusively British regulars, were embarked to form the army of General Amherst. The troops were told off in three brigades of nearly equal strength, under the Brigadier-generals Whitmore, Lawrence, and JAMES WOLFE."—vol. ii. pp. 133—35.

We have already given so many extracts from the earlier portions of the work, that the limits which we have assigned to this article prevent us from giving any lengthened account of the operations which ended in the conquest of Canada, and the final triumph of the Anglo-Saxon race on the North American continent. Dangers and difficulties of the most appalling description were overpowered by the skill and courage of Amherst and Wolfe; nor did the genius and valour of Montcalm, or the inefficiency of their own coadjutors, prevent the triumph which their super-eminent merit forced from the hands of the gallant enemy.

The first exploit of the English was the capture of Louisburgh, bravely defended by Drucour. The account of the siege is most spirited and graphic. We have only room for the concluding observations.

"In those days the taking of Louisburgh was a mighty triumph for the British arms: a place of considerable strength, defended with skill and courage, fully manned and aided by a powerful fleet, had been bravely won; 5000 men, soldiers, sailors, and mariners, were prisoners; eleven ships of war taken or destroyed, 240 pieces of ordnance, 15,000 stand of arms, and a great amount of ammunition, provisions and military stores, had fallen into the hands of the victors, and eleven

stand of colours were laid at the feet of the British sovereign; they were afterwards solemnly deposited in St. Paul's Cathedral.

But, while the wisdom and zeal of Amherst and the daring skill of Wolfe excite the gratitude and admiration of their countrymen, it must not be forgotten that causes beyond the power and patriotism of man mainly influenced this great event. The brave admiral doubted the practicability of the first landing. Amherst hesitated, and the chivalrous Wolfe himself, as he neared the awful surf, staggered in his resolution, and, purposing to defer the enterprise, waved his hat for the boats to retire. Three young subaltern officers, however, commanding the leading craft, pushed on ashore, having mistaken the signal for what their stout hearts desired, the order to advance; some of their men, as they sprung upon the beach, were dragged back by the receding surge and drowned, but the remainder climbed up the rugged rocks, and formed upon the summit. The brigadier then cheered on the rest of the divisions to the support of this gallant few, and thus the almost desperate landing was accomplished.

“Nor should due record be omitted of that which enhances the glory of the conquerors, and the merit of the conquered. To defend the whole line of coast with his garrison was impossible; for nearly eight miles, however, the energetic Drucour had thrown up a chain of works, and occupied salient points with troops. And when, at length, the besiegers effected a landing, he still left no means untried to uphold the honour of his flag. Hope of relief or succour there was none; beyond the waters of the bay the sea was white with the sails of the hostile fleet. Around him on every side the long red line of the British infantry closed in from day to day. His light troops were swept from the neighbouring woods; his sallies were interrupted or overwhelmed; well-armed batteries were pushed up to the very ramparts; a murderous fire of musketry struck down his gunners at their work; three gaping breaches lay open to the assailants; his best ships burned or taken; his officers and men worn with fatigue and watching; four-fifths of his artillery disabled; then, and not till then, did the brave Frenchman give up the trust which he had nobly and faithfully held. To the honour of the garrison, not a man deserted his colours, through all the dangers, privations, and hardships of the siege, with the exception of a few Germans, who served as unwilling conscripts. This spirited defence was in so far successful, that it occupied the bulk of the British force, while Abercromby was being crushed by the superior genius and power of Montcalm; by thus delaying for seven weeks the progress of the campaign, the season became too far advanced for further operations, and the final catastrophe of French American dominion was deferred for another year.”—vol. ii. pp. 140—143.

In the spring of 1759 every preparation was made by the British to ensure the entire conquest of Canada, which had now become the darling object both of the Minister and the nation. It is painful to look back on the cruelties perpetrated throughout



this war by both the parties engaged in it, though the balance of humanity is strongly on the side of the English, and no charge of bad faith can be brought against our countrymen.

“The general’s active care could not protect the frontier settlers from the atrocious cruelties of the French and Indians; although scouting parties were constantly moving through the forests, the subtle and ferocious enemy eluded their vigilance, and scalped men, women, and children without mercy. These outrages gave rise to the following order by Amherst, which he found means to forward to the governor of Canada and his general:—

“‘No scouting party, or others in the army, are to scalp women or children belonging to the enemy. They are, if possible, to take them prisoners, but not to injure them on any account, the general being determined, should the enemy continue to murder and scalp women and children who are the subjects of the King of Great Britain, to revenge it by the death of two men of the enemy for every woman or child murdered by them.’

“It were a needless pain to dwell upon the cruelties of this bloody war. Our countrymen must bear their share, although not an equal share, of the deep disgrace. The contending parties readily acquired the fiendish ingenuity in torture of their Indian allies; the Frenchman soon became as expert as his Red teacher in tearing the scalp from a prostrate enemy; and even the British soldier counted those odious trophies with unnatural triumph. In the exterminating strife, the thirst of blood became strong and deep, and was slaked, not only in the life-streams of the armed foe, but in that of the aged, the maimed, the helpless woman, and the innocent child. The peaceful hamlet and the smiling corn-field excited hostile fury alike with the camp, the intrenchment, and the fort, and shared in their destruction when the defenders were overpowered. Yet, still over these murdered corpses and scenes of useless desolation the spotless flag of France and the Red Cross of St. George waved in alternate triumph, proudly and remorselessly, by their symbolic presence sanctioning the disgraceful strife.”—vol. ii. p. 241.

It is with pleasure that we leave this painful subject to give some of the outlines of that great achievement which forms the climax of the interesting narrative before us—great in every sense, whether we consider the chivalrous commander and his gallant army, or the mighty results which have thence arisen. Well might the great minister pour forth the full tide of his overwhelming eloquence as he spoke of “the horror of the night, the precipice scaled by Wolfe, the empire he with a handful of men had added to England, and the glorious catastrophe of contentedly terminating his life when his fame began.” Well might he declare that “ancient story may be ransacked, and ostentatious

philosophy thrown into the account before an episode can be found to rank with Wolfe's."

The whole wondrous narrative is here told in a manner to give full effect to every incident. It is like some mighty picture, so true to life and nature, that we see the shades of night gathering, we hear the almost silent plash of the stealthy oar, we mark the troops as one by one they gain the rough ascent, we see the terrified courier as he scuds over the plains of Abraham, and gives the deadly intelligence to the brave, the talented, the merciless Montcalm. For a moment we share in his concealed distress, till the memory of the many atrocities which he encouraged or permitted removes all sympathy from our minds, and we exclaim, "No pity for the pitiless!"

It would seem as if Montcalm had for the moment been preternaturally urged upon his destruction. "Once, and once only, in a successful and illustrious career, did this gallant Frenchman forget his wisdom and military skill; but that one tremendous error led him to defeat and death." Had he remained within the shelter of the fortifications of Quebec, winter would soon have forced the English to retire from before its walls, for Wolfe's force was (without the assistance of Amherst, who was still far distant) quite unequal to reducing the city so strongly garrisoned and defended, especially in the brief interval before the severe season set in. In this case the fall of Quebec must have been delayed till next year; and in the meanwhile a change might have occurred in European affairs, or France might have been enabled to send efficient succours. Despite of all these considerations, and after having only a short time before recorded his deliberate opinion that he could not face the British army in a general engagement, he now on an open plain, without waiting even for his artillery, led his troops, a great portion of which consisted of the rude Canadian Militia, against the veterans of England. We extract a few passages describing the results. After some movements on both sides:—

"The whole of the French centre and left, with loud shouts and arms at the recover now bore down to the attack. Their right troops then ceased firing, and passed to the rear. As the view cleared, their long unbroken lines, were seen rapidly approaching Wolfe's position. When they reached within 150 yards, they advanced obliquely from the left of each formation, so that the lines assumed the appearance of columns, and chiefly threatened the British right. And now from flank to flank of the assailing battalions rolled a murderous and incessant fire. The 35th and the Grenadiers fell fast. Wolfe, at the head of the 28th, was struck on the wrist, but not disabled. Wrapping a handkerchief round the wound, he hastened from one rank to another, ex-

horting the men to be steady and to reserve their fire. No English soldier pulled a trigger; with matchless endurance they sustained the trial. Not a company wavered: their arms shouldered, as if on parade, and motionless, save when they closed up the ghastly gaps, they waited the word of command. When the head of the French attack had reached within forty yards, Wolfe gave the order to fire. At once the long row of muskets was levelled, and a volley distinct as a single shot flashed from the British line. For a moment the advancing columns still pressed on, shivering like pennons in the fatal storm; but a few paces told how terrible had been the force of the long-suspended blow. Numbers of the French soldiers reeled and fell; some staggered on for a little, then dropped silently aside to die; others burst from the ranks shrieking in agony. The Brigadier de St. Ours was struck dead, and De Senezergues, the second in command, was left mortally wounded on the field. When the breeze carried away the dense clouds of smoke, the assailing battalions stood reduced to mere groups among the bodies of the slain. Never before or since has a deadlier volley burst from British infantry. Montcalm commanded the attack in person. Not fifteen minutes had elapsed since he had first moved on his line of battle, and already all was lost. The Canadian militia, with scarcely an exception, broke and fled. The right wing, which had recoiled before Townshend and Howe, was overpowered by a counter attack of the 58th and 78th: his veteran battalions of Berne and Guienne were shattered before his eyes under the British fire; on the left the royal Rousillon was shrunk to a mere skeleton, and deserted by their provincial allies, could hardly retain the semblance of a formation. But the gallant Frenchman, though ruined, was not dismayed: he rode through the broken ranks, cheered them with his voice, encouraged them by his dauntless bearing, and, aided by a small redoubt, succeeded in once again presenting a front to the enemy.

“Meanwhile Wolfe’s troops had reloaded. He seized the opportunity of the hesitation in the hostile ranks, and ordered the whole British line to advance. At first they moved with majestic regularity, receiving and paying back with deadly interest the volleys of the French. But soon the ardour of the soldiers broke through the restraint of discipline, and they increased their pace to a run, rushing over the dying and the dead, and sweeping the living enemy off their path . . . . Just now Wolfe was a second time wounded in the body, but he dissembled his sufferings, for his duty was not yet accomplished; again a ball from the redoubt struck him on the breast: he reeled on one side, but at the moment this was not generally observed. ‘Support me,’ said he to a grenadier officer close at hand, ‘that my brave fellows may not see me fall.’ In a few seconds, however, he sank, and was borne a little to the rear.”—vol. ii. p. 344.

But a sadder task remains to be performed—if indeed a death so heroic, so glorious as that of Wolfe can be deemed sad. We

know of no subject more noble, and have never seen any more nobly treated.

“ While the British troops were carrying all before them, their young general's life was ebbing fast away. When struck for the third time, he sank down; he then supported himself for a few minutes in a sitting posture, with the assistance of Lieutenant Brown, Mr. Henderson, a volunteer, and a private soldier, all of the grenadier company of the 22nd; Colonel Williamson of the Royal Artillery afterwards went to his aid. From time to time Wolfe tried with his faint hand to clear away the death-mist that gathered on his sight; but the effect seemed vain; for presently he lay back, and gave no signs of life beyond a heavy breathing and an occasional groan. Meantime the French had given way, and were flying in all directions. The grenadier officers, seeing this, called out to those around him, ‘ See, they run.’ The words caught the ear of the dying man; he raised himself like one aroused from sleep, and asked, eagerly, ‘ Who runs?’ ‘ The enemy, Sir,’ answered the officer; ‘ they give way every where.’ ‘ Go one of you to Colonel Burton,’ said Wolfe, ‘ tell him to march *Webbe's* (the 48th) regiment with all speed down to the St. Charles River, to cut off the retreat.’ His voice grew faint as he spoke, and he turned as if seeking an easier position on his side; when he had given this last order, he seemed to feel that he had done his duty, and added, feebly but distinctly, ‘ Now, God be praised, I die happy.’ His eyes then closed; and, after a few convulsive movements, he became still. Despite the anguish of his wounds, he died happy, for, through the mortal shades that fell upon his soul, there rose over the unknown world's horizon the dawn of an eternal morning.

ART. IX.—*The Holy City. Historical, Topographical, and Antiquarian Notices of Jerusalem.* By GEORGE WILLIAMS, B.D., Fellow of King's College, Cambridge. *The Second Edition, with Additions, including an Architectural History of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre.* By the Rev. R. WILLIS, M.A., Jacksonian Professor in the University of Cambridge. 2 vols. London: J. W. Parker. 1849.

THE difficulty of comprehending much of the sacred narrative, owing to our very imperfect knowledge of the geography of the Holy Land, is notorious. And though the last few years have given birth to many attempts at removing this, their success—it may be fearlessly asserted—has not been commensurate with either the efforts or the pretensions of their authors. It is pretty generally acknowledged by those acquainted with the subject, that too implicit a confidence has been reposed both in the Map of D'Anville and in the Travels of Dr. Clarke. More lately the Scotch Dr. Wilson and the American Dr. Robinson have laboured in the same field; but not with the success which could have been desired. Nor has the most interesting spot of the whole country, the Holy City, fared better than the rest of Palestine. Many have been the attempts to “restore” it,—to gather from its present chorographical aspect a consistent idea of the ancient city, and to mark the sites of those localities which must ever be invested, in the mind of the Christian, with awe and veneration. But, what with building upon insufficient data, or striving to support some pre-conceived theory, no writer that we have met with has succeeded in disentangling the many difficulties which have confessedly beset the subject, and in laying before the world an account consistent with history and probability.

In this we are much inclined to think that Mr. Williams has far outstripped all his competitors. Learned and intelligent, he has not wasted the time which he spent in this cradle of Christianity. His object appears to be a simple investigation of the truth; and to this he has applied himself, unencumbered by any previously contracted theories, and wise enough—circumstances compel us to add, bold enough—to reverence the ancient traditions of Jeru-

saalem. This, indeed, we will fairly acknowledge, appears to us to be the great folly, the threshold stumbling-block with many both of those who have laboured in this department, and of others who have criticized their works. If it be (and who can gainsay this?) an acknowledged principle, that local traditions are of prime service and of principal authority in every archæological investigation, why, in the name of common sense, are they to be ignored or scouted, when such investigation is applied to the spot in the whole earth, where traditions from the earliest date would be most likely to be preserved with pious care, and where (unless we be much mistaken) they do agree with remarkable uniformity? We do not, indeed, profess to declare the differences between Mr. Williams and other travellers, Dr. Robinson in particular, to be finally and satisfactorily adjusted; this would imply a minute and lengthy examination. But this much we hesitate not at once to avouch—a strong predilection in favour of inductions grounded upon, and in the main consentaneous with, traditions of a hoar antiquity, and the assertions of such men as Eusebius and Cyril; and we are so fully impressed with the value of this very interesting book, as a whole, that we cannot delay to call to it the attention of our readers.

The first volume contains what may be called the *historical* portion; the second treats of *topographical* and *antiquarian* matters. In the former we have a succinct history, chronologically arranged, after the system of Prideaux, of the Jewish nation from the supposed foundation of the Holy City by Melchizedec down to the death of Herod the Great; thence to the defeat of the Persians by Heraclius, A. D. 629; and then follow two chapters, the headings of which are, respectively, "*Jerusalem under the Saracens*," and, "*From the Establishment of the Frank Kingdom to the Present Time*." The rest of the volume, comprising in all 659 pages, is occupied with an Appendix of original documents, of which we shall have occasion to speak presently; and with a Supplement relating to a Plan of the City which accompanies the work.

In the second volume, the topography and site of the Holy Sepulchre is discussed, and the genuineness of the traditional site defended; its architectural history is elaborated by Professor Willis, in his peculiarly masterly style; and the antiquities without the walls are examined. The whole is wound up by a chapter on Modern Jerusalem and its Inhabitants.

Such are the contents of the work before us; and we shall probably best consult the taste of our readers, if we present them with a few extracts. It strikes us, that the historical sketch in



vol. i. is one of the "additions" which distinguish, and, we may say, improve the second edition. Perhaps it is owing to the peculiar biographical kind of style in which the Old Testament is composed, but readers of the Bible do not seem to have acquired generally that comprehension of the connected history of the Jewish people which they obtain of other nations, and without which the full force of many passages is lost. We would recommend to them this portion of Mr. Williams' book. It is necessarily sketchy, yet sufficiently full to make it interesting; while this very interest leaves on the mind a desire for a more minute account. At the same time, we think the compiler might have infused into his narrative a little more liveliness here and there with advantage. It is a little dry. It smacks of the archæologist.

At p. 8, in speaking of the Ark, it is stated, that it was deposited in the Tabernacle, when that was pitched at Shiloh; and that "there it remained until the time of Eli the priest, except that it was occasionally carried to the national assemblies of the children of Israel, to add solemnity to their meetings." In support of this assertion, we are referred to Josh. xxiv. l. 25, 26<sup>1</sup>, which passages appear to us by no means to prove the assertion in the text. There is no reference in them to the Ark, unless indeed (which is scarcely probable), Mr. W. sees the presence of the Ark implied in Joshua's making a covenant with the people. Covenants were confirmed by sacrifice; but we never heard that it was deemed necessary for the Ark to be present. It is an interesting fact, that which Mr. W. mentions, if it be true; but we should like to know his grounds for the assertion.

Several very interesting geographical and chronological questions are mooted in the course of the work, and divers conjectures are hazarded; some of them with an air of great probability: others we do not feel so well satisfied with; as, for instance, where he tells us that the message contained in the twenty-seventh chapter of Jeremiah was spoken *prophetically* during the reign of Jehoiakim. This notion is supported solely by the first verse of the chapter. To us it appears much more probable that the word "Jehoiakim" there is a mistake of the scribe for "Zedekiah;" see the twelfth verse of the same chapter, and the first of the succeeding one. Since writing the above, we have referred to Blayney, who directly corroborates our view, both as his own opinion and Lowth's; and informs us that "Zedekiah"

<sup>1</sup> In note (3) there is a typographical error of viii. 43, for viii. 33.

is found in one MS. of good repute and antiquity—in the margin of another, and probably in a third; as well as in the Syriac, and in the Oxford MS. of the Arabic version. And it is a somewhat significant fact that the LXX omit this first verse altogether: thus making verse 12 to come in quite naturally, instead of creating a difficulty, as in our English version.

Among his geographical conjectures may be mentioned that of the celebrated Tarshish being Tartessus in Spain; his identification of Kirjath-jearim, and of the mountain-barrier to the south of the Promised Land. But by far the most interesting are the *discoveries* (we employ the writer's own word, without meaning to stand sponsor for the exactness of it) of Beer-lahai-roi and Kadesh. These are contained in a long letter, printed in the Appendix, from the Rev. J. Rowlands of Queen's College. It abounds with the true enthusiasm of a traveller, and we cannot deny ourselves the pleasure of making some extracts from it. Mr. R. had been travelling from Gaza to Khalasa. Two hours and a half<sup>2</sup> from this latter city, in a direct line to Suez, he came upon traces of an ancient site, called Sabâta, answering (he is of opinion) to ancient Zephath or Hormah, the Arabic form of which would be Sebât. (Judges i. 17.) A quarter of an hour brought him to Rohébeh (he imagines the *Rehoboth* of Gen. xxvi. 22); and ten hours more to "a place called Moilahi, a grand resting-place of the caravans, there being water here, as the name implies:"—

"It lies (he continues) in one of two or three passages or openings in the very southernmost hills or southern border of the Land of Promise, which form the grand outlet from Palestine into the desert, or the grand entrance from the desert into Palestine, by which the great caravan roads from Akaba, Mount Sinai, and Suez, pass to Hebron and to Gaza. Shall I not please you, when I tell you that we found here Bir Lahai-roi? We slept one night close to the water; and my happiness would have been double what it was, if you had been with us. I can tell you that I have found it to my entire satisfaction; I have no doubt about it whatever.

"Now for my proofs. (1) Moilâhhi lies on the great road from Beersheba to Shur, or Jebel es-Sur, which is its present name, a grand chain of mountains running north and south, a little east of the longitude of Suez, lying, as Shur did, *before* Egypt. (Gen. xvi. 7.) (2) It is probable, from Gen. xvi. 14, that Bir Lahai-roi was not far from Kadesh: Moilâhhi is about twelve miles from Kadesh. But (3)

<sup>2</sup> i. e. about 6½ miles; for he somewhere tells us that camels travel at the rate of 12 miles in 4½ hours.

the grand settling-point is its present name. The well has disappeared, and the 'Bir' (well) very naturally has been changed into 'Moi' (water); and, what is very remarkable, the Arabs of the country call it Moilâhhi Hadjar (Hagar) . . . . and this, as they explained to me, not from the rocky mountains near, but from the name of a person called Hagar: and, to confirm this statement of theirs, they conducted us to the *house* of Hagar (Beit Hajar), where they said such a person lived. It is about half or three-quarters of a mile from Moilâhhi, in a ravine among the hills. It is certainly a curious place; its description is simply this:—a square chamber, of no great dimensions, excavated in the perpendicular face of a rock, at some height above the base; the entrance into this is by a passage bored through the rock from beneath, with a winding staircase of good steps cut in the rock, leading up into the middle of the floor of the chamber. Behind this chamber are three other small chambers connected with it, which may possibly have served as dormitories, not at all like tombs, nor showing any evidence whatever of their having been a sepulchre; its name is Beit Hajar, or the house of Hagar. Whether Ishmael may have constructed this as a refuge for his mother after her final expulsion from Abraham's house, or whether Ishmael himself passed any of his time here, it is very difficult of course now to say, though the Bedouins maintain the former. This is certainly true, that (4) 'the wilderness of Paran,' where Ishmael is said to have dwelt (Gen. xxi. 21), lies immediately to the south of this; a grand plain, bounded on the west by Halal and Yelek, on the east by the mountains or wilderness of Kadesh and Jebel el-Khirm, on the north by the southern hills of Judea, or rather of the *promised* (not of the *possessed*) land. This is *El-Paran*, or plain of Paran, alluded to Gen. xiv. 6. . . . Shur, or Sur, lies at its south-west extremity, and Kadesh at its north-east extremity. This plain is the Paran through which the Hebrews came from Sinai on their way to Kadesh. (Numb. xii. 16; xiii. 26.)"

Having remarked that probably the wilderness of Kadesh was also called the wilderness of Paran, from the adjacent plain, as it was called that of Kadesh, from the *fountain* of Kadesh, he continues,—

"Our excitement (I can speak at least for mine) while we stood before the rock smitten by Moses, and gazed upon the *lovely stream* which still issues forth from under the base of this rock, was such as baffles description. I cannot say that we stood *still*—our excitement was so great that we could not stand still—we paced backwards and forwards, examining the rock and the source of the stream, looking at the pretty little cascades which it forms as it descends into the channel of a rain-torrent beneath, some times chipping off some pieces of the rock, and at other times picking up some specimens, or some flowers along a green slope beneath it. The rock is a large single mass on a small hill of solid rock, a spire of the mountain

to the north of it rising immediately above it: it is the only *visible* naked rock in the whole district. The stream when it reaches the channel turns westward, and, after running about three or four hundred yards, loses itself in the sand. I have not seen such a lovely sight any where else in the whole desert—such a copious and lovely stream. . . . The waters of Kādēs, called Ain Kades, lies to the east of the highest part of Jebel Halal, towards its northern extremity, about twelve miles (or four hours and a half by camel) to the E.S.E. of Moilāhhi. I think it must be something like due south from Khalasa. But to the *proofs*. 1. Its name Kādēs, or Kūdēs (pronounced in English Kaddāse or Kud-dāse), is exactly the Arabic form of the Hebrew name Kadesh. . . . 2. The locality corresponds with or falls in the line of the southern boundary of the Promised Land (Josh. xv. 1. 8), from the southern extremity of the Dead Sea, by Safaa or Maaleh Akrabbim, the Wady el *Murra*, and the Wady el Arish, or the river of Egypt. 3. It corresponds also with the order in which the places of the borders are mentioned. . . . 4. It lies east of Jebel el-Halal, or Mount *Halak*, mentioned some where by Jeremiah as the uttermost extremity of the Promised Land to the south. 5. It lies at the foot of the mountain of the Amorite (Deut. i. 19). 6. It is situated near the grand pass or entrance into the Promised Land by Beer Lahai-roi, which is the only *easy* entrance from the desert to the east of Halal, and most probably the entrance to which the Hebrews were conducted from Sinai towards the Land of Promise. A good road leads to this place all the way from Sinai. . . . 9. The nature of the locality itself answers in every respect to the description given of it in Scripture, or rather inferred from it—the mountains to the east of Kades, and some very grand ones to the south, called Jebel Kādēs, “the wilderness of Kadesh;” the rock, the water, and the grand space for encampment which lies to the south-west of it, a large rectangular plain, about nine by five, or ten by six miles, and this opening to the west into the still more extensive plain of Paran.” —vol. i. pp. 464—468.

There is a long note at p. 24, on the *verata quæstio* as to the meaning of “Millo,” which occurs in 2 Sam. v. 9, and other passages. Mr. W. thinks that most of the apparently contradictory opinions may be reconciled; and takes it to have been “a public building . . . crossed by the mound erected by Solomon,” viz. the causeway by which he effected a junction between the hill on which stood his palace and Mount Moriah (see 1 Kings x. 5). We had intended to have made a few remarks upon this; but the length of the previous extract obliges us to pass on, with simply observing that we do not see how, on this supposition, to account for the almost constant term by which the LXX render the Hebrew Millo—*τὴν ἄκραν*. If we might venture upon a conjecture we would ask, whether it be not simpler to suppose

it to have been that famous causeway itself, whence the name extended to the whole valley? This *filling up* of the valley of the Tyropæon will sufficiently account for the Hebrew root מִלֵּא *to fill*; and a work of such unrivalled magnitude would well merit the notoriety implied in the article which is invariably prefixed, whether ἄκρα or ἀνάλημμα be the word employed by the LXX.

It is commonly said that misfortune makes friends. This would appear to be inapplicable to the Samaritans. The same disposition which manifested itself in the comparatively palmy days when our Lord sojourned upon earth (see Luke ix. 53, and John iv. 9,) still holds its ground.

“The Samaritans, found only at Nablouse [the ancient Neapolis, close to Jacob's well], are distinguishable from all other denominations, by their somewhat Jewish physiognomy, the red turban peculiar to them, and *their deep-seated hatred of the Jews*. They receive only the Pentateuch, are rigid observers of the law, and sacrifice three times a year on Mount Gerizim.”—vol. i. p. 39, note.

Mr. Williams' history is necessarily (as we have remarked) sketchy in its character—even so sketchy, as to make one desiderate here and there a little more circumstantiality: his style, while it never sinks into the slipshod, seldom rises to eloquence. It flows on in a calm, steady course; it is the writing of one who is more concerned to deliver truthfully the facts before him, than desirous to win an interest in them. He is rather the compiler of annals, than the composer of history. At the same time we should be doing injustice to the estimable writer if we omitted to state, that the pen of the annalist halts here and there, while that of the Christian and the Churchman steps in, to seize the opportunity for a brief moral reflection, or a happy application to our own times of some principle violated or involved. Occasionally, however, the author warms with his subject, and draws a picture at once animated and interesting. We will give an extract of the latter description, taken from his account of Herod the Great.

“But the last days of Herod were to witness a repetition of the terrific acts of its commencement; and family feuds were again to embroil his home in trouble, and to embrue his hands with blood. The two sons of the murdered Mariamne, who had been educated at Rome, were brought back by their father when age and polite education had perfected them in such graces and accomplishments as they had inherited from their mother. They became the idols of the people. Their

larity excited the envy of Pheroras and Salome, a brother and sister of Herod, who had, indeed, too just cause to dread their displeasure for the part which they had acted towards the unhappy Mariamne, which her children were too generous not to feel, too frank and noble-minded not to conceal; and as the king was now advanced in years, and the accession of the young men to power was probably not far distant, no time was to be lost in getting them out of the way. The alliance of Aristobulus, the elder of the two brothers, to the daughter of Salome, tended in no measure to reconcile her to the child of the woman whom she had so deeply injured, and falsehood and calumny were incessantly plied, until the father's affections were completely estranged from his darling boys. Antipater, a son of Herod by his first wife, was introduced at court, and entered into the evil councils of his designing aunt with all the eagerness of one bent on his own advancement. The counter influence thus strengthened was too powerful for the two brothers. Being accused before the tribunal of Augustus, as plotting against their father's life, they pleaded their defence with all the simplicity of conscious innocence, were honourably acquitted, and a temporary reconciliation with their father was the result. But on their return to Judea the attempts of Salome were renewed, and seconded by letters of Antipater, who was now at Rome, and by the treacherous villany of a foreign spy; until the king, worked up to a pitch of frenzy, was at last not only prepared to believe, but forward to invite accusations, so that the very servants were tortured or bribed to calumniate them. The young men wearied out with this incessant persecution, resolved to retire from the country, and to seek refuge first with Archelaus, king of Cappadocia, father-in-law of Alexander, and finally at Rome. Their intentions were discovered, and represented as an overt act of treason; and Augustus was prevailed upon to allow the victims to be put on trial for their lives, before a Roman court at Berytus. The wretched father here appeared in person as the accuser of his sons; and so ably did he advocate the cause of injustice and inhumanity, with such vehemence and violence did he press the suit against them, that the judges were absolutely prevailed upon to return a sentence of condemnation, and the two brothers were strangled at Sebaste.

“Justly might the odium of this deed of blood attach to the villanous Antipater, and most righteous was the vengeance which speedily overtook him. Having removed these rival claimants from his father's crown, nothing now remained but to bring to the grave, no matter how, the hoary head which it now encircled. Herod had cherished a nest of vipers in his own house, and was doomed himself to be the next victim. Salome his sister, Pheroras his brother, and Antipater his cherished son, conspired together to poison him. The success of this plot was hindered by the death of Pheroras; and an investigation which ensued on the suspicion of his having met a violent death, led to the discovery of the whole of the dark design, in which Antipater had taken part with



the most diabolical determination. He was immediately summoned from Rome, where he was awaiting the explosion of the mine to which he had laid the train, in a letter full of affection, and arrived at Jerusalem without suspecting the cause of his recall. His salutation was repulsed with horror by his indignant father, who now threw off the mask, and on the following day he was put upon his trial before Quintilius Varus, the president of Syria, whom Herod had already called to Jerusalem to act as his assessor on this occasion. The eloquent Nicolaus of Damascus was counsel for the prosecution; witnesses flocked forward in crowds, judging it a righteous act to expose such monstrous wickedness. The most frightful aggravations of the most cold-blooded schemes of villany came out on the trial, until Herod himself, recreant as he was, stood aghast at enormities exceeding his own; while the perjured wretch, in the face of the deepest evidence, with well-dissembled horror at the imputations, called God to witness his innocence! He was condemned to death; but some delay was necessary, until the sentence should be confirmed at Rome.

“ In this interval king Herod, who had now attained his seventieth year, was attacked with that dreadful malady which terminated his life. But his sun was to set in blood, even as it had risen. Among other adornments of the temple of Jerusalem, he had erected a large golden eagle over the principal gate. Two of the most celebrated rabbies, Judas and Matthias, expecting the speedy issue of his incurable disease, encouraged some of their young pupils to demolish this emblem of idolatry: a report was soon after raised that the king was dead, and the eagle was instantly destroyed. The report was unfounded. Forty of the young men were apprehended by the temple-guard, and the instigators of the sedition voluntarily surrendered, glorying in the act. The king, maddened by the fury of the disease, tortured with the conviction that his approaching dissolution was anxiously expected by his subjects, furious at the insult offered to him at almost his last hour, ordered the whole number to be burnt alive! Meanwhile his body was consuming with an internal fire, and his heart inflamed with the wildest passions. Can it be believed that he had ordered his sister Salome to gather together, and confine in the hippodrome, the principal Jews in all the country, to be slaughtered immediately on his death, that there might be a national mourning at his funeral? Humanity may rejoice that the dreadful order was never executed. The last act of his sanguinary reign, when he had failed in an attempt on his own life, was to confirm the order for the execution of his son Antipater. Five days after this he died in extreme agony at Jericho, in the thirty-seventh year of his reign, and was magnificently buried at Herodium; while the frantic cries of the desolate mothers of Bethlehem, mourning for their infants, whose execution he had lately ordered, formed his funeral dirge, and attended his guilty soul into the presence of his righteous Judge!”  
—vol. i. pp. 119—123.

We really are inclined to think that Mr. Williams would do

well to publish a revised reprint of the six chapters of Part I. as a volume for one of the several juvenile libraries which the last few years have placed at the service of the rising generation. Embellished with the wood-cuts scattered up and down the present work, it would form a volume, written on sound principles, and not more attractive than needed. Take, for example, the following contrast, drawn from the description of the sacking of the Holy City by the victorious armies in the first crusade.

“Alas! the soldiers of the cross were little mindful of his precepts and example in his dying prayer for his murderers. Humanity shudders and religion revolts at the frightful carnage committed under his banner by these inhuman butchers, flushed with victory, thirsting for blood, and wholly devoted to its terrible work. The two generals, advancing from opposite quarters, met in the middle of the city, leaving the ensanguined streets behind them so thickly strewn with the mangled corpses of their victims as to be almost impassable, the miserable fugitives being intercepted between the two detachments. Such as escaped immediate death fled to the court of the Temple, and a few to the castle of David. The former became the next object of attack. . . . Ten thousand of the enemy are said to have fallen in this confined space; the number slain in the city was not to be estimated. It had been before agreed that the victors should have for their share of the booty what each could seize for himself; and the consequence was that houses were dispossessed of their occupants by the indiscriminate slaughter of whole families, some being slain with the sword, others thrown headlong into the streets.

“The transition in the events of this day fills, perhaps, the most striking page in the history of enthusiasm. When the arms of the conquerors were wearied, and their swords blunt with slaughter; when guards had been stationed in the towers and at the gates as a precaution against a sudden attack; the whole multitude, having laid aside their weapons, washed their hands and changed their garments; with bare feet, and groans and tears, the outward indications of a humble spirit and truly contrite heart, mingled with hymns and spiritual songs of praise, proceeded to the venerable places which their Saviour had deigned to adorn and sanctify by his presence, but especially to the scenes of his passion and resurrection; kissing and embracing each sacred memorial with indescribable fervour and devotion. Their tears were tears of joy and gratitude; their sighs and sobs appeared to proceed from hearts wholly inflamed with love, and to ascend as a whole and acceptable burnt-offering to God. To this succeeded works of mercy and bountiful almsgiving. The newly-acquired spoil was bestowed with prodigal profusion on those who had acquired nothing for themselves; and they who, an hour before, with greedy avarice, had seized all on which they could lay their hands, now voluntarily impoverished themselves, and counted the privilege of this day their all-sufficient reward!”—vol. i. pp. 374—376.

A glance at the Table of Contents prefixed to the first volume would give one the notion that the author had been unhappy in the choice of his title. "The Holy Land," rather than "the Holy City," it would seem, had been a more appropriate designation of the work. But none will feel disposed to quarrel with the title, when they consider how completely—from the times of David to the present day—Jerusalem has been the one centre of interest and importance. Thither flocked the devout sons of Israel annually—"the tribes of the Lord went up," even as their thoughts and hopes were bent towards it for the glories of "the deliverer" who was yet to come. And round that sacred shrine Christian efforts have now for eighteen hundred years been gathered, one while to dislodge the infidel profanation, one while to honour with the kiss of grateful reverence, scenes of small intrinsic value, but where

"even the lifeless stone is dear  
For thoughts of Him."

Yes ; and on Jerusalem must the eye of interest be fixed even till the end, so long as God's chosen people continue to wander up and down the earth, scattered from their land of promise, and the prophecies of restoration remain to be fulfilled ; so long as aught "withholdeth" the last great struggle of Antichrist, and the nations be to be gathered to the plains of Armageddon, and the world be to witness the revelation of the Son of Man.

Upon these events of the world's last age, as connected with the Holy City, Mr. Williams has some sensible remarks. Having observed that we have scripture warrant for concluding that "it is yet to be the theatre of great and important actions," he asks, "what is to be the condition of Palestine during this interval?" In reply he first of all quotes for his readers' amusement the solution proposed by a popular writer of one of the two vainest nations of the world. M. Poujoulat decides that

"In order that the fall of the Ottoman empire may subserve the cause of civilization in the East, she (viz. the English vulture) must be checked. The only means to effect this is the union of France and Russia. The active and persevering spirit of the latter requires the genius of France to enable her to fulfil her destinies : and France, on her side, demands this grand support to enable her to triumph over an enemy whose glory is of necessity the abasement of her own. Austria will of course assist. This accomplished, France, the champion of the faith, guided by her conquering genius, is to plant the cross in all the Asiatic capitals, as thirty years ago she planted her standard on all the

capitals of Europe<sup>1</sup>; and the regeneration of the East is to be accomplished by her missionaries."

To the following reply to this we would beg the attention of a certain set of people in our own country, who seem to have some hideous image of the Czar for ever brooding like a nightmare over them. Russian ambition, Russian intolerance, Russian designs upon Constantinople, the disturbance of the balance of power, these are the bugbears of their political peace of mind. Mr. W. continues :—

"Now without advancing any claim to political discernment, still less to prophetic prescience, I venture to pronounce that there is no combination further without the reach of probability than this, no expectations less likely to be realized. Russia must forget the French invasion and sacking of Moscow, both must forget the memorable retreat for which Russia offers her annual *Te Deum*, before such a coalition as that here contemplated can be effected; and the holy orthodox Church of the East, the Church of the Russian Empire, must acknowledge the Pope's claims to supremacy, which she has resisted since they were first advanced, before she will delegate to French priests the duty which she is commissioned to perform. The protection of the oppressed Christians in the East has devolved on the autocrat of Russia; it is his high prerogative, it is his solemn duty as a Christian, and as a faithful son of the Holy Church Catholic. That duty he will perform. The establishment of the orthodox Church in his dominions commends it to his special regard; the extension of its limits so as to comprehend the seat of the chief patriarch of the Armenians, has entitled that important community to his countenance and support; and the fact of the frontiers of the two most formidable Mohammedan powers bordering on his gigantic empire, gives a weight to his arbitration which no other Christian sovereign can exercise. And I confess that when I observed the silent and beneficial influence of Russia, as exercised by her representatives in the East, with a degree of impartiality which I did not expect, but especially when I contrasted it with the busy, restless interference of the French political agents, aiming only at the aggrandizement of Rome, with a love too fierce even for its favoured objects, I could not participate in the jealous and suspicious fears with which my countrymen are wont to regard Russian diplomacy. And further, when I discovered that the laws of Russia have contrived to reconcile the firmest possible support to the national Church, with

<sup>1</sup> *Histoire de Jerusalem*, t. iii. p. 275. This flourish will be thought exaggerated by me; I can assure the reader that I translate the nonsense verbatim, and have omitted as much equally silly. [It is entertaining to place alongside of this the late letter of the President of the Republic himself to Colonel Ney at Rome, in which he writes, that "at the time when our armies made the tour of Europe, they left every where, as the traces of their passage, the germs of liberty, and the destruction of the abuses of the feudal system."]

the greatest degree of toleration to other communities, better than any country<sup>2</sup>, I could not but feel that the extension of those laws might prove most salutary to the East in its present distracted state. On the other hand, the suppression of many ancient sees in Georgia, on its annexation to the empire at the commencement of the last reign, with the subjection of that whole Church to the Holy Governing Synod of Russia (whose constitution is not unexceptionable in itself, and which certainly could exercise no rightful jurisdiction over independent bishops without the free consent of their Church), had led me to apprehend an uncanonical interference with the ancient Patriarchates, in the event here contemplated. But these apprehensions have been much allayed by the liberal and enlightened policy displayed on occasion of the late vacancy in the highest dignity of the Armenian Church, when a free election by the whole body was not only allowed, but invited and ensured, by the high authority of an imperial ukase<sup>3</sup>. And if the report of some late enactments had awakened alarm in behalf of the Jews (whose interests demand the second consideration in all views of Eastern politics), a more accurate knowledge of the facts of the case, and the promulgation of an edict affecting them, dictated by a spirit of consideration worthy of a Christian monarch<sup>4</sup>, has convinced me that the lives and liberties of the Israelites would be no less safe in the custody of Russia than of any other Christian power."—vol. i. pp. 457—459.

We come now to the second, or topographical and archæological portion of "the Holy City."

That not merely the appearance, but the plan and limits, of modern Jerusalem are very different from those of the city as it stood eighteen centuries ago, is a fact which is doubtless taken for granted by every one of our readers. Nor will the least enthusiastic among them, probably, have conceived a doubt that many or even most of the sites, on which deeds of such surpassing interest were severally once enacted, have been preserved with scrupulous fidelity, and can be pointed to with something like precision. Mount Calvary, for instance, the scene of our Blessed Saviour's passion,—this at least is known. For ourselves, we confess that, in our simplicity, we too had thought so, till within the last few years. Jerusalem (so we argued) was for several centuries the centre of a see of great importance; its bishops honoured with peculiar precedence<sup>5</sup>; and its sacred precincts venerated, even by

<sup>2</sup> In proof of the former, I appeal to the Oustaff, or Code of Laws for the regulation of the Holy Governing Synod, &c. &c. ; and to the testimony of foreign residents in Russia, for the latter.

<sup>3</sup> The free election of the Patriarch Narcissus to the highest dignity of the Armenian Church took place at Etchmiazine, April 17, 1843, and was confirmed at St. Petersburg, August 10, in the same year.

<sup>4</sup> I allude to an ukase, dated Gatchina, November 13, 1844, addressed to the minister of public instruction, relating to the education of the Jews.

<sup>5</sup> See Canon vii. of the Council of Nice, A.D. 325.

emperors, beyond every spot on earth. There the holy Cyril instructed the faithful; and there a succession of bishops have sat on apostolic thrones, tracing their spiritual descent to this day from St. James himself. In such a city then, surely, of all cities in Christendom, tradition must have kept guard with undeviating watchfulness. Moreover, it is notorious that Constantine sought out the place of the Crucifixion, and that of the burying of our Lord, and erected thereupon a magnificent church, which, after three several destructions, has re-appeared by the pious care of Christian hands. What doubt, then, that the Church of the Resurrection or Holy Sepulchre, now standing at Jerusalem, indicates with fidelity the very spot to which its name bears testimony.

Aye; what doubt indeed? Gentle reader, it was reserved for the enlightened scepticism of our countryman, Dr. Clarke, a few years ago, and very lately for the presbyterian antipathies of a transatlantic traveller, to discredit traditions traceable to the most remote antiquity, and to attempt to shake the innocent belief in which thousands have reposed. A certain Mr. Fergusson has likewise followed in their wake. To the *pious* labours of these gentlemen we are indebted for the volumes now before us. Mr. Williams, possessed of too truthful a spirit to desire to uphold what was false merely because it was venerable, was determined to investigate the matter for himself. The first edition of his book was (we believe) attacked by Dr. Robinson with more invective than argument<sup>6</sup>; and this second one, consequently, assumes a controversial attitude, which seems, under the circumstances, to have been unavoidable. Its *plan* is to dissect the arguments, one by one, which Dr. Robinson has advanced; and then, having disposed of them, to bring forward his own view<sup>7</sup>.

Dr. R.'s plan, by the way, does seem most strange and unreasonable. Such was his prejudice against ecclesiastical tradition, that he determined as a principle "to avoid as far as possible all contact with the convents and the authority of the monks" during his investigations! To whom, then, did he look for information? He "applied solely for information to the native Arab population." In other words, he would accept a tradition—if he could find one—from the mouth of a Mohammedan; but his Protestantism was too pure to allow his ears to be sullied by tra-

<sup>6</sup> He acknowledges with much candour that he had himself provoked it; see the "Preface to the Second Edition," p. vi.

<sup>7</sup> We say "Dr. Robinson," for he has now become the chief, as he is doubtless the most able, champion of the anti-traditional party. Mr. Fergusson's guns are of very small calibre; and Dr. Clarke—there is abundant evidence to prove—has been greatly over-rated.



ditions from beneath a Christian cowl ! The value of native information is amusingly illustrated by Mr. Williams in the following note, at p. 5 of his second volume. The native Arabs, he says—

“are very apt to adopt, not merely the traditions of Monks, but the suggestions of travellers, and to pass them off as authoritative. In 1843, I was pointed out, on the sea of Tiberias, the site of Bethsaida, where a friend and myself had endeavoured to fix it in the preceding year, by the very boatman who on my former visit had denied all knowledge of such a name ! He was a *native* Mohammedan.”

But to return : The chief question to be settled is—whether or no the Church of the Holy Sepulchre stands upon the site of that “new sepulchre, wherein was never man yet laid.” Now it must be remembered that in any place answering to this, there are certain conditions to be satisfied ; for we are distinctly told that “in the place where He was crucified, there was a garden,” and that “the place where Jesus was crucified was nigh to the city<sup>1</sup>,” *i.e.* *outside* the city, consequently the question hinges on the site of the ancient walls. Although the present city stretches considerably farther to the west than the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, are there yet any traces of the ancient walls which may serve to demonstrate—if not the certainty that our Lord’s tomb lay where tradition has evermore affirmed, yet—the *possibility* that tradition has spoken truly, inasmuch as the locality indicated *would* have been *without* the limits of the then existing city ? This, as we have said, is the main question which Mr. Williams’s second volume answers ; but the course of investigation which this led him into, has enabled him to determine several other sites. At least, so he says :—with what truth it will be for the public to judge. The strict examination of arguments, the severe sifting and testing of evidence which the matter demands, we have not yet been able to carry sufficiently far to justify us in pronouncing a verdict. This, therefore, forms no part of our object in the present article : we must defer it to a future opportunity. All that we desire at present is, to give to our readers some notion of the state of the controversy, and to call attention to a subject as remarkable as it is important. And if we appear to write rather in the light of advocates, than of judges, this must be taken as the reason ; for we are doing hardly more than analysing the statement of one of the parties in court.

If the reader will take any tolerably good plan of ancient Jerusalem<sup>2</sup>, he will—it may be hoped—be able to follow us in the succeeding remarks.

<sup>1</sup> John xix. 20. 41.

<sup>2</sup> The plans attached to the maps of Palestine, ancient and modern, by Professor Hughes, and published by Knight under the supervision of the Society for

## *The Holy City.*

... originally occupied two hills, separated by a valley. The highest and higher of these was called Mount Zion, or Sion—the upper forum; in distinction from the lower city, or Acra—which was (says Josephus) in shape gibbous. The Tyropœon designates the intervening valley by the name of Tyropœon. The Temple-mount (Moriah) had been a third hill over against Acra, originally separated from it likewise by a valley, which the Asmonean princes filled up. In process of time, however (writes Josephus), as population increased, a fourth eminence—to the north of the temple and close to the hill of Acra—was surrounded with dwellings: this was called Bezetha, or the New City. Each of these three portions of the city was surrounded by a distinct wall; of which the first and second, surrounding the upper and lower cities, were ancient; the third, round the new city, was built by Agrippa in the reign of the Emperor Claudius. The walls are described as follows:—

The Hippic tower, at the north-west angle of Zion, being assumed as a starting point, the first wall extended along the northern brow of Zion in an easterly direction, and was joined to the western cloister of the Temple, which was completely surrounded by a wall of its own. In the opposite direction it ran with a western and southern aspect round Zion, above the fountain of Siloam (which may be described as beyond the south-eastern angle of the city), then turned, and was joined at length to the eastern cloister of the Temple. “This wall must have twice crossed the Tyropœon, in order to reach the Temple, and from the fountain of Siloam there was a wall along the eastern brow of Zion, to meet the wall which bounded it on the north.” “Of the second wall we are only told, it commenced at a place<sup>1</sup> called the Gate of Gennath [garden], a point in the first wall of Hippicus, and encircling the northern part of the city, was joined to the fortress Antonia, which occupied a considerable space at the north-west of the Temple area.” The wall of Agrippa, like the first wall, commenced at the Hippic tower, extended far towards the north, passed to the upper part of the Valley of Jehoshaphat, and following the course of the valley was joined at length to the Temple wall at its north-eastern angle. For a fuller description the reader may consult Mr. Williams’ work, vol. i. pp. 146—148, and the Supplement, § VII., for the ancient topography: vol. ii. pp. 8—12, for the modern disposition. We need hardly say, that a disquisition relating to the topography of Jerusalem as it

Promoting Useful Knowledge, will be found as good and distinct as—and, we need not say, far cheaper than—any other. We may remark that Mr. Hughes seems to have constructed his plan upon the descriptions of Dr. Robinson; an act which, we suspect, will be found to have led him into some gross inconsistencies.

<sup>1</sup> See below, p. 188.

existed in our Saviour's time, cannot be concerned with the third wall.

The interior of the city at this day is divided into five quarters, respectively called the Christian quarter, the Mohammedan, the Armenian, the Jewish, and the Haram. Of these, the two former compose, broadly speaking, the northern half of the city, the Christian lying to the west of the other; the Armenian and Jewish quarters occupy the western and eastern halves respectively of that part of Mount Zion which is included in the modern city; while *El-Haram es-Sherif*, or the noble Sanctuary, stands where once stood the temple on Mount Moriah, and contains the mosks, &c. of the Moslem worship.

In order to investigate the disputed question, as to whether that portion of the Christian quarter now occupied by the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, was or was not included in the second wall of the city, as described by Josephus, it was necessary to determine certain other prominent points in the description given above. These are, then, 1. the site of the Hippic tower; 2. the position of the gate Gennath, and the line of the Second Wall; 3. the situation of Acra; and 4. the course of the Tyropœon.

With regard to the first, Mr. Williams, following Dr. Robinson, in his first edition assumed that the site of the Hippic tower corresponded with that of the tower of David at the north-east of the present citadel<sup>2</sup>. But he here shows ground for concluding, that it occupied a space at the north-west, instead of the north-eastern angle of the platform of the modern citadel: not (as he confesses) that this will materially affect the questions at issue between them.

The gate Gennath he places about 1000 feet nearly due east of the Hippic tower; that is, sufficiently far to admit a magnificent palace, which, according to Josephus' account, Herod had there, comprising many porticoes, groves, &c., besides "two immense chambers, so large and splendid that the Temple itself could not be compared with them." Taking for his groundwork a passage in Josephus' account of the siege by Titus, Dr. Robinson had made the gate Gennath to be identical with a gate "by which water was brought into the tower Hippicus." Mr. Williams shows reason for believing that this *water-gate* was on the *south* of Hippicus, in the *west* wall of Zion; and assigns the *garden-gate* to "another anonymous gate, hard by the Hippic tower<sup>3</sup>," and sufficiently far to the east of the Pool of the Bath to allow of

<sup>2</sup> D'Anville placed it nearly 3000 feet to the N.W. of this, making it to correspond with the Psephine tower.

<sup>3</sup> We are not sure that we have correctly given the author's meaning in this passage.

a proper interval between it and the bank, which Josephus says was raised by the fifteenth legion about thirty cubits eastward of the pool. See from p. 17 to 24. Near to this gate the second wall had its commencement.

We cannot expect Mr. Williams to write with greater accuracy than the historian whom he translates; but we do expect that he will write consistently with himself. We say this in no unfriendly spirit; and we feel sure that he will be the first to acknowledge the very great increase of difficulty which is forced upon readers of a work like his by even slight inaccuracies. At p. 24 of vol. ii. he is correcting an inaccuracy of Dr. Robinson's, and quotes Josephus as saying, that "the sacred wall had its beginning *near* the gate Gennath." But at p. 148 of vol. i. he writes, that "it commenced *at* a place called the gate of Gennath." The two statements appear to us to represent an important difference in the state of things. The historian's own expression is indefinite: he says of this wall, that it τὴν μὲν ἀρχὴν ἀπὸ πύλης εἶχεν, ἣν Γενναῖθ ἐκάλουν.

Mr. Williams then proceeds to compare the Acra of Josephus with that of the American traveller, which covers a large space directly north of Mount Zion, and including (so far as we can gather—but the learned Doctor has never yet aided his description with a plan of the ancient walls) the whole extent of the modern city in the north-west or Christian quarter. The result is, that Dr. Robinson's Acra presents a complete contrast to that of the ancient historian, both in altitude and character; the former being the termination of a broad ridge of land lying to the north-west, *instead of* a distinct hill—leaving therefore a long, high, and somewhat level swell of land without the supposed walls in this direction; *instead of* being one of two hills "every where enclosed from without by deep valleys", considerably higher than Zion, *instead of* occupying "the lower hill;" and, lastly, separated from Zion by no valley at all which can at present be distinctly traced, *instead of* there lying between them that remarkable gorge called the Tyropœon. Dr. Robinson does indeed profess to point to the course which the Tyropœon took, which has, however, "become gradually and wholly filled up with the ruins and rubbish of eighteen centuries".

Now it must be remembered that another valley, which once

<sup>4</sup> It is right to mention that Dr. R. declares he has doubts as to the literal correctness of this expression. But if another position can be pointed out, and Mr. W. seems to have done so, fulfilling the other data of Josephus, *and this as well*, why should a doubt be thrown in *this* particular upon the words of a writer who is remarkable for his accuracy?

<sup>5</sup> Theolog. Review, p. 419.—Dr. R.'s organ.

separated Acra from Moriah, was filled up with earth by the Asmoneans, with the view of joining the city to the temple. Yet *this* valley—or what Dr. Robinson supposes to be this valley—remains most distinctly to this day, as he himself constantly testifies. “Now,” argues Mr. Williams, “I cannot think that a valley filled with earth by the Asmoneans, and greatly filled up with the rubbish of so many centuries, would still exist as one of the principal features of the city; especially while another valley, more distinctly marked in olden time, and never designedly filled, has been obliterated for at least six centuries; which . . . . Dr. Robinson conceives has been the case with the Tyropœon. At least the traces of the valley between Sion and Acra might be expected to be more distinctly marked, than of the valley between Acra and Moriah; which is far from being the case if the topography of Dr. Robinson is correct.” (Vol. ii. p. 28.) Besides all this, two arguments are adduced on the same side,—one drawn from the actual position of the lowest line of depression in that quarter of the city; the other from the late discovery of a very ancient sewer, whose course is, in part, precisely that of the Doctor’s Tyropœon. Moreover, it is remarkable that all ancient writers—Josephus, Tacitus, and William of Tyre,—all describe the city as occupying two eminences. Can any one doubt (as Mr. Williams some where asks) that they intend the two ridges divided by the valley which I have called the Tyropœon? and would it not, then, be preposterous to place the Upper and Lower City on one ridge, and on the same side of that valley?

“On these grounds then (writes Mr. W.), that the gate of Gennath must have been some distance east of Hippicus; that the Acra of Josephus is a complete contrast in altitude and character with the ridge north of Zion; that no distinct valley now exists, nor can be proved ever to have existed, between this ridge and Zion, I am obliged to reject the topographical identifications of Dr. Robinson, and to propose a theory more consistent with the representations of the Jewish historian.”—vol. ii. p. 35.

Before we go further, we must be allowed to make an observation. It is that Mr. Williams has here again, as it appears to us, added very unnecessarily to the difficulty of following him in his complex argument, in favour of his own and in demolition of Dr. Robinson’s theory. In the passage copied above, he speaks

<sup>6</sup> The reader will find the valley of the Tyropœon, according to the course which Dr. R. would have us to believe it took, distinctly marked in Prof. Hughes’s map, before referred to. Also the gate of Gennath, placed close to the Hippic tower, and the second wall carried round *outside* the site of the present Church of the Holy Sepulchra.

of the necessity of the gate of Gennath being *some distance* east of Hippicus. And it is evident, on consideration, that this is what he means, and has been labouring to prove. Yet, at p. 23, he cites Dr. Robinson's words with apparent assent, that "the gate must of course have been quite near to Hippicus:" and again, "there was a gate in the first wall adjacent to Hippicus:" again, lower down, "hard by the Hippic tower:" and more particularly in p. 22, "I come now to the last and most memorable proof of all, that the gate Gennath was near the Hippic tower."—It has just occurred to us, that possibly this last passage may refer to the proof on *Dr. Robinson's* side, in favour of *his* theory, that the two were near. If this be so, we can only say we wish Mr. Williams had expressed himself somewhat differently. We can assure him, that however clearly his argument may be unrolled before his own mind, it has cost us no little labour to follow the sequence and perceive the bearing of all the separate portions. We hope that, in the analysis which we have been giving, we have not misrepresented any part of it.

But for Mr. Williams' own theory. If (as he observes) the course of the valley of the Tyropœon can be ascertained, the position of Acra will be easily determined: he therefore inverts the order of his argument, and addresses himself to the Tyropœon first.

There is, he asserts, "one and *only one* remarkable and well-defined valley passing entirely through the city," to which Dr. Robinson makes frequent allusion, as commencing at the Damascus gate (on the north side of the city), and running in a southern direction to the Pool of Siloam. He is of opinion that the character of this broad valley answers to the description of the Tyropœon of Josephus—dividing the modern city into two parts, as the Tyropœon did the ancient, having on the west the high hill of Zion, and the declivity of a still higher ridge; and on the east a lower hill, which he calls Acra, joined at the south to the Temple Mount. But then, was this the relative situation of Zion and Acra, of Acra and Moriah? Can it be proved that the hill Acra lay north-west of the Temple-mount, and not due west? This question he proceeds to discuss, taking as his groundwork the Scriptural account of some of the porters at the Temple gates (1 Chron. xxvi. 16, seq.), together with a passage in the Antiquities of Josephus descriptive of four gates "in the western quarter" of the Temple. This brings upon the *tapis* the famous causeway of Solomon, and gives him occasion to inform us that "such a causeway, connecting the north-east brow of Zion with the Temple-mount, is distinctly to be seen at this day;" indeed, singularly enough, "the very street which Dr. Robinson repre-



sents as following the bed of the valley of the Tyropœon is carried along the ridge of an artificial mound,—for the mound is clearly artificial, and not accidental, as he imagines." (p. 43.)

It is here, at the junction of this causeway with the Temple-mount, that he would place the gate "Shallecheth,"—i. e. according to the Chaldee Paraphrast quoted by Lightfoot, "the gate of the casting up or embankment." Having arrived at this, he goes on, by a felicitous train of reasoning, to prove that the *hill Acra*<sup>7</sup> was not the ridge immediately west of Moriah (for here lay "the suburbs," as the Tyropœon was sometimes called—p. 41), but "lay north of the Temple." This, it appears to us, must be taken to mean *northerly*—i. e., rather north than west. The description of the hill so lying "exactly answers in other respects, to the account of the hill Acra given by Josephus."

But if this was the position of Acra—the very position, be it remembered—which Dr. R. has assigned to Bezetha—where was "Bezetha, or rather the hill included in Bezetha? for the new city was very extensive, and encompassed the lower city on three sides." The reply is—north of the Temple, exactly where Josephus places it. It is a hill distinct from Acra, not mentioned by Dr. R., lying between it and the valley of the Kedron, covered to this day with ruins and cisterns, and bearing evident traces of having been thickly peopled; its highest point nearly north-east of the summit of Acra. "In approaching the city from the north by the Damascus road," writes Mr. Williams, "the two hills are so distinctly marked, that it is impossible to mistake them, and the correctness of the Jewish historian's language is most clearly proved."

Thus, then, having determined the course of the Tyropœon, and the position of Acra, and answered prospectively an objection touching that of Bezetha, the author returns to the great question on which (as we observed) hinges the whole inquiry into the genuineness of the traditional site of the Holy Sepulchre:—he endeavours to trace out the course of the second wall. To do this with him would lead us into details not easy of comprehension, in the absence of a map or a scale akin to that of the magnificent plan of the town and environs, which accompanies the work, and is copied from that drawn by certain officers of the Royal Engineers. It must suffice to say, that embracing in its course several remains of gateways, "it satisfies every demand of the wall of Josephus." These investigations will be found between the 39th and the 58th pages.

<sup>7</sup> As distinguished from the town about the hill Acra, which was reckoned to the hill.

And, now, how stands the great inquiry of all? Where does it leave the Church of the Holy Sepulchre? In the author's own words we answer:—

“In the angle formed by the first and second wall, ‘nigh unto the city,’ and ‘without the gate,’ probably in a ‘place where there were gardens’ (John xix. 20. 41, Heb. xiii. 2), for the gate Gennath (*i. e.* ‘the gate of the gardens’) led into this quarter; and where we know there were tombs; for the monument of John the high priest was in the angle which was described by that fact<sup>a</sup>; and it is surely a wonderful confirmation of the Christian tradition, that these circumstances, incidentally recorded by a Jewish writer with a totally different view, should all concur in showing, not surely the possibility, but even a probability, of its truth. If ‘undesigned coincidences’ are worth any thing in such arguments, the Holy Sepulchre is justly entitled to the full benefit of these, which it is impossible for scepticism itself to suspect.”—vol. ii. p. 59.

Still, though it may have thus been proved to demonstration that the present site of the Holy Sepulchre is such as must have been without the circuit of the ancient city, it may nevertheless be wrongly determined: or the site having been rightly determined in the first instance, may have been transferred at a later period to this place. It becomes therefore needful to adduce evidence for the truth and for the continuity of the tradition; and this is done in the following chapter. Our limits do not permit us to follow the learned and enthusiastic author all through. We must content ourselves with the following hints as to the course he adopts.

First of all it is obvious to remark, that if the foregoing “attempt to determine the position of Acra and the course of the second wall has been successful, the tradition relating to the Holy Sepulchre is much confirmed:” since it is probable “that a fictitious site would have been fixed far enough away from the ruins of the ancient city, to obviate those apparently strong objections” which arise from its proximity. Moreover, “the very name assigned to the place where our Lord suffered, would tend to preserve the memorial of the site among the natives:” for is it to be supposed, when we remember that this name was universally received in our Saviour's time, and recorded by the Evange-

<sup>a</sup> This most important fact is proved by the following passages in the fifth book of the Jewish War, vi. 2; vii. 3; ix. 2; xi. 4. The monument mentioned was no doubt a tomb (as Herod's monument, Helena's monument, the Fuller's monument, were all tombs). This shows that there were tombs in this part; that they were the tombs of some distinguished persons, such as that of the high priest, and of Joseph of Arimathea, which were handsome monuments, and probably inclosed in gardens.

lists—that the Christian Church had never been absent from Jerusalem above two years, probably—and that all other hills and valleys in the neighbourhood retained their distinctive appellations,—is it to be supposed that that hill, which could not fail to be regarded with the deepest interest, not to say reverence, should have lost its name? Nor would the subsequent attempt of Hadrian, or any other, to obliterate the memorial of our Lord's resurrection, by erecting a temple of Venus over the spot, have any other effect than to perpetuate the tradition of the site;—an observation, which is remarkably confirmed by the fact, that “neither Eusebius, nor any of the writers of that century, imply any difficulty in ascertaining the locality.”

“With this strong presumption in favour of a right conclusion, we find the Holy Sepulchre placed exactly where the impugnors of the tradition, in accordance with the sacred writers, fix its situation, in reference to the ancient city walls, as far as their course can now be ascertained.”—vol. ii. p. 74.

The appearance which the Sepulchre, as it now is, presents, may be thus described:—

“‘A grotto above ground,’ consisting of two chambers, whereof the outer one, constructed of solid masonry, is called the Chapel of the Angel; while the inner one, entered by a low door, is the very cave hewn out of a rock, where was the tomb of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ. The spot where the sacred body lay is ‘on the right side’ of the cave at entering’, now covered with marble to protect it from injury; the removal of which would probably show a ledge or couch, such as are seen in other ancient tombs, ~~cut~~ in the native rock, and only large enough to admit the body. The tomb was designed by Joseph for his own burial, so that it may have had but one receptacle, as is the case with many other rock graves in the vicinity of the city.

“The Greeks believe that the Holy Sepulchre was formerly a rock grave, excavated in a mountain side, as is probably the case with those *e. g.* in the Valley of Hinnom, but that the whole space about it was, by order of the Empress Helena, reduced to the level of the base of the cave, so that the cave stood erect in the middle of an even ground; that she further cased the four sides externally with marble, so as to give it the appearance of a building; and that the roof of the monolith was then pierced in several places to allow a vent to the smoke of the many lamps which continually burnt within.”—vol. ii. pp. 77, 78.

Such is probably the correct account: for the testimony of Eusebius is clear and explicit—Eusebius, a bishop of Palestine, who lived at the time when the Sepulchre was recovered. Of a similar nature is that borne by the Bordeaux pilgrim coeval

<sup>9</sup> Mark xvi. 5; compare John xx. 12.

with Eusebius—by St. Cyril, bishop of Jerusalem, a very little later—by A. Placentinus, another pilgrim, two centuries later—by Arculfus, only much more distinct, towards the close of the same century—by the English Saint Willibald, in the following century—by Paschasius Radbertus, in a description which he professes to have taken from the accounts of many travellers of that time, in the ninth century.

Very curious and interesting extracts are likewise given, from the Russian pilgrim, Daniel, who visited Jerusalem in the twelfth century (which passage alone might suffice to establish the identity of the sepulchre of that day with that of earlier times, as regarded its outward features), and from Father Boniface of Ragusa, who was employed by Pope Julius III. in the sixteenth century to superintend the restoration—and lastly, from certain eye-witnesses of the fire which took place in 1808, when the ante-chapel was dreadfully burned, and the chapel erected by the Crusaders on the top of the monolith was entirely consumed; yet the cave itself received not the slightest injury internally. These extracts all unite to prove the continued existence of the native rock within the marble casing.

Thus we have endeavoured to lay before the reader an analysis of the arguments and inductions by which Mr. Williams seeks to support a belief which has come down to us venerable with the hoar of ages; and piously steps forward to rescue from the charge, not merely of pitiful ignorance, but of wilful imposition, the bishops and clergy, and some of the brightest ornaments in the purest days, of the eldest Church in Christendom. And we bid him, God speed! Without pledging ourselves to a complete agreement with deductions founded upon arguments which we have had no opportunity of testing, we need not hesitate to declare that, so far as common sense can aid us, in almost all points where he and Dr. Robinson engage, we think the palm of victory must be awarded to our author—always supposing that citations be correctly made, and local facts truly stated. Nor do we shrink from avowing an antecedent sympathy with one who takes his stand on the side which our English Churchman has espoused, in preference to those who set out—as the American Presbyterian seems to have done—with the *axiom* that ecclesiastical tradition is synonymous with fraud; or who—like his co-religionist of Scotland—while charging a Christian bishop with an impious fabrication, deliberately asserts that primitive Christians were likely to pay more marked honour to the resting-place of their human teachers, than to that grave in which the body of the blessed Saviour had been without seeing corruption<sup>1</sup>; or to

<sup>1</sup> Dr. Wilson, "Lands of the Bible," vol. i.

one, and he (alas, that we should have to speak it ! ) a professor in one of our own ancient universities, who—while calling the saints and fathers of the *fourth* century “*ignorant* priests”—had the temerity to pronounce dogmatically, after a run of only fifteen days through Palestine, Jerusalem included<sup>2</sup>.

For ourselves, we beg to tender to Mr. Williams our earnest thanks for his very valuable work, and to congratulate him on the patience, diligence, research, and piety which he has evidently brought to bear upon a subject of surpassing interest—whether it be viewed in a geographical, historical, or religious aspect. It is with sincere pleasure that, while writing these pages, we have heard of an act which reflects equal credit on him who gives and him who receives. We allude to the following gratifying announcement, which appeared in the “*Guardian*” newspaper of Sept. 12th :—

“The King of Prussia has presented to the Rev. George Williams, M.A., Fellow of King’s College, Cambridge (through his ambassador, the Chevalier Bunsen), the golden medal for science, as a token of his high esteem and appreciation of the important services rendered to the republic of letters by that gentleman, in his interesting work *The Topography of Jerusalem*.”

It would not be right to close this article without saying, that a large portion of the second volume is dedicated to an investigation of the Temple-mountain as it was and as it is, as well as to the antiquities without the walls. The volume closes with an interesting account of the inhabitants of modern Jerusalem ; and with several long notes, for one of which—on Proselytism in the East, Bishop Gobat and the Malta Protestant College—we wish we had space. We earnestly invite attention to it.

We must not omit to mention the very beautiful chapter, by Professor Willis, on the Architectural History of the Holy Sepulchre. And we would express a hope that Mr. W. will consider over our suggestion in p. 180.

<sup>2</sup> Dr. E. D. Clarke. He fell into the monstrous absurdity of placing Mount Zion south of the Valley of Hinnom.

ART. X.—1. *An Inquiry into the Doctrine of the Church of England upon Absolution. By the Rev. WILLIAM MASKELL, M.A., Vicar of St. Mary Church, and Domestic Chaplain to the Lord Bishop of Exeter.* London: William Pickering. 1849.

2. *The Ministry of the Word for Absolution, according to the Doctrine of the Church of England since the Reformation. In reply to the Rev. W. Maskell's Doctrine of Absolution. By the Rev. CHARLES WARREN, M.A., Vicar of Over, Cambridge-shire.* London: Hamilton and Adams. 1849.

THE question treated in these publications is one altogether of considerable difficulty, and yet of great practical importance, as all questions relating to absolution must necessarily be. The effect of the absolutions in the daily service and the office for the Holy Communion, may not in itself at first sight appear to comprise so many subjects of inquiry as it really does; but Mr. Maskell has thrown a new light on the subject in his sermon, followed up by the able publication mentioned at the head of this Article, on which it is our purpose to make some comments.

The excessive evils resulting in many ways from the practice of enforced confession which had prevailed for some centuries before the Reformation, induced the abolition of that practice as a necessary preliminary to the reception of the Holy Sacrament, though it was still left optional in the case of any person whose conscience was troubled and who required further comfort or counsel, and the benefit of special absolution. The canons of the Church also recognize and sanction the practice of confessing sins to the minister of God, with a view to spiritual comfort by the same means. Jewell, Hooker, and, we may say, all our divines, concur in affirming that the Church permits and authorizes the practice, though she does not, like the Church of Rome, make it compulsory; and Mr. Maskell agrees with this view, while he states his full conviction that the Church of England has done well and wisely in suppressing the practice of compulsory confession. The following passage conveys Mr. Maskell's view on this part of the subject:—

“In this place I must say that it is no part of my duty now to defend the truth which our Church insists upon, namely, that priestly absolution is not necessary to salvation; and, therefore, that oral confession is not obligatory upon all her members. It must be enough for me to declare



my entire and unhesitating acceptance of this, her decision: nor that alone; I would express also, with all humility, my deep conviction that the removal of the old rule, and the return to ancient practice in this respect, was one great and chief blessing of the Reformation.

“Quite in accordance, therefore, with Holy Scripture, and with catholic tradition, is the statement that God ‘pardoneth and absolveth all them that truly repent, and unfeignedly believe his holy Gospel.’ Excellent is the admonition which succeeds the pronunciation of this statement: ‘Let us beseech Him to grant us true repentance and his Holy Spirit, that those things may please Him which we do at this present; and that the rest of our life hereafter may be pure and holy.’ Most true do I believe it to be, that if returning sinners would once again be accepted of God, would once again ‘come’ before Him ‘holy and clean,’ they may with all confidence rely upon the ‘way and means thereto,’—alone and without other means,—which our Church has set before them; that is, ‘to examine their lives and conversations by the rule of God’s commandments; and whereinsoever they shall have perceived themselves to have offended, either by will, word, or deed, there to bewail their own sinfulness, and to confess themselves to Almighty God, with full purpose of amendment of life.’

“And once more: fully do I accept, and with God’s help, most plainly would I always endeavour to urge and to insist upon this truth also,—that, without any resort at all to priestly absolution, without receiving it, without desiring it, ‘if we have sinned, we have an Advocate with the Father, Jesus Christ the Righteous.’ If, therefore, we return to Him, who is the merciful receiver of all true penitent sinners, we may assure ourselves that He is ready to receive us, and most willing to pardon us, if we come unto Him with faithful repentance, if we submit ourselves unto Him, and from henceforth walk in his ways; if we will take his easy yoke, to follow Him in lowliness, patience, and charity, and be ordered by the governance of his Holy Spirit, seeking always His glory, and serving Him duly in our vocation with thanksgiving. This if we do, Christ will deliver us from the curse of the law, and He will set us on his right hand, and give us the gracious benediction of his Father, commanding us to take possession of his glorious kingdom. These are indeed golden words; they are words, I humbly and heartily believe, founded, to their full extent, and in their obvious and honest meaning, upon the word of God itself, and the primitive teaching of the Church.”—pp. 151—153.

This passage states the author’s full conviction that the Church of England held sacerdotal absolution not to be essential to the remission of sin; and that she is right in so holding and teaching.

The particular point, however, made by Mr. Maskell is this,—that, although remission of sins may be obtained by other means besides the absolution of the authorized minister, that absolution,

when it is given, must always be preceded by special confession of sin made to him ; and, therefore, that a *general* confession of sin made in and with the congregation, as it is in the *daily service* and the Holy Communion, is not such a confession as entitles those who make it to receive absolution ; and that, in point of fact, the absolution in those services is not, properly speaking, an absolution, but a declaration of God's willingness to forgive, or else a prayer for the forgiveness of the penitent. We think that this is a fair representation of Mr. Maskell's view on the point. It is comprised in the following passage :—

“ So far as I am able to comprehend the teaching of our Church, she holds the grace of absolution to be given, and to be given only, to the true penitent after a distinct confession by word of mouth of all known and remembered sins : such confession to be made to a priest, not for the purpose of asking counsel and advice, but in order to receive absolution through his ministry.

“ Hence the third form in our office for the Visitation of the Sick, and the absolution contemplated and advised in the exhortation which follows the appointed notice of Communion, alone convey and assure the grace of sacramental absolution, because they alone fulfil the required conditions. If this position be true, then, as to the other two forms which are contained in our Common Prayer-Book, it is, comparatively, of no great consequence to examine very minutely into the extent of the spiritual graces which commonly accompany them. More than a declaration of comfort and consolation, by an authoritative assurance of the infinite mercy of God towards all who repent and amend their lives, with an exhortation so to amend, the first so-called absolution does not appear to be. Nor do I know that the second absolution, that, namely, which is in the Liturgy, although it may convey remission of venial sin, can in any important particular whatever be regarded as more than an earnest supplication to God for mercy towards all who are then present,” &c.—pp. 44, 45.

After perusing this passage, we are naturally led to inquire, On what *authority* the statement is made, that the doctrine of the Church of England is as Mr. Maskell describes it ? The doctrine appears to us novel, at least if we take into account those writers who have lived since the Reformation ; and we are not aware that any such writer has been produced by Mr. Maskell as holding exactly his view. Certainly ritualists may be pointed out who hold the absolutions in the daily service and the Communion to be declarations, and not authoritative absolutions ; and, doubtless, writers may also be found who maintain that the absolution in the Visitation of the Sick, and in private confession, is strictly authoritative, and an exercise of the power of the keys. But we do not recollect to have observed authorities subsequent to the

Reformation who have taught that, in order to obtain absolution from a priest, it is absolutely necessary to have previously made a special confession to him.

Mr. Maskell himself, when he comes to examine the evidence of writers subsequent to the Reformation, says that "there is a difficulty in referring to the works of theologians shortly after the Reformation, whether we appeal to them in support of, or against, previous confession, in order to the full grace of sacerdotal absolution; namely, it is a point which scarcely seems to have come before them" (p. 130). And on examining the various passages which he quotes afterwards, it seems to us, that they do not establish *this* point; but assert the lawfulness of confession and absolution, or deny that the Church of England has entirely rejected either. The only strong passage is an extract from Archbishop Cranmer's Catechism, in which those who sin after baptism are exhorted to go to God's ministers, and confess and receive absolution from them.

The great strength of Mr. Maskell's argument, however, as regards authority, is made to rest on the doctrine of the Church of England *previously* to the Reformation; and here it cannot be doubted that his case is made out very clearly. On this point we shall have to offer some remarks hereafter. But in the mean time we have to observe, that even supposing Mr. Maskell were able to establish by sufficient authorities that in order to a special absolution addressed to an individual, a special confession of sin is necessary, still it does not seem to us to follow, that a *general absolution* may not be given, and be a valid exercise of the power of the keys, when a *general confession* has been made. We will admit to Mr. Maskell that if a penitent comes to a priest soliciting him to pronounce forgiveness of his sins, that priest should endeavour to ascertain in the first instance that he is truly penitent, and may take all reasonable methods to ascertain that the fact is so, by exhortation, instruction, and inquiry. If a penitent comes to have his spiritual wound healed by the advice and exhortations, and prayers, and absolution of the minister of God, he should not conceal from that minister the state of his heart and life, more especially in those points which burden his conscience. Such communication is authorized and supposed in the exhortation to Holy Communion, in the Visitation of the Sick, and in the canons, as a pre-requisite to special absolution. But then this seems to furnish no argument against the validity of an absolution given generally to the congregation, on their general confession. The question is, May not the power of the keys—the power of binding and loosing—be exercised in such an act just as effectively as it is in special absolutions?

We may, therefore, lay aside almost wholly the authorities which Mr. Maskell has accumulated in proof of his position; for they all go to establish that, in order to receive what is called sacramental absolution, *i. e.* to receive special remission of sins, previous special confession of sins to the person pronouncing the absolution is requisite. But there are other absolutions, which were not reckoned as *sacramental*, *i. e.* as not given in the rite of private confession and absolution, and yet which have always been recognized in the Church, as an exercise of the power of the keys in binding and loosing. We allude to absolutions given by synods, and by bishops in their consistories and elsewhere; and other formal and public absolutions, not given in what Roman Catholics call “the tribunal of penance,” *i. e.* not in private, and after secret confession. Now if these be an exercise of the power of the keys—if they be true and real absolutions, it does seem to us that Mr. Maskell’s argument from the general principles and practice of the Church prior to the Reformation, is not tenable; and that there is no authority for maintaining that, in order to receive “the grace of absolution,” a special confession must, in all cases, be made to a priest. In reference to the question how far the absolution in the daily and Communion service is to be regarded in the light which Mr. Maskell, and which the divines of the Church of Rome also regard such absolutions in the public service, namely, as mere prayers or forms which do not comprise any exercise of the power of the keys, but at the utmost may possibly avail to obtain pardon for trifling faults or “venial sins,” we would quote the following words of Hooker, which certainly do not support that view:—

“First, seeing day by day we in our Church begin our public prayers to Almighty God with public acknowledgment of our sins, in which confession every man, prostrate as it were before His Glorious Majesty, crieth guilty against himself; and the minister with one sentence pronounceth universally all clear, when acknowledgment so made, hath proceeded from a true penitent mind; what reason is there every man should not under the general terms of confession, represent unto himself his own particulars whatsoever, and adjoining thereunto that affection which a contrite spirit worketh, embrace to as full effect the words of divine grace, as if the same were severally and particularly uttered with addition of prayers, imposition of hands, or all the ceremonies and solemnities that might be used for the strengthening of man’s affiance in God’s peculiar mercy towards them? Such complements are helps to support our weakness, and not causes that serve to procure or produce the gifts. If with us there be truth in the inward parts, as David speaketh, the difference of *general and particular forms* in confession and absolution is not so material, that any man’s

safety or ghostly good should depend on it."—*Hooker*, book vi. ch. iv. 15, ed. Keble.

We quote this passage, not only as carrying with it considerable authority, but as drawing the distinction to which we have adverted, between general and particular absolutions, and acknowledging the validity of both.

The truth is, that if we look to the terms of our Lord's commission to his Apostles, in which the power of the keys, and of remitting and retaining sins, is conveyed, we do not find any thing to warrant us in asserting, that the power thus conferred can only be exercised in private confession and absolution. Will any one deny that it was fully exercised, when, after public and formal penance for sins in the Church, public absolution was given to numerous penitents together? Will any Romanist, even, deny that the power of the keys, given to the Apostles by our Lord, is not exercised when the pope, or when some authorized ecclesiastical tribunal, imparts by formal sentence absolution to bodies of persons who have transgressed, on their penitence? The papal bulls contain grants of *indulgence*, which is considered as an exercise of the same power given in the words referred to, to *all persons* who perform certain conditions, or execute certain works. We adduce such well-known facts as these to show that we have no right arbitrarily to limit the exercise of the grace of remission in the ministry, to the single case of private confession; and we adduce them also, as furnishing a sufficient reply to the mass of authorities quoted by Mr. Maskell, from authorities *prior* to the Reformation. Even the Latin Church never held the principle, that the power of the keys is only exercised in the sacrament of penance; and, therefore, let it be ever so clearly proved, that in order to the integrity of that sacrament, a special confession was previously necessary, not a step will have been gained, to show that absolution cannot be given by God's ministers except in that rite.

Now, if this be so, we think the weight of authority is at once in favour of the opinion which Mr. Maskell argues against. For the simple fact, that the Church of England herself *calls* the forms in the daily and Communion service "*Absolution*," is, in itself, in our mind, a sufficient proof that she *regards* them as absolutions. Mr. Maskell holds that they are *improperly* called Absolutions. We think that in this, Mr. Maskell labours at a great disadvantage. We should not hastily assume that the Church of England does not mean what she says.

Mr. Warren, in the publication which we have mentioned at the head of this article, states the argument from authority in the

Church of England, since the Reformation, with much clearness and force. He begins thus :—

“The first point on which I rest is, that in 1549, our Reformers retained an Absolution in the Communion Office as a proper Absolution, not as an ordinary prayer. This I shall endeavour to show (when we come to that form), and think that I shall be able to prove. At this time therefore (when they made auricular confession no longer compulsory), they also must have relinquished the tenet that a special confession is necessary to the receiving the grace of sacerdotal Absolution. It may not be amiss to put, in order, the three several views now laid before the reader.

“The Church of England, before 1549, taught, first, that a distinct oral confession is necessary to the receiving sacerdotal Absolution; secondly, that sacerdotal Absolution is necessary to salvation, whence, consistently, auricular confession was compulsory. Mr. Maskell asserts that the Church has only denied the second, which makes auricular no longer compulsory. To allow the efficacy of a general Absolution, we must deny the first, and this, I maintain, the Church has done.”

The following passage contains a strong confirmation of the view above stated :—

“In James I.’s time, we read in a ‘note of such things as shall be reformed,’ appended to *Dr. Montague’s Narrative of the Second Day’s Conference*—‘The Absolution shall be called, the Absolution, or general Remyssion of Sins.’ And in *Barlow’s Account*—‘Next in order was the point of Absolution, which the Lord Archbishop cleared from all abuse or superstition, as it is used in our Church of England; reading unto his Majesty both the Confession, in the beginning of the Communion Book, and the Absolution, following it; wherein, saith he, the Minister doth nothing else but pronounce an Absolution in general. His Highness perused them both, in the book itself, liking and approving them, finding it to be very true which my Lord Archbishop said. But the Bishop of London, stepping forward, added: It becometh us to deal plainly with your Majesty; there is also, in the Communion Book, another more particular and personal form of Absolution, prescribed to be used in the order for the Visitation of the Sick. This the King required to see; and while Master Dean of the Chapel was turning to it, the said Bishop alleged, that not only the Confessions of Augustin, Boheme, Saxon, which he there cited, do retain and allow it; but that Master Calvin also did approve such a general kind of Confession and Absolution as the Church of England useth, and withal did very well like of those which are private, for so he terms them. The said particular Absolution in the Common Prayer Book being read, his Majesty exceedingly well approved it, &c. The conclusion was, that it should be consulted of by the Bishops, whether, unto the Rubric of the general Absolution, these words, Remission of Sins, might not be added, for explanation’ sake.’ I do not know that any other explanation of this addition can be given, than the Bishops did it, in order to mark the



difference between our Absolution and the Romish Absolution of the Sacrament of Penance ; and at the same time, to show their belief that the Absolution is effectual to the Remission of Sins. It had been objected that Absolution was like the Pope's pardons. The new name would refer men to the new and better doctrine. But if the Absolution were regarded only as an appropriate prayer of no higher order than the other prayers of the service, I do not see how this new title could be applied to it. Whatever argument can fairly be drawn from a name, is against Mr. Maskell's hypothesis."

The same view is confirmed by the position taken by the bishops in the Savoy Conference, which is well worthy of notice :—

"It is necessary to notice the substitution of the word Priest for Minister, in certain editions of the Prayer Book. 'On an examination of the editions belonging to that period, it is found that the words were used as if no distinct meanings were assigned to them. The editions of 1607 and 1627 have 'Minister.' The form of prayer for the fast in 1625, and the Prayer Books of 1632 and 1633, have 'Priest;' but the editions of 1634 and 1639 again have the word 'Minister.'" *Cardwell Con.* 237. At the Savoy Conference, the Nonconformists desired that, as the word Minister, and not Priest or Curate, is used in the Absolution and in divers other places, it may, throughout the whole book, be used instead of those two words ; and it was answered, 'It is not reasonable that the word Minister should be only used in the Liturgy. For since some parts of the Liturgy may be performed by a Deacon, others by none under the order of a Priest, viz. Absolution, Consecration, it is fit that some such word as Priest should be used for their offices.' And in the revision of the Liturgy which followed, the Absolution was ordered to be pronounced by the Priest alone, instead of the Minister.

"Now, regarding the use of the word Minister, even the passages before quoted from *Jewel's Apology and Defence*, would make it appear that the word, when standing alone, and without any thing to extend its meaning, was taken at that time to signify, Priest. But Nicholls, in his book on the Common Prayer, has shown that this was the case, quoting from the *Lambeth Council*, '*Ministri Ecclesiæ*,' (*Tit. de Informatione Parochianorum*;) and *Lyndwood's Gloss*, '*Ministri. Hoc intelligas de iis quibus regimen plebis est commissum*;' as elsewhere, '*Minister ponitur pro rectore vel gubernatore*.'

"At the time of the Savoy Conference the word had changed its meaning. Although, therefore, Minister could never be fairly interpreted otherwise than Minister of Absolution, i. e. the Priest ; still the meaning was considered to be uncertain, and there were variations in the books.

"In such a case the Bishops are a competent authority, and they ruled that the form shall be used by the Priest alone, inasmuch as Absolution is committed to him. If the Absolution were merely an appropriate address, they would have ruled that a Deacon might pronounce it."

The result of this argument is stated by Mr. Warren to be, that the Church of England, as soon as she had been set free from the errors which had been mixed up with the doctrine of absolution in former times, appointed a form in her daily service, which she entitled an Absolution, and which she explained to mean a "remission of sins," obviously assuming it to be an exercise of the power of the keys; that she afterwards carefully restricted the use of this form to priests, on the principle that absolution belongs exclusively to them, and not to deacons; that she altered her rubric in order to meet this view at a time when the meaning of words was changing; and that she refused to omit the words "remission of sins," and to throw the office open to deacons in the time of King William, when certain persons who denied the efficacy of sacerdotal absolution, were desirous to induce her so to do; and he thus concludes:—

"We have then, I argue, the authority of our Church for maintaining that while a distinct and special confession is necessary for the priest even to entertain the question of administering a private absolution, the benefit of sacerdotal absolution may, nevertheless, be obtained by the truly penitent, upon a general confession in the public ordinances of the Church. And this is, in such manner, left to the knowledge and mercy of the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, and to the carefulness and conscience of the penitent."—p. 57.

In conclusion, we must be permitted to offer some remarks on the principle on which the appeal to authority in Mr. Maskell's work is conducted. The authority to which he appeals is the doctrine of the Latin Church, and especially of the Church of England for three centuries immediately prior to the Reformation; and he argues that whatever had been received in the Church of England up to that period, and was not then expressly, or by implication, rejected by any of the formularies of the Church, should be held to be still the doctrine of the Church. His words are as follows:—

"We declare therefore that the Church of England now holds, teaches, and insists upon all things, whether of belief or practice, which she held, taught, and insisted on, before the year 1540, unless she has since that time, plainly, openly, and dogmatically, asserted the contrary. This we declare in general. And, in particular, as regards that most important question, the right interpretation of the various services in our Common Prayer Book, we further add, that whatever we find handed down from the earlier rituals of the Church of England, and neither limited nor extended in its meaning by any subsequent canon or article, must be understood to signify (upon the one hand) fully and certainly all, and on the other hand no more than it signified before the revision of the ritual."—p. 49.

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Now, this is certainly, a very important principle; and to our view, somewhat a novel one. We do not find any such principle laid down in any of our formularies, or in the writings of our divines. We are therefore at a loss for any sufficient foundation for such a doctrine. The Church of England has not made any such assertion; and before members of the English Church can be expected to accept it, they must have some proof that it is a sound and a true principle. Before we can be required to receive it as members of the Church, we must learn where the Church has taught it. And, in the next place, we certainly do find in the Homilies strong condemnations of the errors prevalent in the Church for the last few centuries, while the Canons refer us for the interpretation of Scripture, not to the opinions of more recent times, but to the interpretations of the Fathers. The account given in the Preface to the Book of Common Prayer, of the state of Rituals previously to the Reformation—the condemnation of doctrines in the Articles—the very fact of a Reformation having been necessary—are all so many proofs, that there might be good reason for not laying down such a principle as that asserted by Mr. Maskell. It might, possibly, embarrass the Church, and lead to false doctrine and unsound practice on various points, if we were to assume, that every thing which had not been formally and dogmatically rejected by the Church of England, is to be assumed to be part of her creed. Is not the omission of a doctrine for 300 years, tantamount to its rejection? Supposing that for such a time we do not find the writers of the English Church asserting, that absolution cannot be obtained without previous confession of all known sins, or maintaining that the absolutions in the daily service and the Communion, are essentially different in their nature from absolutions given after special confession, and are not any exercise of the power of the keys—supposing all this to be the case, does it not afford a fair presumption that the Church does not hold the views on these points which were taught by authority in the Western Church, from the time of the Council of Lateran? Does it not really amount to a virtual condemnation and rejection of that doctrine? To us, we confess, that it does seem so; and that it is therefore impossible to claim the authority of the Church of England since the Reformation in favour of Mr. Maskell's view. We are bound to bear testimony, however, to the ability, clearness, and learning, with which that view has been put forward, and to express great satisfaction in perceiving the respect and deference for the Church of England manifested by this distinguished writer.

## NOTICES OF RECENT PUBLICATIONS,

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1. Willmott's *Journal of Summer Time in the Country*. 2. Harington's *Reformation of the Anglican Church*, and Macaulay's *History of England*. With Postscript. 3. Freeman's *History of Architecture*. 4. *Notices of Ancient Parochial and Collegiate Churches of Scotland*. 5. *The Ecclesiastical and Architectural Topography of England*. 6. Hardwick's *Historical Enquiry touching St. Catherine of Alexandria*. 7. Baxter's *Church History of England*. 8. Prichard's *Life and Times of Hincmar, Archbp. of Rheims*. 9. Dr. Kitto's *Cyclopedia of Biblical Literature* abridged. 10. *Der gute Gerhard von Köln. A Tale*, by Carl Simrock. 11. Capt. Marryatt's *Valerie*. 12. *Use and Abuse; a Tale*. 13. Eamonson's *Observations on Goode's Doctrine of the Church of England as to Baptism*. 14. Barter's *Solemn Warning against the Doctrine of Special Grace*. 15. Ruskin's *Seven Lamps of Architecture*. 16. Dowling's *Natural History of Quadrupeds and Birds*. 17. Russell's *Ancient Knight*. 18. Anderson's *Addresses on Miscellaneous Subjects*. 19. Bp. Hobart's *Companion to the Altar*, by Collingwood.
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- 1.—*A Journal of Summer Time in the Country. By the Rev. ROBERT ARIS WILLMOTT, Incumbent of Bear Wood, Berks; Author of "Jeremy Taylor's Biography."* London: J. W. Parker.

THERE is, perhaps, nothing in which the revolutionary character of modern times is more strongly marked than in the change which has passed over our literary style. Compare, for instance, the clear and simple narrative of Hume, or the lofty phraseology of Johnson or Gibbon, with the brilliancy of Macaulay or of Elliot Warburton, and what a wonderful change do we see! In the style of the present day, point, antithesis, poetical imagery, variety, originality, and novelty of expression are the grand characteristics; corresponding, in fact, to the altered tone of society and conversation, which exhibits exactly the same features. In the present day an educated man who expects to shine in society must be at home on every conceivable subject of art, literature, science, politics, literary history; and must be able to handle them all with an air of the most consummate mastery—to play with them as if he were an intellectual giant—to turn from grave to gay, and from the profoundest depths of philosophy and theology to a witticism or a stanza. Is it not strange that with so much accomplishment, we have so little solidity of sense, or so little fixedness of principle? Notwithstanding all our brilliancy and thoughtfulness—(and we bid fair to rival France and Germany in

these respects)—we, somehow or other, do not produce as great men as we used to do in more dull and unphilosophical times. The march of education has given us a number of men who, to say the least, are quite as remarkable for a thorough satisfaction with their own capacities and judgments, as for any thing else. And now, having made these prefatory remarks, we will not do Mr. Willmott the injustice of including him amongst the class of persons to whom we have alluded, though our remarks have been suggested by the perusal of his work. It is decidedly, however, a work of the present day, in most of the respects above mentioned; being a brilliant, ingenious, grave, sad, agreeable, poetical, witty, philosophical, theological, humorous, scientific, æsthetic, conglomerate. The author is a literary butterfly, at once in the brilliancy of his tints, and the variety of his evolutions. He speeds in zig-zag course from flower to flower, scarcely spending time enough on each to extract a drop of honey. He is an epicure who will not be satisfied with any thing but the choicest tit-bits, and whose appetite is palled by any thing more than a taste of each in succession.

The volume comprises a journal supposed to be kept during the summer months, in which the author enters all the results of his discursive reading from day to day, accompanied with thoughts derived from the impressions made by rural scenery or events. We are bound to say that the volume is, to us, a very pleasing one, though there is rather too much pretension in the whole conception and execution, and we do not feel satisfied at the spirit of the day which influences the tone and style of productions like this. The object of the work may be in some degree comprehended from the following extracts:—

“Few men of genius have taken the trouble of recording their feelings or studies. One or two precious legacies have perished by accident or design. But where the full light is wanting, an unexpected illumination frequently breaks over a character from a passage in the published works of the author. A page of the journal is broken up, and melted into the poem or essay. Shakespeare’s sonnets are a chapter of autobiography, although unreadable till criticism finds the key. Raffaele’s drawings were his diary; Shenstone’s garden his confessions. Cowper’s letters and Wordsworth’s poetry reflect the features of these writers as face answers to face in water.

“The notion of a journal implies variety. Gray confessed that his reading wandered from Pausanias to Pindar; mixing Aristotle and Ovid like bread with cheese. He might have sheltered himself under a noble example. Lord Bacon considered it necessary to contract and dilate the mind’s eyesight; regarding the interchange of splendour and gloom as essential to the health of the organ. The reader may test

the rule by trying it on his natural eyes. In a gorgeous summer day let him come suddenly from a thick screen of branches, turning his face towards the sun, and then to the grass. Every blade will be reddened, as if a fiery procession had gone by. The colour is not in the grass, but in the eye; as that contracts, the glare vanishes.

“Subject the mental sight to a similar experiment. After wandering in the dim recesses of history or metaphysics, let the inward eye be lifted to the broad, central, glowing orbs of Shakespeare, Milton, or Hooker, and immediately cast down upon the common surface of daily life. Objects become hazy and discoloured; the dilation of the nerve of thought dazzles and bewilders the vision. It is wise, therefore, to familiarize the seeing faculty of the understanding to different degrees of lustre. Sunshine and twilight should temper one another. Despise nothing. After Plato take up Reid; closing Dante, glance at Wharton; from Titian walk away to K. du Jardin.

“If a letter be conversation upon paper, a journal is a dialogue between the writer and his memory. Now he grows red with Horace, scolding the innkeeper because the bad water had taken away his appetite; and before the strife of tongues has subsided, he sits down with Shakespeare under a chestnut-tree in Sir Thomas Lucy's park. Thoughts must ever be the swiftest travellers, and sighs are not the only things wafted ‘from Indus to the pole’ in an instant.”—pp. 4—6.

To give an account of the contents of a work so multifarious as that before us would be impossible; but we must select a few specimens.

“It is delicious now to creep under the scented copse——  
—— the green woodside along,

until you steal on the leafy haunt of the woodlark. There is love in this idleness. I know that formal John Wesley put a brand on it: ‘Never be unemployed, never be triflingly employed, never while away time.’ Such an admonition might be expected from one of whom Johnson left this character: ‘John Wesley's conversation is good, but he is never at leisure; he is always obliged to go at a certain hour.’ When Lord Collingwood said, that a young person should not be allowed to have two books at the same time, he fell into a similar error of judgment. The blackbird, that pipes in the warm leaves before my window, is a witness against the preacher and admiral. He is tired of the lime-bough, and is finishing his song in an apple-branch that swings him further into the sun. He wanted a change. Then what is whiling away time? When Watt sat in the chimney-corner, observing the water force up the cover of the saucepan, he aroused the anger of his relations, but he was discovering the steam-engine. Sir Walter Scott, walking one day by the banks of the Yarrow, found Mungo Park, the traveller, earnestly employed in casting stones into the stream, and watching the bubbles that followed their descent. ‘Park, what is it that engages your attention?’ asked Sir Walter. ‘I



was thinking how often I had thus tried to sound the rivers in Africa, by calculating the time that elapsed before the bubbles rose to the surface.' 'Then,' said Scott, 'I know that you think of returning to Africa.' 'I do, indeed,' was the reply; 'but it is yet a secret.' Such is the idleness of genius."—pp. 7, 8.

In truth this is a charming book, after all. We are fairly beaten out of our moralizing vein by the many beauties that meet our eye in perusing it. There is not a page that is dull or uninteresting; and we have been tempted to "while away" a good deal of time over its contents. We recommend our readers not to lay it aside if they come across it: indeed, we believe such a recommendation is altogether needless.

II.—*The Reformation of the Anglican Church, and Mr. Macaulay's History of England.* By E. C. HARINGTON, A.M., Chancellor of the Cathedral Church of Exeter. London: Rivingtons.

*A Postscript to the same.* Rivingtons.

THE Reformation of the Church of England is assailed from so many different quarters as to show the high importance of the question. Romanists, Romanizers, Unitarians, Rationalists, Sectarians, and "Liberals" of all denominations, are bent on fastening various accusations on the Reformers, with a view to degrade them, and, through them, the Church of England. The character of Archbishop Cranmer, and of the principal religious agents in the Reformation, is of importance to the Church of England: if it were not so, there would not be such continual attempts to blacken them. We may readily admit, that the leaders of the Reformation in England were fallible men—we cannot recognize them as the first teachers of our religion, or look on them as inspired; and yet, we do not think that Churchmen can with safety or with justice permit their characters to be run down, and adopt the views of them which the enemies of our faith are anxious to inculcate.

What may be Mr. Macaulay's religious profession, we know not; but we do know that his work is full of most insidious attacks upon the Church of England. From beginning to end, no opportunity is lost for representing it in the most unfavourable point of view. Hence, brilliant as is the eloquence of his work, it is one which no Churchman can recommend as a faithful and just portraiture. It is the writing of a partizan in opposition to the English Church. Its tone is like that of the Infidels and Rationalists of the present day in reference to the Church—a mixture of contempt and hatred. Mr. Chancellor Harington has

done excellent service in calling attention to Macaulay's treatment of the Reformers. His pamphlet is directed very much to a vindication of the memory of Cranmer and the Reformers from certain imputations cast on them by Macaulay. Accordingly, after quoting certain passages in which it is asserted that "the founders of the Anglican Church" held the most extreme Erastian views, denied the divine institution of Episcopacy, and "retained it merely as an ancient, decent, and convenient ecclesiastical polity," Mr. Harington states the object of his pages as follows :

"My object in the following pages will be to show, that these assertions as regards Cranmer and the other Reformers, are not in accordance with historical testimony ; that Mr. Macaulay has limited his enquiries into the views of the Archbishop and the 'founders of the Anglican Church,' to the year 1540, whereas in Treatises, so early as 1537, and subsequently in 1543, 1548, 1551, and 1552, Cranmer distinctly disavowed Erastian views, defended the Divine institution of Episcopacy, supported Apostolical succession, and maintained the necessity of Episcopal ordination for the due administration of the Sacraments ; whilst the framers of our Liturgy and Ordinal, have not, as far as I am aware, advanced any opinions which would justify Mr. Macaulay's imputations."—p. 7.

Mr. Harington very properly remarks on the expression, "founders of the Anglican Church," that it is "rather difficult to ascertain the exact parties to whom Mr. Macaulay refers." To speak of the Reformers as "*founders* of the Anglican Church" is an incorrectness which, we fear, is not unintentional in this instance. The pamphlet before us then enters on a very satisfactory and ably conducted criticism of those passages in Mr. Macaulay's history which refer to the English Reformation, and demonstrates their incorrectness by an appeal to authentic documents. Space prevents our following the author through the details of this exposure ; but we may form some estimate of its value on learning, that in subsequent editions of Macaulay's history the passages which were criticized in the pamphlet before us have been materially modified and altered, without, however, any acknowledgment of previous error. These alterations in detail, which are evidently due to Mr. Harington's able and timely protest, cannot, of course, alter the *spirit* of the work in which they have been made. The Postscript to Mr. Harington's pamphlet contains a very satisfactory reply to certain objections against the pamphlet.

III.—*The History of Architecture.* By EDWARD FREEMAN, M.A.,  
late Fellow of Trinity College, Oxford. London: Masters.

THIS work takes a wider range on the subject of architecture than any that has come under our observation. It includes the history not only of Christian, but of classical and heathen architecture. In fact, the author has extended his researches to all countries in which architectural remains exist. It may be supposed that so very extensive a subject can scarcely be treated in a very satisfactory way within the compass of a single volume; but we can only say, that in all those parts of the work which we have perused, we have found accurate information, research, and scientific views of the subject.

IV.—*Descriptive Notices of some of the Ancient Parochial and Collegiate Churches of Scotland.* London: J. H. Parker.

IT is a matter of some surprise to find, that after the reign of Presbyterianism for so lengthened a period in Scotland, so many interesting churches still remain in that country. It seems from the work before us, that they are, in almost all cases, either of a very early or of a very late date; church building having apparently been almost entirely intermitted during the thirteenth, fourteenth, and part of the fifteenth centuries. In this curious and interesting work there are a variety of details of the Scottish Churches, which appear in many cases to present very peculiar features. The Flamboyant style seems to have been partially introduced in some of the later buildings, probably in consequence of the intercourse between Scotland and France. This publication is a valuable accession to our architectural knowledge.

V.—*The Ecclesiastical and Architectural Topography of England.* Published under the sanction of the Central Committee of the Archæological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland. Oxford and London: J. H. Parker.

THIS publication, of which we have seen one part, containing an account of the churches in Berkshire, will be a valuable record of the state of parochial churches at the present day, and will be useful to students in directing their attention to examples in their own neighbourhood, in which the various styles can be advantageously studied. The work would, we think, possess more interest and value if it entered somewhat more into antiquarian detail. It is at present rather dry.

- VI.—*An Historical Enquiry touching Saint Catherine of Alexandria : to which is added a Semi-Saxon Legend.* By CHARLES HARDWICK, M.A., Fellow and Chaplain of St. Catherine's Hall, Cambridge. Cambridge: Deightons; London: J. W. Parker; Oxford: J. H. Parker.

THIS Essay is one of the publications of the Cambridge Antiquarian Society, and contains a most learned and curious investigation of the life, legends, and worship of S. Catherine. It appears very uncertain whether she was known in England prior to the Norman conquest. Her worship probably came in with the Normans, having been introduced in the tenth century in the West. Mr. Hardwick has invested his subject with far more interest than could have been anticipated, and appears to have executed his work, as Editor of the *Semi-Saxon Legend*, with very great care and ability. Such a work as this reflects credit on the Society from which it has emanated.

- VII.—*The Church History of England: from the Introduction of Christianity into Britain to the Present Time.* By JOHN A. BAXTER, M.A., Perpetual Curate of Christ Church, Coseley. Second Edition. London: Hatchards.

THERE is much in this work that we like (from what we have seen of it), and much that we do *not* like. The style is flowing and vigorous, and the book, though comprising so large a range, is not a dry narrative of facts, but is enlivened by appropriate remarks, inferences, &c. Indeed, we are of opinion that the author has allowed his pen too much liberty in the latter respect, and has permitted his own views on various points to enter rather too largely into the composition. The author is an earnest Protestant, and is keenly alive to the blessings of the Reformation; but we think that his views are not exactly those of the Reformation itself: it seems to us that they are formed on the later doctrines of religious liberty; and while there is much impartiality throughout his history, it is by no means without exceptions. We will not say that the author is exactly in accordance with such writers as Mr. Goode, of St. Antholin's. But there is a considerable infusion of the same kind of thing in his volume.

- VIII.—*The Life and Times of Hincmar, Archbishop of Rheims.* By the late Rev. JAMES C. PRICHARD, M.A., Vicar of Mitcham, and formerly Fellow of Oriel College. Littlemore: Masson; London: J. H. Parker.

FROM the brief survey which we have taken of this volume, it

appears to us to be one of the most valuable contributions to Ecclesiastical History that we have seen. The author, whose early death the Church has to deplore, was one who probably might have supplied us with a readable Church history. His views are of such a complexion as would have rendered a more extended work from his pen really beneficial to the Church. The volume before us is intended for the general reader, not for the professed critic ; and accordingly it bases itself, with perfect propriety, on the researches of previous labourers in the same field, though original documents have been consulted in the more important cases. In perusing part of the work, we have been much struck by the details which it gives of the mode of appointing bishops under the Carlovingian dynasty in France, at a time when bishops were in possession of quite as great emoluments and privileges as any that they have ever enjoyed since. We refer to p. 520, &c., where it appears that on a vacancy, a royal commissioner, generally a bishop, was appointed to attend the election, the electors being the cathedral and parochial priests, and all laymen of noble or free birth ; and the election being examined and confirmed by the metropolitan and all the bishops of the province. The whole account is well worthy of perusal, and furnishes a most edifying example of the fidelity with which the sovereigns of France performed their duties towards the Church ; and how little it was then supposed that the appointment of bishops was a part of the Regal Supremacy,—a power which was exercised as fully by Charlemagne and his successors, as it has been in more modern times by other princes.

IX.—*Cyclopedia of Biblical Literature abridged.* By JOHN KITTO, D.D., F.S.A., &c. Edinburgh : Black.

THE work before us is evidently the result of great labour and research ; and we have pleasure in recommending it to the notice of the Clergy as a work which is free from the taint of rationalizing principles. The following statement at the conclusion of an able article on “ Inspiration ” is quite satisfactory on this point :—

“ On the whole, after carefully investigating the subject of inspiration, we are conducted to the important conclusion that ‘ all Scripture is divinely inspired ; ’ that the sacred penmen wrote ‘ as they were moved by the Holy Ghost ; ’ and that these representations are to be understood as implying that the writers had, in all respects, the effectual guidance of the Divine Spirit. And we are still more confirmed in this conclusion, because we find that it begets in those who seriously adopt it, an acknowledgment of the divine origin of Scripture, a reverence for its teachings, and a practical regard to its requirements, like what ap-

peared in Christ and his Apostles. Being convinced that the Bible has, in all parts, and in all respects, the seal of the Almighty, and that it is truly and existing from God, we are led by reason, conscience, and piety, to bow submissively to its high authority, implicitly to believe its doctrines, however incomprehensible, and cordially to obey its precepts, however contrary to our natural inclinations. We come to it from day to day, not as judges, but as learners, never questioning the propriety or utility of its contents. This precious Word of God is the perfect standard of our faith, and the rule of our life, our comfort in affliction, and our sure guide to heaven."—p. 430.

This is a Christian statement and confession. Those who criticize Scripture as they do any other old book, are evidently Reformers of more than our popular religion: they are Reformers of Christianity itself—of our Lord Jesus Christ, and of the Apostles. We are tempted to extract the following passage on verbal inspiration:—

"The doctrine of a plenary inspiration of all Scripture in regard to the language employed, as well as the thoughts communicated, ought not to be rejected without valid reasons. The doctrine is so obviously important, and so consonant to the feelings of sincere piety, that those evangelical Christians who are pressed with speculative objections against it, frequently, in the honesty of their hearts, advance opinions which fairly imply it. This is the case, as we have seen, with Dr. Henderson, who says that the Divine Spirit guided the sacred penmen in *writing* the Scriptures; that their *mode of expression* was such as they were instructed by the Spirit to employ; that Paul ascribes not only the doctrines which the Apostles taught, but *the entire character of their style*, to the influence of the Spirit. He indeed says, that this does not always imply the *immediate communication of the words* of Scripture; and he says it with good reason. For *immediate* properly signifies *acting without a medium, or without the intervention of another cause or means, not acting by second causes*. Now those who hold the highest views of inspiration do not suppose that the Divine Spirit, except in a few instances, so influenced the writers of Scripture as to interfere with the use of their rational faculties or their peculiar mental habits and tastes, or in any way to supersede secondary causes as the medium through which his agency produced the desired effect.

"In regard to this point, therefore, there appears to be little or no ground for controversy. For, if God so influenced the sacred writers that, either with or without the use of secondary causes, they wrote just *what* he intended, and in the *manner* he intended, the end is secured; and what they wrote is as truly *his word*, as though he had written it with his own hand on the tables of stone, without any human instrumentality. The very words of the decalogue were all such as God chose: and they would have been equally so if Moses had been moved by the Divine Spirit to write them with *his* hand.



The expression, that God *immediately imparted or communicated* to the writers the very words which they wrote, is evidently not well chosen. The exact truth is, that *the writers themselves* were the subjects of the Divine influence. The Spirit employed them as active instruments, and directed them in writing, both as to matter and manner. They wrote 'as they were moved by the Holy Ghost.' The matter, in many cases, was what they before knew, and the manner was entirely conformed to their habits; it was *their own*. But what was written was none the less inspired on that account. God may have influenced and guided an Apostle as infallibly in writing what he had before known, and that guidance may have been as really necessary, as in writing a new revelation. And God may have influenced Paul or John to write a book in *his own peculiar style*, and that influence may have been as real and as necessary as if the style had been what some would call a *Divine style*. It was a Divine style, if the writer used it under Divine direction: it was a *Divine* style; and it was, at the same time, a *human* style, and the *writer's own* style, all in one. Just as the believer's exercises, faith and love, are his own acts, and at the same time are the effects of Divine influence. The mental exercises of Paul and of John had their own characteristic peculiarities, as much as their style. God was the author of John's mind and all that was peculiar to his mental faculties and habits, as really as of Paul's mind and what was peculiar to him: and in the work of inspiration he used and directed, for his own purposes, what was peculiar to each. When God inspired different men, He did not make their minds and tastes all alike, nor did He make their language alike. Nor had He any occasion for this; for, while they had different mental faculties and habits, they were as capable of being infallibly directed by the Divine Spirit, and infallibly speaking and writing Divine truth, as though their mental faculties and habits had been all exactly alike. And it is manifest that the Scriptures, written by such a variety of inspired men, and each part agreeably to the peculiar talents and style of the writer, are not only equally from God, but, taken together, are far better adapted to the purposes of general instruction, and all the objects to be accomplished by revelation, than if they had been written by one man, and in one and the same manner.

"This view of plenary inspiration is fitted to relieve the difficulties and objections which have arisen in the minds of men from the variety of talent and taste which the writers exhibited, and the variety of style which they used. See, it is said, how each writer expresses himself naturally, in his own way, just as he was accustomed to do when not inspired. And see, too, we might say in reply, how each Apostle, Peter, Paul, or John, when speaking before rulers, with the promised aid of the Holy Spirit, spoke naturally, *with his own voice*, and in his own way, as he had been accustomed to do on other occasions when not inspired. There is no more objection to plenary inspiration in the one case than in the other. The mental faculties and habits of the Apostles, their style, their voice, their mode of speech, all remained as

they were. What, then, had the Divine Spirit to do? What was the work which appertained to Him? We reply, His work was so to direct the Apostles in the use of their own talents and habits, their style, their voice, and all their peculiar endowments, that they should speak or write, each in his own way, just what God would have them speak or write, for the good of the Church in all ages."

x.—*Der gute Gerhard von Köln. Erzählung von KARL SIMROCK. Frankfurt.—"Good Gerard of Cologne." A Tale, by CARL SIMROCK. Frankfurt.*

THOSE of our readers who are at all acquainted with German literature, are probably not ignorant of the poetical powers of Carl Simrock, whose "Rhein-Sagen," or, Legends of the Rhine, have attained so great a circulation, and earned such loud applauses. Simrock is, perhaps, the most honest, straightforward, and altogether manly of German bards: he has not the rich oriental colouring of Freiligrath, nor the playful grace and fancy of Reickert, nor the finish of Uhland, nor the passion of Lenau and Bettz Paoli; but he is more amusing, we think, than any of these, more thoroughly healthful, more genial, and at the same time, perhaps, more strictly German. Certain affinities he has with his own great favourite, Goethe, whom he is never tired of celebrating: in fact, Simrock's happier lyrics correspond to the first fresh inspirations of the youthful Goethe's muse, much as the fresh sea-breezes may claim affinity to the young zephyrs of spring that speed the mountain brooks. Goethe is sweeter, and more graceful; Simrock has more of earnestness and cordial sincerity. Of course, in his longer works this poet has displayed far different powers; especially in his great achievement, the composition of a national epos, the "Analungen-Lied," which forms a sequel and conclusion to that "Niebelungen-Lied," which is one of the great glories of the German nation. Here he has displayed a remarkable facility of invention, and no less power both of narration and description.—The little book before us, is also drawn in part from ancient sources, namely, from a poem written by the middle-age minstrel, Montfort: there is a simplicity and freshness about the legend which has recommended it to our notice, and which induces us to record its leading incidents here, in as few words as we can conveniently employ. We learn, then, from this story, written in easy and flowing rhyme, that the Emperor Otto of Germany, son of Otto the Finkler, offered up a certain prayer to God on the occasion of his founding a bishopric and completing a cathedral, wherein he boasted of his good works, and thereby excited the Almighty's wrath, who sent his angel to bid the haughty emperor learn true

wisdom from the lips of a simple merchant, Gerard of Cologne. Otto was at Magdeburg at the time, several hundred miles away, but he at once departed for his destination, conscience-stricken; and, after a good deal of difficulty, obtained the record of his past history from the noble-hearted Gerard. This Gerard, it seems, had embarked on a voyage in his youth, in a ship laden with costly stores for the purposes of merchandize. His vessel was driven by contrary winds into the harbour of Pagan Morocco, where he was, however, received very courteously by the Governor. Here, his goodness was first tried; for he consented to yield all his treasures in exchange for certain prisoners, Christian knights and ladies, who lay in the Governor's Tower. All of these, save one lady, had come from England: she was the daughter of the King of Norway, betrothed to the English Prince. Gerard carries back the knights and dames to England, but cannot land the Norwegian Princess there, because, in the interval, the intended bridegroom has disappeared, and his foes, certain rebellious lords, rule in his stead. Accordingly, the good merchant carries the deserted princess to Cologne, where his son falls violently in love with her. She does not return his passion, but, as she is utterly desolate, it appears essential to her safety that some worthy man should become her guardian, and accordingly the bridal is on the very eve of being accomplished. In the very hour, however, of the betrothal-feast, Gerard goes forth, and happens to see a youthful beggar sitting alone at the gate, who looks superior to his fortunes. This beggar he discovers to be the missing English prince. Here a temptation arises to keep the princess for his son, especially as the latter's passion is so violent, that the father fears the consequences to the young man's reason if the marriage be broken. However, good Gerard scarcely hesitates: he resolves to risk all possible evils accruing, and proclaims the prince as England's rightful heir, restoring his bride to him. Finally, he sails across the sea, to restore him, if possible, to his throne also. For that purpose, he claims the support of the knights he had previously delivered, and his name having already become very popular in England, he is received in triumph, and is even proclaimed king of the country by both nobles and people, who had grown tired of the tyrannical rebel-regency. At last, when he can obtain a hearing, good Gerard rejects the crown for himself, and entreats it for its rightful wearer. The request is granted with joy; and then, laden with honours, he returns to his good city Cologne, to live the life of a quiet and honourable citizen, esteeming it the sorest trial of his life, to be thus compelled to trace the record of his own good works. By this simple tale, the emperor is exceedingly affected,

and makes all manner of pious resolutions, which, we trust, he has piously kept; and thus concludes the pleasing legend of "Gerard of Cologne." We have told it, although thus briefly, because, to the best of our knowledge, it is a novel specimen of mediæval good sense and kindly feeling. There will be seen to be nothing *Romish* here: rather is every approximation to the dogma of human meritoriousness indirectly, we might almost say directly, anathematized. Now that we have mentioned this subject, we think it only due to Mr. Keble, since we recently censured his "*Lyra Innocentium*," for certain dubious and even painful expressions, to extract this verse from his charming poem on "*Pebbles on the Shore*," as indicative of the soundest faith on this cardinal doctrine of our Church; that loving faith, *without merits*, saves the sinner:—

"What is a royal crown,  
Or first-born babe cast down,  
Before His cradle, to one heavenly smile?  
*We may not buy nor earn,*  
But He toward us will turn  
Of His own love; but we must kneel in love the while."

"Good Gerard" proclaims this lesson, and therefore has a special value in our eyes. Its author, Simrock, is indeed a Roman Catholic, as far as he is any thing; for we fear, from the occasional carelessness of his tone, that his religion is rather a matter of amusement than of earnest conviction, that he has not remained uninfected by the Hegelian folly of the day; yet this tale is Catholic in the best sense, and may honestly be recommended to our readers, and this is all with which we need concern ourselves. "*Fas est ab hoste doceri!*"—not that we can regard good Simrock as an enemy.

XI.—"*Valerie*," an Autobiography. By Captain MARRYATT, R.N., Author of "*Peter Simple*," "*Frank Mildmay*." In 2 vols. London: Colburn.

HERE is a tale which professes, we presume, to be the last legacy of its gallant author; though many such legacies may possibly be in store for us; for we shrewdly suspect Captain Marryatt to have had very little to do with the composition of these volumes! The matter contained in them is extremely silly and uninteresting. The style, indeed, has a certain "dash," a kind of "off-handishness," which would incline one to think the paternity authentic; and if there is constant evidence throughout of want of heart and want of principle, *this* cannot be received as conclusive evidence against the imagined authorship. We do not

wish to press too heavily on a dead man, but there can be no doubt that the general tendency of Captain Marryatt's extremely amusing works is pernicious. All of them certainly do not exhibit the heartlessness of "Percival Keene," or the recklessness of "The Naval Captain." "Peter Simple" we confess to liking exceedingly, and indeed many of this writer's tales, even those mentioned with reprobation, have no slight attractions; though we must think them calculated to injure young readers, and more especially to encourage them in a defection from the paths of truth and strict honesty. We are not here enabled to make good our assertions (which many of our readers can support from their experience) by long quotations, but are content to leave this matter in abeyance for the time. So much, however, we may say,—all, or almost all, Captain Marryatt's works are entertaining. How, then, can he have composed any thing so flat and unprofitable as the tale before us? Did he, perhaps, consent to edit this work for another — say, for a son or daughter — and was the publisher ignorant of the real authorship? This is possible; but these, of course, are only blind conjectures; and it is no doubt within the range of possibilities that this is a real failure of Captain Marryatt's own, long confined, perhaps, in a chest of old lumber, and now dragged from its fitting obscurity for the sake of a literary speculation. As an instance of the morality observed throughout, we may mention that the heroine of the book is cured of lying, which the author denounces, by means of a series of systematic lies told by her aunt, who corrects the child whenever she has done wrong by relating her misdemeanor as an actual dream which the aunt has had the night before, and which she accordingly retraces in every particular. The total absence of feeling displayed throughout is really singular. "Valerie" feels herself constantly aggrieved in the highest degree by all her kindest benefactors, never shows or expresses the slightest gratitude, and, in fact, exhibits one of the most odious individualities we have ever met or heard of, though the author evidently expects us to admire and sympathise with her. The waste of more words on this trashy book were altogether superfluous. Mr. Colburn should really be more careful in publishing the works or reputed works of clever men after their decease. Even if "Valerie" be Captain Marryatt's, it should never have seen the light!

XII.—*Use and Abuse; a Tale. By the Author of "Wayfaring Sketches among the Greeks and Turks, and on the Shores of the Danube." By a Seven Years' Resident in Greece.* London: Rivingtons.

THIS is a very different tale from the last, exceedingly powerful,

if not excessively pleasant. It depicts the conflict between two mighty human spirits, one working for good and one for evil, in this world of trial. The conception is perhaps superior to the execution; at least the latter, though very grand in parts, appears to us too wordy, and approximating occasionally to the mystic magnificence of a Carlyle. The portraiture of Arabyn, the evil genius, if we may so denominate him, is boldly, even daringly, drawn: whether the bounds of the possible be not here and there exceeded in this delineation, we will not take upon ourselves to decide. The mysteries of iniquity are, no doubt, fathomless. What we least like in this book is a certain spiritual pride, which is in some passages very glaringly manifested: a tone of stern condemnation is adopted with regard to all those whom the world believes most pious and holy. Not content with reminding us that these, too, are sinners, the author would almost seem to suggest that they are invariably greater sinners than their brethren. There is something stern and loveless in these sweeping charges, which might be removed, we think, with great advantage from the tale before us. Taken for all in all, however, this is a valuable and interesting contribution to what may be called our "graver light literature," and will, no doubt, meet with very many and very earnest admirers. Its author has great powers. We are much mistaken if he should not yet achieve "far higher things,"—higher, because more truthful and less glaringly ambitious.

XIII.—*Observations on "The Doctrine of the Church of England as to the effects of Baptism in the case of Infants. By W. GOODE, M.A., &c."* By the Rev. B. EAMONSON, M.A., Vicar of Collingham. London: Rivingtons.

IN this well-written pamphlet, Mr. Eamonson ably shows the errors of such writers as Mr. Goode, who contend that the compilers of the Ritual were Calvinists, and that all the offices should be understood in a Calvinistic sense. This point has been ably and fully discussed by Dr. Laurence, the late Archbishop of Cashel, in his Bampton Lectures.

XIV.—*A Solemn Warning against the Doctrine of Special Grace, which causes Divisions in the Church, and prepares the way for Infidelity. By the Rev. W. B. BARTER, Rector of High Clere and Burgh Clere, &c.* London: Rivingtons.

THIS is a manly and vigorous protest against the doctrine of irresistible grace, and other dangerous tenets advocated in the



present day. It notices especially the speculations of the Arnold and Coleridge school.

xv.—*The Seven Lamps of Architecture.* By JOHN RUSKIN, Author of "*Modern Painters*," with Illustrations, drawn and etched by the Author. London: Smith, Elder, and Co.

THIS volume, in beauty of type, and splendour of illustrations, takes a high rank amongst works of the kind. Mr. Ruskin appears to be somewhat of an enthusiast in his subject, but his enthusiasm is rightly directed in inculcating the spirit of self-sacrifice, for the purpose of giving to God what we ourselves consider precious. The object of his work is to apply this principle more especially to church architecture. The rather fanciful title includes in reality a survey of the principles which should guide architects in church building and restoration; and, on the whole, we have to express admiration of what we have seen of the book. The subjects are, "Sacrifice, Truth, Power, Beauty, Life, Memory, and Obedience." Most cordially do we sympathize with the author's eloquent and feeling denunciation of the practice of pulling down old churches, for the purpose of rebuilding them. Such an action, except when a building is tumbling down and cannot possibly be held up by any means, is an act of Vandalism. A new church can never possess the associations, and the other sacred and beautiful characteristics, of an old one. As Mr. Ruskin says—

"Take proper care of your monuments, and you will not need to restore them. A few sheets of lead put upon the roof, a few dead leaves and sticks swept in time out of a water-course, will save both roof and walls from ruin. Watch an old building with anxious care; guard it as best you may, and at *any* cost, from every influence of dilapidation. Count its stones as you would jewels of a crown; set watches about it as if at the gates of a besieged city; bind it together with iron where it loosens; stay it with timber where it declines; do not care about the unsightliness of the aid; better a crutch than a lost limb;—and do this tenderly, and reverently, and continually, and many a generation will still be born and pass away beneath its shadow."—p. 181.

This is well and eloquently said. We grieve to hear of old churches being ever pulled down. We can never restore Antiquity.

xvi.—*A Popular Natural History of Quadrupeds and Birds.* By WILLIAM DOWLING. London: Burns.

A VERY well executed volume, and illustrated by neat woodcuts.

**xvii.**—*The Ancient Knight ; or, Chapters on Chivalry.* By JOHN FULLER RUSSELL, *B.C.L., Incumbent of St. James's, Enfield.* London : Cleaver.

WE have been very much gratified, indeed, with all we have read of this little publication. The subject is a delightful one, and it is treated in the best way. Mr. Russell thoroughly enters into the spirit of his subject.

**xviii.**—*Addresses on Miscellaneous Subjects.* By the Rev. J. S. M. ANDERSON, *M.A., &c.* London : Rivingtons.

THIS volume comprises an interesting series of Essays in the shape of Addresses on the following subjects :—1. The Profitable Employment of Hours gained from Business ; 2. Dr. Johnson ; 3. Columbus ; 4. Sir Walter Raleigh ; 5. England and her Colonies. These Addresses were read to the Members of a Literary Association of the Middle Classes of Society at Brighton, and seem admirably adapted for their object. We are sure that great good may be done in this way ; and Mr. Anderson has shown how it can be done. This is one way of getting at hearts which might refuse more direct appeals.

**xix.**—*A Companion to the Altar.* By BISHOP HOBART. Edited by the Rev. J. Collingwood, *M.A., &c.* London : Rivingtons.

THE high reputation of Bishop Hobart invests with interest whatever has proceeded from his pen. The work before us is replete with piety and devotion, and not less so with sound principles on Church matters. We wish, however, that the *phraseology* had been, in some places, less moulded on that system which looks on the Lord's Supper as "a mere symbol of a thing absent." We are sure that such was not the intention of this excellent author ; but we think his expressions in some places might be improved.

## Foreign and Colonial Intelligence.

**THE REFORMED CATHOLIC CHURCH.—Table of the Episcopate.—**  
We extract with much pleasure from the *Colonial Church Chronicle* the following list of the Reformed Catholic Episcopate throughout the world :—

### EUROPE.

#### *Fifty Sees, and Fifty-one Bishops.*

Dr. J. B. Sumner...	Canterbury.
Dr. Musgrave ....	York.
Dr. Blomfield ....	London.
Dr. Maltby .....	Durham.
Dr. C. R. Sumner .	Winchester.
Dr. Kaye .....	Lincoln.
Dr. Bethell .....	Bangor.
Dr. Percy .....	Carlisle.
Dr. Murray .....	Rochester.
Dr. Copleston ....	Llandaff.
Dr. Bagot .....	Bath and Wells.
Dr. Monk .....	Gloucester.
Dr. Phillpotts ....	Exeter.
Dr. Longley ....	Ripon.
Dr. Denison ....	Salisbury.
.....	Norwich.
Dr. Davys .....	Peterborough.
Dr. Thirlwall ....	St. David's.
Dr. Pepys .....	Worcester.
Dr. Gilbert .....	Chichester.
Dr. Lonsdale ....	Lichfield.
Dr. Turton .....	Ely.
Dr. Wilberforce ..	Oxford.
Dr. T. V. Short ..	St. Asaph.
Dr. Lee .....	Manchester.
Dr. Hampden ....	Hereford.
Dr. Graham ....	Chester.
Dr. Eden .....	Sodor and Man.
Dr. Beresford ....	Armagh.
Dr. Whately ....	Dublin.
Dr. Stopford ....	Meath.
Dr. Tottenham ..	Clogher.
Dr. Leslie .....	Kilmore.
Dr. R. Knox ....	Down.
Dr. Ponsonby ....	Derry.
Dr. Higgin .....	Limerick.
Dr. Tonson .....	Killaloe.
Dr. Plunket ....	Tuam.
Dr. O'Brien ....	Ossory.
Dr. Daly .....	Cashel.
Dr. Wilson .....	Cork.
Dr. Skinner .....	Aberdeen.
Dr. Torry .....	St. Andrew's.

Dr. Low .....	Moray.
Dr. Terrot .....	Edinburgh.
Dr. Ewing .....	Argyll.
Dr. Forbes .....	Brechin.
Dr. Trower .....	Glasgow.
Dr. Tomlinson ..	Gibraltar.
Dr. Southgate ....	at Constantinople.
Dr. Coleridge ....	late of Barbados.

### ASIA.

#### *Seven Sees, and Seven Bishops.*

Dr. Wilson .....	Calcutta.
Dr. G. Spencer ..	Madras.
Dr. Carr .....	Bombay.
Dr. Chapman ....	Colombo.
Dr. Smith .....	Victoria.
Dr. Boone .....	at Shanghai.
Dr. Gobat .....	at Jerusalem.

### AFRICA.

Dr. Gray .....	Capetown.
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### AMERICA.

#### *Thirty-six Sees, and Thirty-seven Bishops.*

Dr. P. Chase .....	Illinois.
Dr. Brownell .....	Connecticut.
Dr. Meade .....	} Virginia.
Dr. Johns, <i>Assist.</i> }	
Dr. H. U. Onderdonk	New York.
Dr. Ives .....	North Carolina.
Dr. Hopkins .....	Vermont.
Dr. Smith .....	Kentucky.
Dr. McIlvaine ....	Ohio.
Dr. Doane .....	New Jersey.
Dr. Otey .....	Tennessee.
Dr. Kemper .....	Wisconsin and Iowa.
Dr. McCoskry ....	Michigan.
Dr. Polk .....	Louisiana.
Dr. De Lancey ....	Western New York.
Dr. Gadsden .....	South Carolina.
Dr. Whittingham ..	Maryland.
Dr. Elliott .....	Georgia.
Dr. Lee .....	Delaware.
Dr. Eastburn .....	Massachusetts.

Dr. Henshaw . . . .	Rhode Island.	Dr. A. Spencer . . . .	Jamaica.
Dr. Chase . . . . .	New Hampshire.	Dr. Parry . . . . .	Barbados.
Dr. Cobbs . . . . .	Alabama.	Dr. Davis . . . . .	Antigua.
Dr. Hawks . . . . .	Missouri.	Dr. Austin . . . . .	Guiana.
Dr. Freeman . . . . .	Arkansas and Texas.	AUSTRALASIA.	
Dr. Potter . . . . .	Pennsylvania.		
Dr. Burges . . . . .	Maine.	<i>Six Sees, and Six Bishops.</i>	
Dr. Inglis . . . . .	Nova Scotia.		
Dr. Mountain . . . .	Montreal.	Dr. Broughton . . . .	Sydney.
Dr. Strachan . . . . .	Toronto.	Dr. A. Short . . . . .	Adelaide.
Dr. Field . . . . .	Newfoundland.	Dr. Perry . . . . .	Melbourne.
Dr. Medley . . . . .	Fredericton.	Dr. Tyrrel . . . . .	Newcastle.
Dr. Anderson . . . .	Rupert's Land.	Dr. Nixon . . . . .	Tasmania.
		Dr. Selwyn . . . . .	New Zealand.

Total: 100 sees, and 102 bishops; one see having an assistant bishop, and one bishop being without a see. Of these there belong to

The English Church . . . . .	28	sees and 28	bishops.
The Irish Church . . . . .	13	„ 13	„
The Scottish Church . . . . .	7	„ 7	„
The British Colonial Church . . . .	24	„ 25	„
The American Church . . . . .	26	„ 27	„
The American Missionary Church	2	„ 2	„

**CANADA.**—*Report of the Toronto Church Society.*—The last report of this Society states the annual receipts at 2838*l*. The books circulated were:—Bibles, 853; New Testaments, 1230; Prayer Books, 1659; S. P. C. K. Tracts and Books, 11,310; other Tracts, 5300. The Society has also contributed to the support of eight missionaries, one Indian interpreter, and one catechist. Annuities have been granted to three clergymen's widows and two orphan children; also, assistance from the Bishop's Students' Fund to six students. Several donations of land, some of considerable value, have been made this year for Church purposes. About twenty new Parochial Associations have been organized.

*Proposed erection of a new See.*—It appears that the recent journey of the Rev. E. Hawkins, the indefatigable Secretary of the *Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts*, is connected with the proposed division of the Diocese of Montreal:—The Rev. E. Hawkins, B.D., Secretary of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, is on a visit to Canada, for the purpose, among others, of making arrangements for the erection of another Episcopal See in that colony. The diocese of Toronto covers an extent of country twice as large as all the dioceses of England put together, containing upwards of 100,000 square miles, with a population of 700,000 souls. There are 97 missionaries in the diocese in connexion with the Propagation Society, besides many others maintained by various means. The Bishop of Montreal, who administers also the diocese of Quebec, has earnestly urged upon the Society the need of a division of his diocese, which comprises 200,000 square miles, and a population of 800,000 souls. At the census of the Lower Province taken in 1831, there were found belonging to the Church of Rome, 403,472; Church of

England, 34,620; Church of Scotland, 15,069; Methodists, 7019; Presbyterian Congregationalists, 7811; Baptists, 2461; Jews, 107; other denominations, 5577. At the last census, in 1847, the population amounted to 782,677. The clergy in Lower Canada amount, at present, to 87. It is now intended to form another diocese in Canada, and to erect a Bishop's See at Quebec as well as at Montreal. The first appointment to the new Bishopric is to be conferred on the Rev. Isaac Hellmuth, M.A., Professor of Hebrew and Rabbinical Literature at Bishop's College, Lennoxville, in the diocese of Montreal.

**Ceylon.**—*Proposed College at Colombo.*—The following statement in reference to the Diocese of Colombo, appears in the *John Bull*:—An application having been made for Government assistance for the establishment of a college in the diocese of Colombo, and refused on the ground that the state of the Colonial finances would not allow of any grant being made, the Bishop of Colombo has applied to the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts to undertake the task, the members of the Society being the trustees in England. For trustees in Ceylon the Right Reverend Prelate names the Archdeacon, or a Colonial Chaplain appointed by the Bishop, a native Colonial Chaplain, and the treasurer of the Colombo Diocesan Committee of the Society. The college is to be dedicated to St. Thomas, the Apostle of India, the visitor being the Bishop of the diocese; the officers, a principal (at 400*l.* per annum), four honorary fellows, and a native tutor in holy orders. The objects proposed are the theological and general education of students in preparation for holy orders, and the training of native catechists and schoolmasters for the service of the Church in the diocese of Colombo. Towards the endowment of the college there have been already promised, a grant from the Christian Knowledge Society in England, of 2000*l.*; exhibitions for native students of the annual value of 10*l.*, promised in the colony; the Heber Fund, about 400*l.*, at present invested at Calcutta, and unemployed, to be transferred to the college; and from the Bishop, a site of nine acres, with buildings upon it, purchased by the Bishop for 2000*l.*; from the Bishop's income during the present Episcopate, 200*l.* per annum; two exhibitions of 10*l.* each; the Bishop's library; and from the Bishop of Calcutta, the Metropolitan, 200*l.* The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel intends to aid the foundation by a liberal donation.

**China.**—*Popish Council at Hong Kong.*—By order of Pius IX. a Council is to be held this year at Hong Kong, at which all the Bishops and Vicars-Apostolic of China, of Cochin-China, Tong-King, of Siam, of Tartary, of Japan, and of Corea are to be present. The object of the Council is to devise the most efficacious means for the propagation of the faith, and to mark out distinct and definite fields of operation for the French, Portuguese, and Spanish missionaries, with a view to obviate the mutual rivalry which so frequently leads to dissensions among them.

FRANCE.—*The Episcopate and the Doctrine of the Immaculate Conception.*—The doctrine of the Immaculate Conception of the Virgin Mary, which Pius IX., in his recent encyclic<sup>1</sup>, has announced his intention of declaring an article of the faith, is strenuously supported by the French bishops, who have taken the opportunity, in the *mandements* issued by them for the "month of Mary," i. e. May, and, more recently, for the feast of the "Assumption of the Virgin," to record their full concurrence in the proposed addition to the creed of Rome. The grounds on which this extraordinary proceeding is defended are no less remarkable than the extravagant statements concerning the Virgin which the prelates put forth in the ardour of their Mariolatrous zeal. As these effusions must be reckoned among the most important documents of the age, constituting as they do the most explicit denial on the part of Rome of the fundamental verity of the Christian faith, that "Jesus Christ is come in the flesh," that is, the flesh of our humanity, the nature of Abraham, and the seed of David, fallen and corrupt, until in His most blessed person it was restored to a sinless state,—we shall place a few extracts from them on record.

The precedence in this "cloud of witnesses" belongs to the Cardinal Archbishop of *Cambrai*, who, having had a private conference with Pius IX. upon the subject, thus introduces the question:—"We gladly avail ourselves, dear brethren, of the approach of the month consecrated to the Immaculate Virgin, in order to ask you for the prayers which the Sovereign Pontiff solicits in his encyclic of the 2nd of February last. That admirable monument of the piety of our holy Father the Pope towards the peerless Mary, sent by him to all the churches in the world, we have received from his blessed hands. During our sojourn near his august person at Gaeta, we have heard from his own lips, or, more properly speaking, from his heart, the wish that a prompt reply should satisfy his legitimate impatience to define, by a doctrinal judgment, as a verity of the faith, what has always been for the faithful a verity of sentiment, viz., the privilege of the spotless conception of the Mother of God. We had already, at the time of our journey to Rome, anticipated the desires of the Holy Father, and our humble supplications for this purpose had been united with those of one hundred and fifty of our venerable colleagues, intently imploring the favour of an apostolic decree, for bestowing upon our Mother a title which can no longer be disputed. That number now exceeds two hundred, and there is every indication that the unanimity of the wishes of the episcopate will ere long be declared.

"We need not, dear brethren, remind you that, when the Church proposes to our faith a verity not hitherto defined by her, she does not thereby create a new dogma, as she is no less unjustly than inconsiderately accused of doing by our separatist brethren. She only proclaims and confirms by a solemn decree what was already, morally at least, the object of the faith of all, in every place, and at all times, according to the

<sup>1</sup> See *English Review*, vol. xi. pp. 238—241.



rule laid down by St. Augustine (*sic!*): *Quod ubique, quod semper, quod ab omnibus*. Only, among our dogmas, there are some which, like the light, burst forth at once; while others, sown from the beginning in the consciences of the pastors and of the faithful, are there preserved as a sacred deposit, and afterwards bloom and expand in the open day when the moment is come for them to be produced for the greater glory of God, and the edification of His elect.

“Such is the belief in the Immaculate Conception of the Virgin Mother, which, after being silently nourished from the fountain of Scripture and tradition, and subsequently brought into shape by observances and symbols, will soon break forth from this slow preparation of centuries, brilliant and radiant, like a flower from its stem. The developments which the devotion to Mary has received in these latter times, the apostolic concessions by which we are authorized to give her the title ‘Immaculate’ in her litanies, and in the preface on the feast of her Conception, the medal struck in honour of this glorious prerogative, all led to the anticipation that a question so deeply interesting to the glory of our divine Mother, and to the piety of her children, would ere long receive its solution.

“Existing circumstances appear to concur in hastening this decision. Amidst the great perils of the Church, and the great commotions of Christendom, new honours decreed to Mary were ever the happy presage of the most signal favours and the richest blessings; for it is not in vain that the Church salutes her as the Mighty Woman who has crushed the head of the Old Serpent, and attributes to her alone the victory over all the errors which have made the world desolate.”

The Bishop of *Soissons* thus labours to vindicate the consistency of the Church in this enlargement of her doctrine:—“What the Church believes to-day, she believed yesterday, she has always believed; so that, if, as is our sweet hope, the Holy See should, for the consolation of the Christian world, define dogmatically that that blessed Virgin was conceived without spot of original sin, not only it would do that which in point of principle it has a right to do, but its decree would in no sense be an innovation, and would simply declare that the general belief in the Immaculate Conception is conformable to the written or traditional Word of God, to the doctrine of the Catholic Church, and the common belief of the faithful in all ages. Its decisions, when they promulgate an article of Christian doctrine, are nothing more than a solemn and authentic manifestation of a truth contained in the primitive deposit of revelation.” The bishop concludes by the expression of his fervent hope that, “thanks to the guardianship and protection of the Immaculate Virgin, better days are in store for the Church and for France.”

The Bishop of *Puy* considers the declaration of this doctrine to be the consolation of the Church mercifully reserved by Providence for the present evil times:—“We like to indulge in the persuasion that God, who does every thing by number, weight, and measure, has delayed to our time the manifestation of a mystery so highly calculated to edify

us, in order to bring new succour to bear upon new necessities, and that, as it has pleased Him to subject His Church to extraordinary trials, He graciously sustains her by unusual resources."

The Cardinal Archbishop of *Lyons* thus proposes the question: "As the oracle of the Universal Church and the supreme guardian of the Apostolic traditions, the Sovereign Pontiff desires to interrogate these traditions and to search the Divine Scriptures in order to decide, after a solemn inquiry, whether the Virgin, chosen of God to bring forth the Saviour of the world, and thus to co-operate in the great mystery of man's redemption, was prepared for becoming the mother of the Saint of saints, by exemption from the stain of original sin." As a matter of course, the Cardinal Archbishop answers the question in the affirmative.

The Bishop of *Périgueux* holds faith to be, like the human body, capable of development in the course of time, progressive expansion no more destroying the identity of the faith than it does that of the body. Upon the basis of this convenient theory he thus proceeds: "In the Holy Scriptures, and in tradition, those two sacred repositories of revelation, there are contained certain verities, precious treasures, brilliant luminaries, destined to enrich and to enlighten poor humanity. They have a real existence like all the other revealed truths, their origin and their foundation are the same; but, although already known, and transmitted from age to age as pious convictions, they have not been enrolled among the dogmas of our faith, the ever-wise Church not having as yet pronounced upon them. When, therefore, the Church does pronounce, she is not creating a truth; she only proclaims its existence with infallible authority; but, after she has pronounced, every intelligence bows before the sacred dogma; whoever should refuse to adopt it by an act of faith, would abjure catholicity, and be on the instant rejected from its bosom. Among those truths, there is one very dear to your hearts, brethren, the truth of the Immaculate Conception of the most Holy Virgin Mary."

In the same style, the Bishop of *Marseilles* contends that "the exemption of the blessed Virgin Mary from original sin is a pious belief, universally admitted in the Church. This belief is so respectable, that the holy Council of Trent, in its decrees respecting original sin, freely declares that it does not intend to include the holy Virgin among the creatures stained by it. Indeed it is not permitted to teach publicly that she has been subjected to this stain. Nevertheless the glorious exemption attributed to her is not an article of the faith, the Church not having as yet pronounced a definitive judgment on the subject, which will not be done until the day when it shall please the Holy Ghost solemnly to glorify this great privilege of the Mother of God, and to cause it to be irrevocably recognized with an infallible authority.

"Now, dear brethren, our holy father Pope Pius IX. has felt in his so pious heart an inspiration, as it were, from on high, which has made him desirous of rendering to Mary this solemn homage. He has interrogated all the bishops of the Catholic world; he has asked them to testify concerning the tradition of all the Churches, each for the one

which he governs, and to state at the same time their own opinion. His wish is, that their voices collected from all parts of the globe should sound forth in unison from the mouth of the Vicar of Jesus Christ, as the great voice of the universal Church, declaring, like a general council gathered around her head, a judgment which, thus definitively proclaimed from the chair of St. Peter, should become the infallible decision of the Holy Ghost, and the immutable rule of faith. When, in the person of his worthy successor, Peter shall have spoken, the Church herself will have spoken ; for in him resides the plenitude of apostolic power ; in him all the authority of the Church is summed up ; from him proceeds, according to the expression of a holy Father cited by Bossuet, the ray of government for the whole episcopate ; in him all terminates, as in the necessary centre of unity."

The Bishop of *Fréjus*, in expressing his anxiety that the precious belief in the Immaculate Conception should be placed among the undoubted verities of the faith by an irrevocable decision (*jugement irréfornable*) of the Pope, thus defines the doctrine in question:—"That the blessed Virgin Mary, the mother of Jesus our Saviour, was not only free from all sin during her life, but that, by a singular privilege, due to the great and special purposes of God with her, this peerless soul did not even at the moment of her conception contract the stain of original sin transmitted by the first man to his posterity."

Similar in effect is the language of the Bishop of *St. Flour*:—"It was not meet that she, who was to crush the head of the Old Serpent, should herself be bitten by that infernal Serpent; it was not meet that she, who was to concur so directly in the destruction of the tyranny of Satan, should herself for a single instant be under the empire of that evil tyrant ; in one word, it was not meet that she who was to be the mother of the author of all good, should at the outset be herself the daughter of the author of all evil. Mary, and Mary alone, has therefore, by a purely personal privilege, been preserved from original sin ; this is what we are taught by sound reason, enlightened by faith ; what most of the Fathers of the Church more or less clearly intimate ; what almost all the Catholic theologians teach in terms ; what the holy Council of Trent itself gives us to understand, when it declares that it does not intend to include the blessed Mother of God in the decree which it publishes on our deplorable original sin ; what the singular favours tend to establish with which the Sovereign Pontiffs have enriched the churches where the feast instituted in honour of the wonderful prerogative here claimed for Mary is celebrated with special devotion ; what especially the indult tends to prove, with which his holiness Gregory XVI. of blessed memory has gratified ourselves, ten years ago, and by which, while granting us gracious indulgences, he authorised us to proclaim the conception of the purest of virgins immaculate and stainless in our public prayers."

The Bishop of *Mans* affirms, that "when the Church, charged with the office of teaching, and constituted by Jesus Christ the infallible judge of revealed doctrine, declares a proposition to be contained in

the deposit of revelation, she rescues it, by that very fact, from the empire of opinion, imposes silence on its gainsayers, and obliges all her children, without distinction of dignity, learning, or authority, to believe it as an article of the faith, under pain of anathema," and then proceeds to put and to answer "the question treated in such magnificent terms in the encyclic:"—"Has the Virgin, *par excellence*, whom we venerate with so much love, and to whom we pray with such full and sweet confidence, been immaculate in her conception, as she was perfect in her earthly life? Our hearts unanimously respond, Yes! and they repel with invincible repugnance the thought that, infected by sin, she could have been for a single instant, by her nature, a child of wrath like ourselves; that God could have regarded her as an object of aversion, hatred, and contempt. Since He was able to preserve her from that hideous contamination, did He not owe it to the glory and honour of his adorable Son to do so? did he not owe it to Himself?"

The Archbishop of *Rheims* maintains that the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception is "founded on Scripture and the teaching of the Fathers, Councils, and Popes, conformable to the general and constant belief of the clergy and the faithful, and to the belief of the holy Roman Church, the mother and mistress of all the Churches," acknowledges in terms of high eulogy the zeal of his clergy in "extending the worship of Mary," and in making known and defending the prerogatives which "exalt her above angels and cherubim and above all creatures," and expresses his willingness to be the interpreter at the Holy See of the wish of his clergy, participated in by himself, "that the Holy See should declare and define as a doctrine of the Catholic Church, that the conception of the blessed Virgin Mary was entirely immaculate, and absolutely exempt from all stain of original sin."

The Bishop of *Angoulême* makes bold to assert that "it has always been in the Church the pious belief of the faithful, that by a singular privilege the most holy Virgin has been preserved from the sin which our first parents have transmitted to us with their blood; that the Serpent of hell, whose head she was to crush, never touched her with so much as an impure breath; that her soul was, from the first moment of her existence, in a state of perfect innocence and sanctity; in one word, that her conception was perfectly immaculate. Isolated and transient contradictions," the Bishop adds, "which this belief may have encountered, have only served to attest, in a more striking manner, its perpetual and unanimous acceptance. Nevertheless, in order to give to this belief the character of an article of faith, and to place it beyond the reach of all further discussion, it still requires the last and solemn sanction of the Church by the mouth of the Vicar of Jesus Christ. For a long time past, numerous supplications and pious entreaties have been addressed to the Holy See, in order to obtain from its supreme authority this dogmatic definition of the Immaculate Conception of the most Holy Virgin, the Mother of God."

The same fact that the papal chair has been besieged for a length of time by the votaries of Mary, is also attested by the Bishop of *Ajaccio*:

"The belief in the Immaculate Conception of the Holy Virgin, so far from growing weaker in its passage through centuries, has, on the contrary, grown larger and stronger in the Catholic world. Hence the thousands of requests addressed in these latter times to the Holy See, not only for permission publicly to invoke Mary by the title of 'Immaculate' in her 'Conception,' by the august designation of 'Queen begotten without sin,' but for the recognition, now at last, of this glorious privilege, by a decree of the successor of Peter, and for its insertion among the articles of the faith!"

The transition from the previous state of the question to the 'happy consummation,' now confidently anticipated, is thus curiously described by the Bishop of *Saint Briec*:—"When we contemplated the mystery of the Immaculate Conception of the august Virgin, we felt that a something was wanting both to our mind and our heart, a certainty which admits not the slightest doubt. The moment is come when the Church believes herself called upon to set upon it, by the instrumentality of her Supreme Head, the seal of her infallible authority, and to assign to it a place in the creed. . . . The whole world is now in a state of expectation: hell gnashes with rage; Heaven rejoices; the earth is trembling with love, and hope, and happiness."

Still more rhapsodical is the style of the Archbishop of *Bordeaux*: "The comforter of the afflicted, she will heal our wounds; the star of the morning, she will light up the depth of the abyss into which perverse doctrines might precipitate us; the ark of alliance, she will reunite too thankless children to their Pontiff and Father; and soon Pius IX., re-established on the throne to which so many wishes call him back, will announce to the City and to the world that Heaven is reconciled with the earth, and that henceforward there shall be but 'one shepherd and one flock.'"

But the most extravagantly heretical and blasphemous of all the diatribes on this subject which have come under our cognizance, is the *mandement* of the Bishop of *Langres*, who, it will be remembered, had a seat as representative in the Constituent Assembly, and who is likewise a member of the present Assembly:—"When one reflects deeply upon the prodigious operations by which the mystery of the Incarnation has been accomplished in the womb of Mary, and of the truly adorable privileges of that Divine maternity which was its glorious result for the peerless Virgin, one is led quite naturally, by a certain logic of Christian appreciation, to conclude that the creature which was raised to this 'supreme dignity' must always have been pure.

"Mary, as is well known, in becoming the mother of the Saviour, as far as the soul and body are concerned, which constituted the human nature, has never been merely the mother of a man, but has always, truly and strictly, been the mother of God; seeing that the human personality has never existed in Jesus Christ, but that his body and soul were always those of the Divine Person. Now, when one reflects upon the intimate union which exists between a child and its mother, upon that fellowship of life which they have with each other so long as

the birth of the child has not separated them, and when afterwards, contemplating the adorable mystery which was consummated in the womb of Mary, one remembers that during nine months the Divine Person, whose mother that Holy Virgin was, subsisted on her breath, her blood, her life, and that for this very reason Mary was enabled, in the sublimity of her privilege, to say, like God the Father, to the Son of God, 'Thou art my Son, this day have I begotten Thee;' one asks one's self, if it is possible, that that breath, that blood, that life could ever have been, even for an instant, stained by sin.

"It is a doctrine of the faith against which no one protests, that the holy humanity of Jesus Christ could never contract this stain; and the reason of this absolute impeccability is the hypostatic union of the human nature with the Divine nature, in one and the same person. In truth, as God is essentially opposed to sin, it was impossible that any sin should touch, however lightly, the humanity upon which the Son of God had conferred the ineffable honour of uniting it in Himself to the Godhead. Have we, then, not a right to conclude, that there must be not the identical, but a somewhat similar impossibility in her who has been so intimately, so marvellously, so perfectly united to the Godhead by the Divine maternity?

"When from all eternity the Son of God chose for Himself that mysterious habitation, could it be His will that it should at the outset be contaminated? If the heavens must be perfectly pure for this sovereign reason, that they are the dwelling-place of God, has that God, who is so justly jealous of His glory, required less purity for that other habitation which He chose for Himself in time, not only as the heaven in which He has prepared His dwelling-place with His angels and His elect, but as a living heaven, in which, and with which, and by which, it was His will that His own Son should live?

"And does not this consideration become still more striking when Mary is placed in contrast with our first parents, and with nature in its original integrity?

"What! the first Eve, who has brought us all to ruin, should have been created in a state of innocence; and the second, who has procured salvation for us all, should have been conceived in sin! And yet it is to the latter that an archangel said, 'Blessed art thou among women,' when in fact she would have been, at her origin, cursed with the whole earth, like all the works of man!

"What! my dear brethren, have ye not observed that, when God created the world, he stopped before every one of his works, and saw that it was good, and upheld it? Have ye not read that, when God had finished them all, He contemplated them all, and saw that they were very good? *Vidit Deus cuncta quæ fecerat, et erant valde bona.*

"And will any one dare to say on the contrary, that when God created Mary, He saw in her, at her coming forth from nothing, only a child of wrath! and that, in His eternal abhorrence of sin, He was forced to turn away His eyes from that imperfect and vitiated work, till it was purified, restored, and renewed!



“ At this rate God would have made for man a perfect earth and a perfect heaven, *igitur perfecti sunt cæli et terra*; but as for Himself, and for that new earth, in which the Word was willing to take the clay of our nature, and those new heavens in which he prepared a habitation for Himself from all eternity, He would have made them at first only in the rough—what do I say?—He would have made them no better than a work smitten beforehand with the sentence of the curse.

“ Ah! dear brethren, let us not permit ourselves to condemn or even to characterize such thoughts as these in the order of the things belonging to our salvation, because the Church does not yet permit us to do so, and because, in that supernatural order of things, the Church is the sole judge here below; but surely nothing in the world can prevent us from repeating, that, according to the simple appreciation of human reason, such consequences are revolting to good sense as well as grievous to faith.

“ No, the Church has not expressly defined this precious truth; but surely she permits us to believe it, surely we are certain to please her by believing it. The proof of this we see in the eagerness of the faithful in all the earth, in the numerous demands addressed by the bishops to the apostolic See, and, lastly, in the paternal condescension with which the Sovereign Pontiff himself invites us to convey to him the expression of our thoughts and our wishes.

“ Well, then, we say it aloud in the presence of the Catholic world, our opinion, which we deposit at the feet of the successor of the Apostles, is, that the Immaculate Conception of Mary is the most certain of all the facts not supported by the supernatural authority of the Church, the proofs of which, though drawn from all the Christian records, nevertheless, do not as yet surpass the limits of human certainty.

“ We shall, therefore, say with St. Anselm, that ‘to us it is an undoubted truth, that the most chaste body and the most holy soul of Mary were, from their origin, placed under the guardianship of angels, and thus absolutely preserved from all stain of sin.’

“ We believe this firmly, for all the reasons which we have explained, and which in conclusion we will recapitulate.

“ We believe it,—

“ 1. Because, if the hypostatic union has rendered sin impossible in the holy humanity of Jesus Christ, the divine maternity which sustained the Son of God with the life of his holy mother has rendered sin inadmissible in Mary.

“ 2. Because Mary, having been eternally predestinated as the principle of a new world, and finding a place, like the humanity of the Saviour himself, among the generations of mankind only under the merciful hypothesis of redemption, the common rule is not applicable to her; and it is for this reason that God ‘put enmity between her and the devil, whose head she has crushed, and who sought vainly to ensnare her;’ for this reason, that, according to the word of St. Peter Damian,

the virgin flesh of Mary has not received the stain which comes to us from Adam, although she was descended from him. *Care Virginis, ex Adam sumpta, maculas Adæ non admisit.*

“3. Because all tradition testifies in favour of this dear belief: the records of the eastern Churches, and those of the Latin Churches, the testimonies of the holy Fathers, and the words of the sacred liturgy, the usages of the dioceses, and the customs of religious orders, are in marvellous harmony with the supreme authority of the Popes, in proclaiming that Mary is pure from her conception; so that we have on this point, though not yet defined in an obligatory manner, the antiquity, the universality, the perpetuity which are ever the principal foundation of the very doctrines of the faith.

“4. Because the holy Council of Trent, by expressly refusing to include Mary in the decree of original sin, and in renewing, as far as the Mother of God is concerned, the constitution of Pope Sixtus IV., which gave permission in the public office to declare the conception of Mary immaculate, has sufficiently indicated what is, at the bottom, the innermost thought of the Church on this mysterious fact.

“5. Because it is impossible to comprehend that the conception of the blessed Virgin should be the subject of a festival, if it were precisely the only point in which that divine Virgin was not pure, considering, above all, that it is not permitted to hold a religious solemnity on what is not holy.

“6. Because it is generally received, that it is impossible to extol the holiness of Mary too much, provided no attribute be given to her which belongs exclusively to the Creator: now it is evident that this exceptional latitude left to piety towards the Mother of God would no longer exist, if Mary had been for an instant contaminated by original sin, seeing that the consequences of that transmitted sin are incomparably more fatal than those of venial sin, of which nevertheless we should justly dread to attribute the slightest stain to the purest of virgins.

“Lastly, because it is not possible that God, who, after the creation of all his works, saw that they were all good, should, after the creation of the most excellent of all creatures, see in her at her origin nothing but a child of wrath.

“This is our view, dear brethren. It is firm, precise, and not to be shaken. Next to the doctrines of the faith, nothing is to us more certain. And now what is our wish? Our wish is that men of faith may more and more share this view; that the Holy See, which in its indulgence has already complied with our wishes so far as to permit and give to the world a special office of the Immaculate Conception, may deign, according to its supreme wisdom, to take effectual measures that this comforting office may be unanimously recited in the whole Catholic world; finally, that this belief, on which God permits that at this time all the wishes and all the hopes, as it were, of Christendom should be concentrated—this belief, which rests as yet only on proofs drawn, it is true, from the purest sources of Catholic truth, but established simply by

the conclusions of human reasoning, should be in some sort confirmed by an express definition of him who has been commanded to strengthen his brethren.

“ Yes, we desire that this splendour be added to Thy glory on earth, O our most blessed Queen !

“ We desire it first of all for Thee ; not that our homage can in any way enrich Thee, but because, in our ardent love for all that concerns Thee, we find all our happiness in seeing Thy perfections acknowledged, Thy name admired, Thy worship perfected more and more.

“ We desire it also most ardently for ourselves, because, to every new praise which ascends to Thy mighty and merciful throne, blessings ever more abundant respond, which Thy inexhaustible and maternal hands pour upon the earth ; and because, according to the language of the Church, those above all are entitled to hope for Thy assistance who suitably celebrate Thy holy conception.

“ Oh, yes ! we desire it for ourselves, especially at this time, precisely because of the sufferings and perils of these calamitous days ; for, we know it, since the Church proclaims it, Thou art the help of Christians, Thou art the Comforter of the afflicted, Thou art the refuge of sinners ; and it is chiefly when the tempest grows more furious, and the night darker, that it is our interest to see Thee shining forth with greater brightness, O Thou star of the Seas !

“ At Thy holy feet, therefore, O Thou peerless Sovereign of heaven and earth, we venture to deposit these desires of our inexpressible veneration and our filial piety.

“ One of Thy most illustrious servants among our most admirable doctors, St. Bonaventura, used to say to Thee, ‘ O Mary ! blessed in Thy sight is the man who can never praise Thee enough ; the light of God has risen in his heart, and the Holy Ghost illumines his mind.’

“ Grant, O glorious Virgin, that, despite of our unworthiness, some portion of this blessing may descend upon our weakness ; for we would ever praise Thee, and ever hear Thee praised.

“ Then should we have attained the height of our wishes, if, before closing a too useless existence, we could hear the great voice of the Church proclaiming throughout the universe what we delight to repeat at the bottom of our heart : ‘ Hail, O Thou restorer of a fallen world ! never, never wast Thou tainted with any sin !’ *Salve, O cadentis mundi erectrix, nulli unquam culpæ subjecta !*”

We make no apology for the extraordinary length of these extracts. The language thus held by the Romish episcopate furnishes evidence more conclusive than any that has yet been produced, of the essentially antichristian character of that apostate Church, and forms a most important link in the chain of iniquity by which her attitude in the last days is prophetically determined.

GERMANY.—*The Council at Vienna.*—The Roman Catholic Archbishops and Bishops of the Austrian empire were assembled in council at Vienna during the months of May and June of the present year.

The council was opened by the Archbishop of Vienna on the 5th of May, and continued its sittings till the 17th of June. The number of prelates present, either in person or by deputy, was thirty-five. The following is an abstract of the contents of the lengthened synodical letter issued by the council on the day of its dissolution :—

The object of the assembling of the council, by desire of His Majesty the Emperor, whose friendly invitation anticipated the wish and determination of the bishops, is stated to have been to take counsel together as to what might be useful and profitable for the Catholic Church in that empire under the *régime* of the new constitution of the State, which may result from the late political events. After pledging themselves to put in execution in their several dioceses, according to the usual practice of the Church, their acts and decisions, so soon as they shall have received the final sanction, the bishops proceed to advert to the calamities occasioned by the late revolution, and in particular they cite the following passage from a manifesto of the republican party, then recently published ; “ Religion, which must “ be banished from society, ought to disappear from the minds of all men. “ By a necessary consequence the revolution destroys religion, by render- “ ing the hope of heaven superfluous, through the liberty and happiness “ of all upon earth. This is the reason why we take no part in “ religious struggles, and in the attempts connected with them, such as “ the formation of free congregations, &c., except so far as by the name “ of religious liberty is to be understood exemption from all religious “ belief. What we want is not liberty of faith, but the necessity of “ unbelief.” On this impious declaration the synodal letter comments at considerable length, and then proceeds to examine the various principles which have been put forward by the revolutionists. The love of ‘ nationality ’ is mentioned as the first of these false principles ; after it the proposed ‘ separation of education from the Church ’ is discussed ; and, lastly, the cry of ‘ liberty ’ is held up to reprobation as the most powerful of the means of seduction employed by the subverters of social order and of the ordinance of God. The synodal letter addresses itself both to rulers and subjects, and to the different classes of society, impressing upon them all the necessity of resisting the aggressions of the enemy, and living in subjection to the teaching and the rule of the Catholic Church.

*The Pius Association.*—This association, which was formed some time ago in different parts of Germany under the name of the “ Pius Association,” for the promotion of the interests of the Romish Church, has been thrown into a state of agitation and disunion by the attempt of a large portion of its members to give a political action to the Society. The opponents of this tendency appeal to a recent rescript of the Pope, in which the general design of the institution is spoken of with approbation, while participation in political movements is unequivocally condemned. On the other hand, the political party maintain that the expression ‘ *civiles motus* ’ is to be understood, not of regular political action, but only of revolutionary movements.

**GIBRALTAR.**—*Religious Condition of "the Rock."*—A correspondent of the *Colonial Church Chronicle* gives a detailed description of the religious condition of the mixed community of nations at Gibraltar, a short abstract of which will be read with the greater interest, as "the Rock" gives its name to one of the Colonial bishoprics of the English Church. After adverting briefly to the Jews and Mahommedans, the latter of whom have no place of worship of any sort at Gibraltar, and the former five synagogues and several schools, the writer proceeds to enumerate the Christian communities, beginning with the Roman Catholics as the most ancient. These have two places of worship; the old parish church of St. Mary, at the north end, now converted into a cathedral, and a small chapel at the south, with schools attached to both. There is a Vicar-Apostolic, or Bishop, as he has been called since the appointment of the English Bishop, with a staff of ten priests, instead of the one priest, who was deemed sufficient for the service of the Church, when "the Rock" was first surrendered to the British. The comparatively new Protestant chapel is likewise converted into a cathedral, though little suited to sustain that character. It has not even a bell to call to prayers; there was formerly a small bell turret, but it either fell down, or was taken down, being insufficiently supported. The erection of a detached clock and bell turret has been talked of, but not yet accomplished. Presiding over the cathedral, and, at the same time, over the civil interests of the Church of England, is the civil Chaplain and Archdeacon, whose advanced age unfits him for active exertion. On Sunday afternoon, service is performed by the chaplain to the convict establishment, whose duties are of the most laborious description, and who for the performance of this is rewarded by the shadowy honour of a stall in the cathedral. On Sunday evening, the prayers of the Church of England are read in Spanish, and a Spanish sermon is delivered by a gentleman who was once a priest in the Spanish Church, and who for the performance of this service, and for assisting at morning prayers, receives a sum under 50*l.* a year. The attendance on Divine worship is very indifferent, except at Easter time; the Sunday morning congregation is under one hundred and twenty, the afternoon under fifty, the evening under twelve.

Two of the Clergy, from having other important business, are precluded from pastoral intercourse with their congregations; and amongst the civilians, who are the permanent residents, there is no hereditary love of the Church of England, of her rules and services. Hence little personal sacrifice is made in her behalf. Out of the enormous sum of 30,000*l.*, which is drawn from "the Rock," for the salaries of its officials, the Church does not come in for 400*l.* a-year, although several of the official posts of the garrison are utter sinecures, the occupants of which receive from 500*l.* to 1000*l.* a-year. In connexion with the cathedral, is a school containing about 150 children. The boys in the upper classes can mostly repeat the Church Catechism in English and Spanish. Besides the cathedral there is a garrison chapel,

exclusively for the military, the chaplain of which is independent of episcopal jurisdiction.

The Wesleyans have an establishment, ostentatiously denominated the "*Mission Protestante*," which costs the Parent Society upwards of 800*l.* a-year, and consists of a chapel and three schools, with two ministers, in the north; and, at the south, an excellent school-room, which is also used as a chapel. Many Spanish children of both sexes are here instructed in Protestant principles, without being pledged to embrace the Protestant faith. A lay-preacher and schoolmaster, well acquainted with the Spanish language, superintends this establishment; the junior minister preaches occasionally in Spanish, both here and in the town.

The Free Church of Scotland has lately sent out a talented preacher to take the place of the former Presbyterian minister, and has, by the popularity of his style of preaching, obtained a footing among the population. Hitherto the service has been conducted in a large room, but the erection of a chapel is contemplated.

**INDIA.—Diocese of Calcutta.—Second Metropolitan Visitation.**—The bishop of Calcutta has just completed his second Metropolitan and fifth diocesan visitation. He delivered his Charge five times:—at Calcutta on Nov. 3rd, 1848; at Bombay on Dec. 12th; at Cotta-yam, in Cochin, on Dec. 26th; at Colombo on Jan. 4th, 1849; and at Madras on Feb. 15th. The voyage extended over 5500 miles, and occupied four months.

In his Charge the bishop observes, that there are now ten sees, with as many bishops, in the large and unwieldy diocese, or rather region of the globe, in which he stood alone when he came out in 1832, and continued so for four years; and there are now in India and Ceylon nearly 300 clergy and 179 churches; whereas, in 1814, on the arrival of Bishop Middleton, there were only about fifteen clergy altogether, and not nearly so many churches<sup>1</sup>."

Of his own diocese the bishop gives the following account:—

"The honourable Court have added to our Bengal establishment, in consequence of the extension of the British dominions in the Punjaub, which raises our number to fifty-nine chaplains, and, with supernumeraries, to sixty-five or sixty-seven; and our whole number of clergy, including professors, missionaries, additional clergy, and our four Lutheran brethren at Agra, who train up their converts in our episcopal discipline, amounts to 128 or 130. We have, in the diocese of Calcutta, lost four of our brethren in Bengal since the last visitation, two of whom were carried off suddenly; the other two sank under the gradual effects of over-labour. The deaths in our small number of clergy, in

<sup>1</sup> Including the missionary permanent churches in the different dioceses, especially in Tinnevely, there are between four and five hundred—the temporary chapels I do not reckon.



about four years, have, alas! been eleven—a loud warning to those who survive. The progress of the Calcutta Additional Clergy Society has been most gratifying. In 1845 we had only one clergyman in the field of labour; we have now four, and hope soon to have five or six, as our funds allow of their increase. An anonymous benefactor, under the name of Cranmer, has paid his promised donation of 5000 Company's rupees, upon a clergyman being fixed above Allahabad. The Calcutta Church-building Fund has been pursuing its pious way. In 1814 there were scarcely any churches in the diocese except the two in Calcutta; now there are ninety-two, to forty-five of which aid has been rendered by the fund. Grants have been made towards the erection or improvement of twelve churches since the biennial report in 1847. To complete the circle of auxiliary plans, a fund has just been raised at Calcutta for the support of Scripture readers, which I would earnestly recommend to the bishops and clergy of other dioceses. I come now to the state of our missions. In Calcutta they are full of hope. There is no great movement at present, but a steady progress. The Mohammedan mission in Calcutta itself is now in full operation under the Propagation Society; the church of St. Saviour's is consecrated, and numerous Mussulmans attend the instructions of the reverend missionary. The crescent is fast waning in Bengal, as it is generally in every part of the world."

The following is his account of the diocese of Madras:—

"An Additional Clergy Society has been formed. The urgency here is extreme. There are upwards of sixty stations where no permanent provision has been made for a resident minister. When I was at Cochin, which is a part of this diocese, I found a flock of 380 Protestants, with about fifty communicants and 140 children in the school, which is merely visited once a month by a chaplain from a distance of about one hundred miles. In contrast with this destitution, there are ten Romish churches and twenty priests, within three miles of Cochin, labouring to seduce our people. In the diocese of Madras, I may truly say that the Missions are the honour of India and 'the glory of Christ.' The extent of them overwhelms the mind. They comprehend forty-three districts, with 693 villages and forty-six ordained ministers. The number of the baptized, and persons under instruction, is 47,099; communicants, 6806; school children, 13,087; permanent churches, 122; temporary buildings for public worship, 320. To God be the glory of this wonderful seed-plot of good."

The bishop adverts also, in terms of satisfaction, to the two other dioceses of Bombay and Colombo, and to the mission at Cottayam under the Rev. J. Bayley, who is about to retire after thirty years' missionary labour.

*Diocese of Madras.*—From the recent Report of the Madras Diocesan Committee of the *Society for the Propagation of the Gospel*, it appears that new rules for its government have been framed, with the full consent of the Parent Society in England. The due prerogatives of the bishop are preserved in their integrity; whilst the committee is

invested with sufficient power and responsibility to call forth the energetic co-operation of its members. The committee is to be elected every year by the subscribers at a general meeting. A scale of salaries has been agreed upon for the clergymen in connexion with the Society, distinguishing between natives, Europeans born in India, and Europeans fresh from England. Travelling allowances have also been adjusted to the various conditions of the missionaries. Clergymen, so long as they are unacquainted with the native tongue, are to be considered only as assistant missionaries.

The Missionary Seminary, formerly located in Vepery, is to be revived. Eight scholarships are attached to the seminary, four for Europeans, and four for natives. The Rev. A. R. Symonds, the secretary of the committee, is to be principal. The seminary at Sawyerpooram, under the Rev. G. U. Pope, now contains about 140 youths, aged from seven to eighteen. The sister institution at Vedia-pooram, under the Rev. H. Bower, has about fifty. Both are reported to be in a highly satisfactory state. The mission of Combaconum has been subdivided into two missions; and the same change is about to be made in other districts. A higher rate of pay for native agents is about to be introduced, so as to bring forward a superior class of men.

From the returns for the year 1848, printed in the Appendix, it appears that there are now in the various stations in connexion with the *Society for the Propagation of the Gospel*, in the diocese, 15,599 baptized converts, and 4486 yet unbaptized; and that the number of baptisms during the last six months was 519. Nearly 5000 children are brought up in the schools.

**JAMAICA.**—*Visitation of the Diocese. Church Statistics.*—The Bishop of Jamaica has returned from the visitation of Middlesex and Cornwall, having thus completed his second general visitation of the diocese. An address from the clergy was presented to him on this occasion, to which the bishop returned an answer replete with valuable statistical facts, from which the following are extracts:—"Under the teaching of the several pastors throughout the diocese, not fewer than 10,000 persons have been presented to me in my second visitation to be confirmed; sixteen new churches and as many burial-grounds have been consecrated. Within the six years that have passed since my translation to the See of Jamaica, the clergy have been increased by nearly a fifth of their number, whilst the general population, according to the census, has sustained a small diminution. The present ecclesiastical establishment consists of four archdeacons, twenty-seven rectors, fifty island (or perpetual) curates, three colonial chaplains, and twenty-nine stipendiary curates or missionaries, all residing and ministering at their several stations in the diocese. Our schools are 110 in number, and afford instruction, commonly on the national system, and everywhere under the vigilant superintendence of the clergy, to 7500 pupils, principally the children of the poor. The want of any college

or seminary in this large and once opulent colony is universally admitted and deplored."

**ST. HELENA.**—*Primary Episcopal Visitation.*—This island has received its first visit from any Christian bishop in the spring of this year, when the Bishop of Capetown held a visitation in this remote part of his diocese. On Palm Sunday, Mr. Fry, formerly a missionary of the German Church, was admitted to the order of deacon; on the following Wednesday the bishop consecrated the church, "in memory of St. James," and four adjacent burial-grounds. On Easter Eve, 327 persons received confirmation.

On the 10th of April, a special general meeting of the Church Society was held at the bishop's request, the governor in the chair, when the bishop proposed certain amendments in the constitution of the society, which were adopted without a dissentient voice. The objects of the society, as defined by the new constitution, are, 1. provision for additional clergy; 2. the erection of more churches; 3. the dissemination of the Bible and of religious books; 4. missions to the heathen; 5. the education of natives with a view to Holy Orders. Great exertions are being made for the erection of a new church in the upper part of James' town; but there is little hope of success without extraneous aid.

**UNITED STATES.**—*New Diocese of Indiana.*—Another new diocese has been formed in the American Church, being the diocese of Indiana. The convention met at Indianapolis on June 29th, and elected for their first bishop the Rev. G. Upfold, D.D. The new diocese presents an arduous field for truly missionary labour. In a population of 1,000,000 souls the Church numbers less than 700 communicants.

*Annual Meeting of the Board of Missions.*—The inefficient manner in which the missionaries of the American Church have latterly been supported, having led to difficulties and complaints in various quarters, and among others to the resignation of Bishop Southgate, and the abandonment of his interesting mission at Constantinople, the state of the missionary work was taken into serious consideration at the annual meeting of the Board of Missions, held at New York, on the 20th of June, when the following resolutions were adopted:—

"Resolved, that the grievous inconveniences to which the missionaries and missionary bishops are subjected, through delay in the transmission of funds, impose a solemn duty on the Churches to make their annual contributions at the earliest period, that thus the domestic and foreign committees may be enabled to fulfil their engagements.

"Resolved, that Advent Sunday be recommended as the appropriate time for receiving contributions for domestic missions."

On the important subject of Bishop Southgate's resignation, the prevailing opinion was, that it was a matter which could only be settled by the General Convention, and the following resolution was adopted:—

“Resolved, that it is not expedient for the Board, at this time, to act in respect to the tendered resignation of Bishop Southgate.”

*Bishop Doane of New Jersey.*—We adverted in our last <sup>1</sup> to the abortive attempt made in the diocese of New Jersey to impeach the character of Bishop Doane, on the ground of the liabilities he had incurred for the institutions of his diocese. It is with great pleasure that we now give an abstract from a sketch of the history of that excellent prelate, which appears in the *Colonial Church Chronicle*. The following is the account which the bishop himself gives of the condition and progress of his diocese under his government:—

“It is now (March, 1849) more than sixteen years since the undersigned left home and friends, for service in a poor and feeble diocese. He has given himself unreservedly to the work. The Lord hath blessed it in his hands. The fourteen clergymen who were present at his election, have been more than four times multiplied. The little church of which he took the pastoral care has increased its capacity fourfold, and is yet too small. A noble structure is far advanced towards completion: the portion which is done is paid for; and the property of the parish is equal in value to three or four times the amount required to finish it. Thirty-three churches have been built, and ten repaired and improved. Ten parsonages have been added. Thirty-five deacons have been ordained, and thirty-three priests. Three thousand one hundred and seventy persons have been confirmed. These results are chiefly due, through God’s blessing, to the confidence and influence which the two institutions have created; and they have but begun their work, but they are well established. They are most extensively and favourably known. Pupils from the elder of them are dispersed through the whole land, every where, as samples and commendations of the Church-work here.”

Dr. Doane was rector of Trinity Church, Boston, at the time of his election to the see of New Jersey. In 1833, he accepted the rectory of Burlington, which fell vacant just as he was deliberating where to fix his residence. The income of the rectory (in addition to a parsonage-house) was raised to 700 dollars; more than half of which sum the bishop has regularly paid for the necessary assistance of others. The annual income of the see, including travelling expenses, &c., averages 241 dollars. The bishop’s own official income, therefore, has not exceeded 500 dollars.

With these slender resources he hesitated not to enter upon plans from which a man of ordinary caution would have shrunk. His diocese was in a feeble state, from which he hoped to raise it by means of Christian education. The proprietor of a female seminary in Burlington wished to dispose of his establishment; he became its purchaser, and opened it, May 1, 1837, under the name of “St. Mary’s Hall, for Female Education on Church Principles.”

<sup>1</sup> English Review, vol. xi. p. 505.

A loan of 25,000 dollars, for endowment, enabled the bishop to do this. But, before he had obtained subscriptions enough to cover two-thirds of that sum, a season of commercial distress came on, and he was left alone to supply the deficiency. The same cause also affected the fund for promoting the annual cost of maintenance, several of the children receiving a free education. The establishment increased with rapidity, and the bishop was compelled to merge his whole resources and *credit* in the work. In 1845 he added a similar establishment for boys, under the name of Burlington College, with only the assistance of a subscription of 8000 dollars ; with which, in addition to an enlargement of his own personal responsibility, he built and furnished an institution, in which 127 boys receive their education, under a competent staff of teachers.

At the end of last year, the bishop found himself the proprietor of two flourishing institutions, the gross annual receipts of which amount to 70,000 dollars, but encumbered with an unmanageable debt. Under these circumstances, he made an assignment of all his property of every kind ; and the institutions, for which he has made such generous sacrifices, are still carried on, as heretofore, under his own personal conduct and supervision, but on the financial responsibility of others.

*The Council of Baltimore.*—The Synod of the Roman Catholic Church in the United States, the assembling of which at Baltimore we briefly noticed in our last<sup>1</sup>, has issued a synodal letter, addressed to the faithful of their dioceses by “ the Archbishops and Bishops of the United States gathered together in the Seventh Provincial Council of Baltimore.” It adverts, in the first instance, to the more complete organisation of their hierarchy, undertaken by the council at the express desire of Pius IX., which is to be made known so soon as the decrees of the council on the subject shall have received the necessary papal sanction. The letter then takes occasion to advert to the Roman revolution, and the attempt to deprive Pius IX. of his temporal sovereignty. In speaking of this, the synod records its “ conviction that the temporal principality over the Roman States has, in the order of Providence, been conducive to the free and unsuspected exercise of the spiritual functions of the papacy, and to the furtherance of religious interests, by contributing to the maintenance of scientific and charitable institutions. If the Bishop of Rome were the subject of a political sovereign, or the citizen of a republic, there would be reason to fear that he might not always enjoy that freedom of action which is necessary in order to insure for his decrees and measures respect at the hands of the faithful throughout the world.”

After this strong assertion of the necessity of a temporal dominion to the efficient working of the papal system, the synodal letter guards itself against the conclusions that might be deduced from it, in the event of Pius IX. losing his temporal sovereignty, by the assertion that “ the pontifical office is of divine institution, and wholly independent of

<sup>1</sup> Vol. xi. p. 506.

all the vicissitudes to which the temporal principality may be exposed." The synodal letter then dwells with particular emphasis on the proposition, that "by means of the uninterrupted tradition of the Roman Church, handed down from the Apostles through the succession of bishops, they (the Roman Catholics) confound all those who, through pride and reliance upon their own conceits, or through any other perverse influence, dare to teach any thing else but what is certified by divine revelation, and attempt to alter the doctrine which, like an unsoiled stream from a pure fountain, flows forth upon the whole world." The synod farther adverts, in connexion with this subject, to the position of the Pope, expressing in affectionate terms its sympathy with him, and ordering a special day for a general collection towards his relief.

From this the synod passes on to the chief topic of its deliberations, the question of the Immaculate Conception of the Virgin Mary, on which it holds, in remarkable inconsistency with its own assertions as to the purity and antiquity of the doctrine of the Roman Church, the following language:—

"The repeated solicitations of the bishops, addressed to the Holy See from various parts of the Church, have induced his holiness to seek the advice of all his colleagues respecting the point of doctrine, that the mother of our Saviour has been preserved by divine grace from all stain of original sin. This has been considered hitherto as a pious belief which derived its strength and its sanction from the festival of the Immaculate Conception, which for some centuries past has been celebrated in the whole Church. In the east this festival has been observed since the fifth century, under the title of the 'Conception of St. Anna,' the mother of the holy Virgin; whether it was introduced in the west before the ninth century is not known. Every where in the whole extent of the Church, and from the most ancient times, Mary has been called holy and immaculate, as is clear from the liturgical books and the writings of the Fathers. St. Ephrem of Syria, in the fourth century, proclaimed that her purity and sanctity far exceeded that of the most sublime spirits which surround the throne of God, since it is her special privilege to be the Mother of the Incarnate Word. 'She is,' he says, 'an immaculate Virgin, without stain or corruption, all chaste and free from all contamination and corruption of sin, the Spouse of God, the Mother of God, inviolate, holy, holier than the seraphim, and incomparably more glorious than all the heavenly hosts<sup>1</sup>.' Although the attention of the Church in the primitive ages was specially fixed on the mystery of the Incarnation, although her authority was chiefly employed against the destructive heresies which attacked it directly, nevertheless the honour of the Virgin Mother was vindicated by the early Church as often as it was called in question. When Nestorius attempted to divide Christ, by attributing a distinct personality to his human nature, the great Council of Ephesus, in proscribing this novelty proclaimed Mary the Mother of God, conformably to the

<sup>1</sup> Oratio in sanctissimam Dei Genitricem.



constant doctrine of all antiquity. Her perpetual virginity was subsequently declared, when innovators dared to deny it. Her exemption from all actual sin was established by the holy Council of Trent, in a definition of faith; and the same venerable authority gave her the designation *Immaculate*, in a declaration annexed to the canons touching original sin. The Fathers declared that it was not their intention to include the blessed and immaculate Virgin in their decrees, but that in this respect the constitutions of Sixtus IV. were to be observed. This pontiff, in consequence of the disputes which had arisen touching the immaculate conception of Mary, had found it necessary to issue a prohibition, under heavy penalties, against stigmatising as heresy either the pious sentiment of the Immaculate Conception, or the contrary opinion. It happened with regard to this doctrine as with regard to several others, that in the course of time doubts sprang up as to the tradition and faith of the Church. The disputes which arose on this subject were tolerated by her with the same consideration and patience with which the conflict of opinion on the necessity of legal observances had been endured in the first Council of Jerusalem, until the voice of Peter put an end to the discussion. The Church abstained from a decisive judgment so long as the excitement subsisted, contenting herself with the protestation of the contending parties, that they submitted without reserve to her authority, and leaving every proof and every objection to be maturely examined and weighed in the balances of the sanctuary. But in permitting to the theologians the right of private investigation, the pontiffs took care to maintain the custom of celebrating the festival, and prohibited, under heavy penalties, any public expression of an opinion derogating from the belief for which the faithful felt a pious attachment.

“Since the Divine Scriptures teach that in Adam all men have sinned, and that we are by nature the children of wrath, the Virgin Mary, as the natural descendant of Adam, would have incurred the punishment common to all, if she had not been preserved from it by Divine grace. The angel Gabriel assured her that she had found grace before God, and saluted her as one full of grace. She was declared blessed above all women, both by the heavenly messenger, and by her cousin Elisabeth speaking by the inspiration of the Holy Ghost. St. Jerome represents her as repairing by her obedience the evils brought upon the human race by the disobedience of the Mother of the human family. Her exemption from the general curse may be inferred from the fact, that she was chosen to be the Mother of our Redeemer, whose body was formed of her substance. St. Augustine, speaking of original sin, which he attributes in the strongest terms to every child of Adam, observes that he must not be understood to include the Virgin Mary, in reference to whom he could not, for the honour of our Lord, suffer any thought to be conceived which should have a tendency to sin; ‘for we know,’ he says, ‘that grace was given her for triumphing over every kind of sin, since she has been chosen to conceive and bring forth Him who is essentially and supremely free from sin (*De Naturá et Gratiá*).’ Taking this most just principle for our guide, we are enabled to interpret the

general assertions of the Fathers, without prejudice to the only and blessed creature whose womb, like a sanctified repository, has borne our Redeemer, and whose paps have given him suck.

“ The living faith and oral tradition of the Church, must be regarded as the echo of an ancient apostolic tradition, and as the authentic expression of a revealed verity. The Holy Ghost is ever with the successors of the Apostles, to guide them into all truth, and to call to their remembrance the doctrines originally taught by Christ, which will endure for ever, even though heaven and earth should pass away. He watches over them in order that the revealed doctrines may be kept free from all admixture of error. ‘ We will not anticipate the solemn judgment of the supreme bishop ; but, at the same time, we exhort you, brethren, to continue to entertain a tender devotion for the Mother of our Lord, since the honour which you pay her is founded on the relation which unites her to Him, and is an act of homage to the mystery of His incarnation. The more you venerate the Mother as the purest and holiest of creatures, the deeper sense will you manifest of the divinity of the Son,—in fact, the pious servants of Mary, in ancient and modern times, have ever been distinguished by their zeal in maintaining the mysteries of the faith. From St. Ephrem of Syria to Bernard of Clairvaux, and from St. Thomas Aquinas to St. Alphonsus of Liguori, all have had a burning love to Jesus Christ, and have been noted for the purity of their lives, and their zeal for Christian perfection. On the contrary, those who attacked the veneration of the holy Virgin have readily fallen so low as to deny the divinity of her Son. Devotion towards her is an outwork of the Church, which protects the faith in the divine mysteries.

“ ‘ We doubt not, beloved brethren, that the powerful intercession of Mary will obtain, through the merits of Jesus Christ our Lord and Redeemer, from the Father of lights and the Giver of every good gift, the necessary light and aid for the Supreme Pastor of the Church, and the graces and blessings to be desired for Christ’s people.’ ”

The synodal letter concludes by the expression of a fervent reliance on the protection and assistance of the Virgin, amidst all the disturbances by which the world is at present agitated.

# THE ENGLISH REVIEW.

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DECEMBER, 1849.

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ART. I.—*Confessions of an Enquiring Spirit, and some Miscellaneous Pieces, by Samuel Taylor Coleridge. Edited from the Author's MS., by HENRY NELSON COLERIDGE, Esq., M.A.* London: Pickering.

THE subject of the Inspiration of Holy Scripture is one of far too great importance to the Christian faith to permit any one, who is anxious for the maintenance of that faith to sit by unmoved, while the authority of God's Holy Word is directly or indirectly impugned. We know it is very easy to talk of "Bibliolatry;" and doubtless there have been instances before now, in which unreasonable and novel theories have strained the office of Scripture, beyond that which the Divine wisdom designed it to fulfil. It was a false theory which required for every lawful rite and ceremony in the Christian Church, or almost for every lawful action of a Christian, the express words and injunctions of Holy Writ, as if general rules could never be given by God's Word, or as if He were bound to direct every action immediately Himself, and could not possibly leave any thing to the discretion of those whom He had invested with authority in His Church. And it was a mistaken theory, which sought in the Holy Scripture for the most authentic details on subjects of a scientific nature. Such exaggerations as these did not spring from an *over*-veneration for Scripture as the Word of God—for it is impossible to reverence Scripture too highly, or to bow too implicitly to its guidance—but from false conceptions of its nature and objects, altogether unauthorized by the universal belief of Christians from the beginning, or by any statements of the Scripture itself.

The doctrine of Christendom in all ages, from the time of the Apostles to the present day, has uniformly been this—that the books of the Holy Scripture were "given by inspiration of God, and are profitable for doctrine, reproof, correction, instruction in righteousness." This inspiration has been always believed to extend to the Scriptures as a whole, in such a sense that every article of faith, and of morality, which they teach, is to be received as of divine authority; and every fact which they narrate is to be considered as true. Within these limits there have been, and may be, shades of difference in regard to the precise limits of the

inspiration of Scripture ; but, where the general belief above mentioned exists, all that is essential is retained ; and differences on minor details do not affect the deposit of faith, or endanger Christianity : and happily, until within a comparatively recent period, Christians have remained in the possession of their simple hereditary faith on this great subject, and have avoided speculations, questionings, and refinements of human philosophy, which in this, as in all other theological subjects, is apt to lead men away from the simplicity of the faith as it is in Jesus, into error, heresy, and infidelity. Whatever may be the distinctions of Rabbins, and of some modern divines, as to “inspiration of suggestion,” “inspiration of direction,” &c., the belief of the Christian Church at large does not depend on distinctions of this kind, or, for the most part, even recognize them. We are satisfied, as our forefathers have ever been, with the declaration of the Apostle Paul in reference to the Old Testament,—that it is “given by inspiration of God ;” and with St. Peter’s assurance, that “the prophecy came not in the old time by the will of man ; but holy men of old spake as they were moved by the Holy Ghost.” We need no proof of the divine origin of writings of which the Eternal God manifest in the flesh has said, “All things that are written in the prophets concerning the Son of Man shall be accomplished.” So it is in vain to draw a distinction between the New and the Old Testament, and to reject the latter while we receive the former ; because the New Testament distinctly and throughout recognizes the inspiration of the Old Testament as its own fundamental principle, and loses all its authority if the Old Testament be rejected. But this cannot possibly be : we know, from sufficient evidence, that the books of the New Testament were written by those to whom the Spirit of Truth was promised, to lead them into all truth ; and received universally in the Church, as inspired, at a period when the Spirit of God was shed abroad in all Churches, and must have enabled them to discern infallibly, such inspired writings as were made known to them, from uninspired writings.

The inspiration of Scripture, as the Word of God, is, happily, still firmly believed by the whole Christian world. We do not include in this appellation those unbelievers who, in Germany and elsewhere, have departed from the faith in this essential point, and have thrown aside and rejected the formularies and confessions of their own communions, which speak explicitly on the subject. We have, in maintaining the Catholic Christian view of inspiration, the whole of the Reformation, both Foreign and English, along with us. We have the whole Oriental or Greek Church—the Monophysites and Nestorians—the Roman

Catholic Church—the Lutherans and Calvinists—the Old Soci-nians in great part—all sects of Dissenters—the Presbyterians—and, in fine, the English Churches. All Christendom are on one side of the question; while on the other are the Rationalists, and Mystics, and Philosophers of Germany, and their followers here and there, in America and England, who are, all of them, in insurrection against the hereditary belief of their own Churches and Communion.

This country has, however, not been exempt from the contagion of infidel doctrines on this vital point. The practical character of the English mind has, to a great degree indeed, prevented the spread of theoretical unbelief: but there was a contest waged in this country a century ago with the assailants of Revelation, which was of the most formidable description; and, though our writers defeated the audacious and persevering attempts of Tindal, Bolingbroke, Hume, and their coadjutors; the poisonous doctrines of these enemies of Revelation found a ready acceptance in Germany, where, from many circumstances (doubtless well known to our readers), the national mind became gradually unsettled in its belief; shifted from belief in the national confession of faith; became sceptical on the subject of the inspiration of Scripture, or wholly rejected it, or devised some false theory in its place; and thence, tossed about in endless speculations and theories, has presented a melancholy exemplification of the words of the Apostle—"Ever learning, and never able to come to the knowledge of the truth."

The great characteristic of this class of writers and thinkers is, in general, a rejection of Scripture as the Word of God. We have here made use of language, the justice and truth of which will be at once denied by such persons. We must therefore explain our meaning. We say, that they reject the Word of God, *not in words or professedly*, but *really and in fact*. They will profess the most enthusiastic admiration for the *New Testament*, and they will boldly state that they consider the Bible to contain a divine Revelation. But, then, their *meaning* is, that the New Testament and the Old Testament contain doctrines which are undoubtedly true—which commend themselves at once to the judgment as divine—but doctrines, which derive their proof of being divine, *not* from the fact of their being written in Scripture, because it is held that Scripture teaches *falsehood*, that *its language is not inspired*, that *its authors commit all sorts of blunders*, and that it is *absurd to suppose them to have written under the guidance of the Holy Ghost in all parts of their books*; that the truth does not in any degree depend on the inspiration of Scripture for its evidence;

such evidence being given by the voice of God's Spirit in the heart or conscience.

Now then, if this be really, in general, the ground taken by such writers, we maintain that their acknowledgment of the inspiration of Scripture—their recognition of it as the Word of God,—is a mere deception practised either on others or on themselves; for the inspiration is supposed to be quite as much in the mind of the individual as of the sacred penman. That is to say, *the Scriptures are no more inspired than every individual is inspired.* The Scriptures are no certain guide: they are full of ignorance, contradictions, and absurdities. We may safely reject some of their statements as inconsistent with reason, justice, or piety; therefore they cannot be of more authority,—they cannot possess an authority different in kind from that of our own reason, which is evidently liable to error.

Thus the result of those principles which leave men at liberty to reject the authority of such portion of the Holy Scripture as they deem inconsistent with sound reason or morality, is to release man from all obligation to consider Scripture as the rule of faith or morals; because it places Scripture on the same level with his own reason; it leaves Scripture without any real authority—it wholly divests it of the character of a supernatural revelation; since it is obvious that a revelation made *equally to every one* cannot be supernatural, in the common meaning of the term.

Our attention has been again drawn to this subject by the republication of Mr. Coleridge's "Confessions of an Enquiring Spirit," with other miscellaneous pieces, in which Mr. H. Nelson Coleridge, the editor, has introduced a lengthened vindication of his father's tenets from some statements and positions advanced in this Review. We can, of course, entirely understand Mr. Coleridge's feelings on the occasion, and to a considerable extent sympathise with them. It would be superfluous for us to express our admiration for the poetical genius of Coleridge, or our cordial concurrence with much that he has written; nor are we forgetful of the honour most justly due to a name which is borne by some of the most eminent and most excellent men of the age. Yet, notwithstanding our high respect, personally, for Coleridge, we must not keep silence when we see before us the pernicious, and increasingly pernicious, results of false maxims on most material points, which his speculative and philosophical mind adopted, and which a number of his admirers have eagerly caught up and retailed.

We have been charged by the editor of this work with very



great injustice to Coleridge, in our estimate of his tenets on religious points. It is our purpose at present to show, by a comparison of the "Confessions of an Enquiring Spirit" with the writings of Blanco White, and Sterling, and with Froude's "Nemesis of Faith," that Coleridge, Blanco White, Sterling, and Froude agreed substantially in their view of the authority of Holy Scripture; and thus to evince the insecurity of Coleridge's principle, and that of his disciples, from its results.

The volume before us, comprising a republication of the "Confessions of an Enquiring Spirit," is really a curious one, as illustrative of the views of Coleridge on religious subjects; and it is still more so, from the evidence which it affords of the adoption of those views by his disciples. The notes at the end comprise a lengthened and elaborate assertion of Coleridge's theories on inspiration. The introduction, written by Joseph Henry Green, Esq., exhibits, in the plainest and most undeniable shape, the source from which those theories were derived. It is obvious, on the perusal of this Introduction, which was written "to obviate any mistake, similar to that which has been already made with regard to the author's originality, or, at all events, to exhibit without reserve the ground upon which a charge of plagiarism might possibly be founded,"—it is obvious, we say, from this Introduction, that the works of LESSING furnished a very large part of Coleridge's opinions and materials for the "Confessions of an Enquiring Spirit," and, in fact, all that is most dangerous and objectionable in that publication.

We must make a few extracts from Mr. Green's well-written Introduction, expressing at the same time our sense of the candid and manly tone in which it is written, and its total freedom from any attempt to mystify the reader, or to conceal any part of the truth. Mr. Green thus states the character and principles of Lessing:—

"In order, however, to put the reader, unacquainted with the history of German literature, in possession of the data which may enable him to form a correct judgment on the point at issue, it may be necessary to explain—and the account is not without its instructive interest—that Gotthold Ephraim Lessing, one of the most distinguished writers which Germany has produced, mainly contributed by his critical sagacity, his forcible reasoning, and by his lucid, pointed, and nervous style, to awaken a new spirit in almost every branch of literature. It was in 1774, that feeling the rigidity on the one hand, and the laxity on the other, and the utter shallowness on all sides, of the prevailing theology, he began to publish, in his '*Beiträge zur Geschichte und Litteratur aus den Schätzen der Herzoglichen Bibliothek zu Wolfenbüttel*,' the notorious essays, commonly called the 'Wolfenbüttel Fragments,' now known

to have been the work of the elder Reimarus, but which were long attributed to Lessing himself. These papers contain a bitter and factious attack on all revealed religion, though it cannot be denied that they proceed from a man who was nevertheless sincere and earnest in the search for truth. At the conclusion of these fragments, which are five in number, and in addition to remarks appended to each, Lessing expresses himself to the following effect:—‘And now enough of these fragments—he, among my readers, who would rather have had me spare them altogether, is assuredly rather timid than well informed. He may be a very devout Christian, but a very enlightened one he certainly is not. He may be a sincere well-wisher to his religion, but he ought also to have more confidence in it.’

“‘For in how many ways may not these objections and difficulties be met! And suppose that absolutely no answer can be given: what then? The learned theologian might indeed be at length embarrassed: but the Christian likewise? He certainly not. To the former it might be a source of perplexity to see the props, which he designed for the support of religion, thus shaken; to find the buttresses thrown down, by which, God willing, he would have secured it. But how do this man’s hypotheses, and explanations, and proofs concern the Christian? For him it is already a fact, this Christianity, which he feels to be so true, in which he feels so blessed. When the paralytic patient feels the beneficial effects of the electric spark, what does he care whether Nollet or Franklin, or whether neither the one nor the other, is right?’

“‘In short, the letter is not the spirit, and the Bible is not religion; consequently objections to the letter and the Bible are not objections to the spirit and religion.’

“‘For the Bible manifestly contains more than essentially belongs to religion, and it is a mere hypothesis that the Bible must be equally infallible in that which is superadded. Besides, the religion was there before a Bible existed. Christianity existed before Evangelists and Apostles had written. There elapsed a long period before the first of them wrote, and a very considerable one before the whole canon was completed. Much, therefore, as may depend upon these writings, yet it is impossible that the whole truth of religion can rest upon them. If there was a period in which the Christian religion was already thus spread, in which it had already possessed itself of so many souls, and in which as yet not a letter of that which has come down to us had been perused, then it is possible also that all which Evangelists and Apostles have written might have been lost, and yet that the religion taught by them might have remained. The Christian religion is not true because the Evangelists and Apostles taught it, but they taught it because it is true. Written traditions must be interpreted by their internal truth; and all the written traditions can give religion no internal truth, if it have none.’

“‘This, then, would be the general answer to a large portion of these fragments, as before said, in the worst case.’”—pp. x.—xiv.

We offer no apology for the above lengthened extract, which contains exactly the principle which Coleridge and many of his school have adopted, where they have enabled us to judge of their tenets on this point, and have not spoken in general and ambiguous terms. If Coleridge had been better acquainted with theological subjects, he would not have been carried away by such shallow sophistry as Lessing put forth in the above extract. The whole proceeding, as narrated by Mr. Green, wears the character of disingenuousness. Lessing, it appears, publishes in a periodical a series of papers containing "a bitter and factious attack on all revealed religion." He, however, evades responsibility for their publication, as far as possible, by making remarks on them, and pretending to oppose them. But his opposition is so feeble, that it is perfectly plain he must have coincided in view with the writer of those fragments; an inference, indeed, which might be with some probability gathered from the mere fact of his volunteering to publish a work of that description. By stating at the conclusion that the truth of religion is wholly independent of the Scriptures, he prepares the mind for receiving and accepting all the arguments which he had previously published in these fragments against the Scriptures. The great obstacle to the admission of such objections against Scripture would, in the case of all persons of small information, be the danger to which their faith in Christianity would be exposed, if the Bible were found unworthy of belief. Lessing removes this obstacle by teaching men to believe Christianity, quite independently of the authority of the Apostles and Prophets. This was really to suggest to them, that there was no risk whatever, in believing the Bible to be a mass of falsehood, and in holding that there was no supernatural revelation at all. Lessing, therefore, must be considered as really and effectively an infidel writer, just as much as Tom Paine, or any of the more open and candid assailants of Revelation. His attack was conducted with more address than that of several other infidels, but his object was precisely the same as theirs.

Now it is a sad and an instructive fact that Coleridge should have adopted Lessing's doctrines on all substantial points as regarded the inspiration of Scripture. We would not be understood as instituting a comparison between Lessing and Coleridge, or attributing to the latter the directly infidel objects which we must ascribe to the former; the whole tone of Coleridge's mind forbids us to adopt any such opinion. At the same time it evinces very plainly the dangers of those fascinating speculations in which he indulged, when under the guidance and influence of German philosophy and criticism. It will also furnish a wholesome warning

against the very value many of his discourses have acquired and importance as facts.

His own position is marked of dignity, and considered to stand as a noble testimony in the first sentences of the preface, which we express our persuasion that the earlier stages of Mr. Coleridge's mind were not of such a description as would induce us to look on him with confidence as a Christian teacher. We refer to a passage in the preface volume, in which the author says that—

"From the time that he first put on his religious and sacrificial air to the moment of death, when he lived for a while a priest with the Evangelist, with its full heaven, there is constant in his career what is the Church in the widest sense, when the elements of faith were for the want of a sort of faith that was yet to be shaped by reason, already admitted into a spiritual world—was from this time forth a witness of Christian Christianity."—p. 255.

From this statement it appears that Coleridge began as a sceptic, then took refuge with the Unitarians, whom, however, he did not find sufficiently liberal for him (whether on the subject of the inspiration of Scripture, or no, we cannot say,) and then was guided by *Reason*—divinely Examined *Reason*—to the choice of religious views. We do not read that he was guided by God's Holy Scripture, or by the instructions of God's Church. His system was formed by *Reason*, by philosophy, which was supposed to be divinely guided. If, however, this representation of Coleridge's views, as given by the editor of the volume before us, be correct, as it doubtless is, we cannot much wonder at finding him so readily receiving the opinions of Lessing on revelation. These opinions, with certain additions of his own, he embodied in the "Confessions of an Enquiring Spirit," which is written in the form of letters to a friend. We learn from Archdeacon Hare's Biography of Sterling, p. cxxix., that those "Confessions, though they were not printed till after Coleridge's death, had been written many years before; he kept them back with the purpose of adding the half which is still wanting to complete the argument." But it appears, from the same place, that his friends were permitted to read these Confessions, and to transcribe them; and that Sterling "adopted the views concerning inspiration expressed in them, deeming those views, as Coleridge did, to be thoroughly compatible with a deep and lively Christian faith, and with a full reception of all that is *essential* in the doctrines of our Church."

We now proceed to compare the "Confessions of an Enquiring Spirit" with Lessing's views, as above stated.

Coleridge begins his "Seven Letters" by proposing for consi-

deration two questions, of which the first is this:—"Is it necessary, or expedient, to insist on the belief of the divine origin and authority of all and every part of the canonical books as the condition, or first principle, of Christian faith?"—p. 2.

After stating (as is usual in works adverse to existing creeds), his intense love of truth, and his feeling that he should be a happier and more useful man if he could avoid penetrating to the root of subjects; but that he cannot help seeking for light, even if it made its way in through a rent in the wall of the temple; while, on the other hand, he is happy to state that he only finds the light absent in one or two side-chapels not essential to the edifice, and probably not coeval with it—having thus prepared the way, he further lays down the articles of his faith, in which he includes a number of the principal Christian tenets; and in all these points he observes, that his faith "is serene, unclouded by a doubt." "*But*," he proceeds, "there is a Book, of two parts, each part consisting of several books." He acknowledges that he has "a strong and awful prepossession in its *favour*." But "he will not leave it in the power of unbelievers to say, that the Bible is for him only what the Koran is for the deaf Turk, and the Vedas for the feeble and acquiescent Hindoo. No; he will retire up into the mountain, and hold secret converse with his Bible, above the contagious blastments of prejudice, and the fog-blight of selfish superstition."—p. 9.

Having got above these "blastments" and "fog-lights," Coleridge declares that "the Word that was from the beginning,"—"the Light of which light itself is but the Shechinah,"—is given to "*every man*;" and that, "if any difference appears between this inner light or Word, and the written letter or Scripture, he will "be thankful for what he has—*and wait*."

So far we have these principles laid down:—that the Christian faith is something which stands by itself, distinct from the Scriptures; that there is an inward light, a kind of inspiration given to every individual; and that, if the teaching of this inward light appears to differ from Scripture, *we are not bound at once to submit to Scripture*.

He observes next, that he has perused the Bible with these feelings; and that he has "met every where more or less copious sources of truth, and power, and purifying impulses—that he has found words for his inmost thoughts, songs for his joy, other causes for his hidden griefs, and pleadings for his shame and feebleness." In short, whatever "*finds him*" [or meets his own feelings and wants] bears witness for itself, that it has proceeded from a Holy Spirit, even from the same Spirit, "which, remaining

in itself, yet regenerateth all other persons, and in all ages entering into holy souls, maketh them friends of God, and prophets (*Wisd.* vii.)"—p. 11.

Thus the authority of God's word—of the Holy Scriptures—is determined wholly and entirely by its accordance with the supposed inner light or Word in each individual. It is only if, and where, Scripture concurs with the deductions of this inner light (which, of course, cannot be distinguished practically from the reason and feelings), that it is to be recognized as divine. As he remarks afterwards, "whatever *finds* me" (that is, gives expression to my deepest feelings and thoughts, pp. 10, 11,) "brings with it an irresistible evidence of its having proceeded from the Holy Spirit."—p. 13.

Thus the evidence of divine truth existing in the Holy Scripture is entirely founded on its agreement with our own convictions, independently of Scripture. Truths in Scripture are believed to have proceeded from the Holy Ghost, *because* the Spirit of God has already taught them to us. So that the Scripture has no authority except so far as it meets our judgment. When it does not do this, it is without any evidence of divinity.

Accordingly, in perfect consistence with this principle, Coleridge goes on to state that there is a doctrine with regard to Scripture which "startles his belief." (p. 12.) This doctrine, in short, requires him to believe, that "not only what finds me" [that is, not only what agrees with my divinely-inspired and, to me, infallible reason], "but that *all that exists in the sacred volume*, and which I am bound to find therein, was not alone inspired by, that is, composed by man under the actuating influence of the Holy Spirit [which, on Coleridge's principles, would not invest them with any authority over others, because the eternal word and light is given to *every one* alike]; but likewise dictated by an infallible intelligence; that the writers, each and all of them, were divinely informed as well as inspired. Now here all evasion, all excuse, is cut off."—pp. 13, 14.

This doctrine Coleridge rejects and contends against. He will acknowledge that Scripture *contains* divine truth, because his inward light or reason tells him so; but he will not admit that Scripture is infallible—that is to say, he holds that it is not the Word of God in any other sense than as the persuasions of each individual's mind are the word of God. He will not admit that the individual judgment or reason is bound to submit to scriptural authority. He objects to any view of Scripture inspiration which gives it authority and control over REASON, which he supposes to be just as divinely inspired as Scripture itself.

Our object in these remarks is to ascertain and describe the



doctrine of Coleridge, not to enter into any discussion of the arguments on which he founds his views ; and therefore we shall pass over much in his volume which is deserving of notice, as supplying the usual arguments against scriptural authority, grounded on the difficulties about the formation of the Canon ; the alleged absence of any sufficient declaration in Scripture itself, and the *petitio principii* which would be involved in alleging any such proof ; the impossibility of admitting any modified view of inspiration, or allowing that the language of Scripture can be, *in any degree or respect*, otherwise than infallible, if its infallibility be admitted as an inspired book. His interpretation of St. Paul's language, 2 Tim. iii. 16, is, that the Old Testament *collectively* was inspired ; but that we are not to understand the Apostle to speak of *every part* of the Old Testament. (pp. 26—28.) He endeavours to put the same interpretation on our Lord's own references to the Old Testament. His objection to consider the Bible inspired (in the Christian sense of the term) is, that such a doctrine "*petrifies* at once the whole body of Holy Writ with all its harmonious and symmetrical gradations, &c. &c. (p. 33) ; that is to say, it presents a positive, objective creed, which imposes some restraints on the speculations of the "divinely-inspired" reason of man.

Coleridge subsequently speaks with contempt of those who attempt to write harmonies of the gospels, and to reconcile Scripture with history, &c., "and all to do away some half-score apparent discrepancies in the chronicles and memoirs of the Old and New Testament !" (p. 42.) All this care arises from a belief that the Scriptures were inspired by God ; and of course it is very absurd, if inspiration is rejected. For, in this case, it is not of the least consequence, if the writers of Scripture are convicted of all kinds of errors and mistakes, and even false doctrines. As an illustration of the result of this mode of argument we have the following words dropt *en passant*, where the author shows the absurdity of quoting texts from all parts of Scripture in support of some doctrine.

"*Accommodations* of elder scriptural phrases—that favourite ornament and garnish of Jewish eloquence—incidental allusions to familiar notions, traditions, apologues—(for example, the dispute between the devil and the archangel Michael about the body of Moses, Jude 9)—fancies and anachronisms imported from the synagogue of Alexandria, by, or together with, the Septuagint version, and applied as mere *argumenta ad hominem*—(for example, the delivery of the Lord by the disposition of angels, Acts vii. 53 ; Gal. iii. 19 ; Heb. ii. 2)—these, detached from their context, and, contrary to the intention of the sacred writer, first raised into independent *theses*, and then brought together to produce or

sanction some new *credendum*, for which neither separately could have furnished a pretence !”—p. 51.

We have also the arguments urged by Romanists against the authority of Scripture reproduced (p. 53, &c.) ; and the authority of the Church is nominally admitted, with the object of pulling down that of the Bible. We purposely say “nominally,” because the same fundamental principle of an inward Divine light, which leaves Scripture without authority, *must* equally leave the Church without authority over individual judgments. Coleridge complains that men of all denominations at meetings of the British and Foreign Bible Society assert “that the Bible was not to be regarded or reasoned about as other good books are or may be ; that the Bible is different in kind, and stood by itself.” (p. 59.) To this doctrine Coleridge decidedly *objects*, and argues against it, declaring that a man “may be a Christian on *his own faith* ;” and that he should not be an infidel on the score of what other men include in their Christianity. (p. 61.)

Coleridge would thus deal with infidel objectors to the Bible:—

“All men of learning, even learned unbelievers, admit that the greater part of the objections, urged in the popular works of infidelity, to this or that verse or chapter of the Bible prove only the ignorance or dishonesty of the objectors. But let it be supposed for a moment *that a few remain hitherto unanswered*, nay, that to your judgment and feelings they appear unanswerable. What follows ? That the Apostle and Nicene Creeds is not credible, the Ten Commandments not to be obeyed, the clauses of the Lord’s Prayer not to be desired, or the Sermon on the Mount not to be practised.” (p. 86.) And then he quotes some passages and books of the Old Testament, which he points out as objectionable or incredible, and asks whether we must therefore disbelieve the whole. He therefore advises the inquirer to “take up the Bible as he would any other body of ancient writings.” (p. 90.) The generally received doctrine on this point, which teaches us to receive the Scriptures as the inspired word of God, he calls “Bibliolatry.” (p. 92.)

We have endeavoured fairly to represent Coleridge’s views on this most important question, and we feel assured that no substantial error can be pointed out in the statement which has been made.

Now the first point to remark is this : Lessing’s view is really identical in all points with that of Coleridge ; and Mr. Green has, in the volume before us, proved beyond all reasonable doubt that Coleridge followed Lessing, and derived his views from him, though he added some features of his own.

Lessing and Coleridge agree in maintaining, that if the arguments of infidels against certain parts of Scripture should be irresistible, the Christian's faith need be in no degree affected: he may still hold all his creed, and believe what is true is Scripture, because he *feels* its truth, or because he has an inward *light* which enables him to discriminate and appropriate truth. Objections to the Bible are, consequently, matters of no moment; nay, the Scripture is to be regarded and treated exactly like any other good old book, and criticised boldly and freely without fear of consequences, because it is mere superstition and absurdity to believe that it was written under any such inspiration as should induce us to treat it differently from any other book.

Such, then, in a few words is the principle of Lessing and of Coleridge. The former accompanied his statement by the publication of a series of "bitter and factious attacks on revealed religion;" the latter gave only a few specimens of what might be done. He did not enter much into detail in pointing out Scripture errors. But what is the necessary result of both Coleridge's and Lessing's doctrine? It is this: According to them a man may be an excellent Christian, and may hold all the doctrines of the faith; and yet he may without scruple assail the truth and morality of a great part of the Scriptures, and absolutely deny that he is bound to recognize in the Scriptures any authority to which he must bow his own reason or feelings.

When we arrive at this conclusion, it certainly does seem strange to us to find the editor of the work before us saying in his notes:—

"I have never doubted for a moment that the accusations brought against the little work which stands foremost in this volume, namely, that it denies the inspiration of Holy Scripture, and undermines the faith in the Bible as the Word of God, must *put out itself* in proportion as the book is read with ordinary intelligence; that it is even now dead for all who *have* read the book."—p. 233.

Most devoutly do we wish that it were in our power to acquit Coleridge of denying the inspiration of Scripture, and undermining the faith in the Bible as the Word of God; but *facts* are stubborn things, and no reasoning can withstand the evidence of Mr. Coleridge's own work. We cannot recommend its indiscriminate perusal, because it is calculated to sow the seeds of doubt on essential points; but those who do read it will be able to judge of the correctness of our statements, as compared with those of Mr. Nelson Coleridge.

Now, it is a serious—a very serious fact—that some amongst our writers—men of no ordinary intelligence—men of good in-

tentions apparently, in some respects—have been very strongly and decidedly under the influence of Coleridge's views on this point. Sterling acted fully and unreservedly on the principles of his master; and there are passages, in the writings of Archdeacon Hare, more particularly in his *Memoir of Sterling*, which lead to the inference, that he has also adopted the views of Coleridge. We cannot suppose that persons who look up to Coleridge as their master—who are always lauding him as the “sovereign of modern thought,” and using similar expressions—can feel any objection to his tenets on the inspiration of Scripture. Did they share in that “popular,” or rather “universal,” Christian and Catholic faith, which they on all occasions ridicule and sneer at, they would look with *horror* on such tenets as those of Coleridge and Lessing; and, while they might excuse the individuals who advanced such heretical and infidel doctrines, they would be very far, indeed, from holding up such men to admiration as leaders in a religious cause. They would rather shrink from association with them in any such cause.

We now proceed to show the identity of Coleridge's principles with those of Froude, in the “*Nemesis of Faith*.” This work, offensive as it is in tone and aggressively infidel as it is in character, presents, of course, a very strong contrast in these respects to Coleridge's writings; and yet it is written on the same principles as those of the “*Confessions of an Enquiring Spirit*,” and no one who has embraced the doctrines of that work can consistently find the slightest fault with Froude's “*Nemesis of Faith*.” This will, perhaps, seem a startling assertion to some of the admirers of Coleridge; and yet it is certainly true. The fact can be very easily established by a few citations from the “*Nemesis of Faith*.”

“What Plato says of the mythology of the Greeks, I say of that of the *Hebrews*. I do not mean that the Hebrew mythology is *as* insulting to the pure majesty of God, or *as* injurious in its direct effects to those who are brought to believe it. But I am sure that it contains things which *are* both insulting and injurious—and because, to all thinking persons, who conscientiously use the faculties which God has given them, *large portions of it* have become equally incredible with the Greek; it may, therefore, indirectly, be even more injurious, as permitting the mind to cling to it with an attachment which will render the struggle at parting more violent and more convulsive.”—p. v.

This suffices as a specimen of the tenets of this author in respect of the Bible. The question is, then, what is the oracle in religious questions? The answer is given in the following description of the hero of the “*Nemesis of Faith*.”

“ His general *heart* is sound—it will not give him false answers on the early history of the Bible, or on the doctrine of a future state ; but, when his own private heart begins to listen to its own private emotions, all goes wrong with him.”—pp. vii, viii.

That there is in man some inherent natural power to find its way through all difficulties to truth, is thus asserted:—

“ The child brings with it into the world the impulse to turn to Him ; the first effort of the dawning mind is ever towards heaven, and, when this *instinct* receives its proper culture, there is no danger that, when the child grows to be a man, he will not find light and strength enough to clear him of every perplexity, and carry him safely through every trial.”—p. ix.

While, however, this author asserts reason or some natural *instinct* as the sole arbiter in religious matters, he is willing to receive the *New Testament*, provided he is not obliged to consider it inspired.

“ I do not dishonour the Bible. I honour it above all books. The New Testament alone, since I have been able to read it *humanly*, has to me outweighed all the literature of the world. It is because we dishonour it by making it an idol” [we are here reminded of Coleridge’s expression—“Bibliolatry”] “and destroy its power by the foolish means with which we think to enhance it, that I have said what I have felt it my duty to say.”—p. xv.

Thus, notwithstanding that “large portions of the Old Testament” are as incredible as the Greek mythology, and though the Bible in general is a mere human book, and may be placed on a level with the extinct mythologies, the author still considers himself to *honour* the Bible above all books, and merely to reject extravagant and superstitious notions connected with it.

The following passage, as bearing on our present subject, is deserving of remark. The author is arguing against the inspiration of the Holy Scripture ; and amongst other points he urges, that the notion of inspiration entirely destroys all the interest we feel in Scripture, as the expression of the feelings of individuals.

“ Oh, heavens ! how our hearts bleed with the poor mourners by the waters of Babylon ; how we exult with them, and share their happiness in the glorious hymns they poured out on their return, if we may believe that it was they themselves whose souls were flowing out there in passionate simplicity. But how are we flung back upon ourselves, perplexed, confused, and stupified, when we are told that all this is, as Coleridge calls it, but a kind of superhuman ventriloquism.”—p. 23.

Now let us turn to the passage in Coleridge here referred to.

It occurs in the "Confessions of an Enquiring Spirit," and it will appear that *the above argument is actually borrowed from Coleridge*, whose words are as follows :—

"In the self-oblivion of these heroes of the Old Testament, their elevation above all low and individual interests; above all, in the entire and vehement devotion of their total being to their Divine Master, I find a lesson of humility, a ground of humiliation, and a shaming, yet rousing example of faith and fealty. But let me once be persuaded that all these heart-awakening utterances of human hearts—of men of like faculties and passions with myself, murmuring, rejoicing, suffering, triumphing—are but as a *Divina Commedia* of a superhuman—oh, bear with me, if I say—ventriloquism . . . . all is gone, all sympathy at least, and all example."—pp. 37, 38.

The "Nemesis of Faith" rejects the Old Testament because (amongst other reasons) it represents God as a cruel and unjust Being. Now Coleridge, and those who accept his principles, cannot possibly object to any such course. They hold religion to be wholly independent of belief in the Scriptures. They teach us, that we may allow or assert as many errors as we please in the Old or the New Testament, but still our faith need not be in the least shaken—and why? Because our reason, or instinct, or (as Coleridge calls it) the word or light operating within us, makes us competent and self-sufficient judges in all religious questions. The only peculiarity in the "Nemesis of Faith," is the fury and bitterness with which it assails Revelation, and which is probably not less than that which Lessing manifested in the work from which Coleridge derived his ideas. Coleridge does not so much directly attack Revelation, as point out *how* it may be attacked, and show that its recognition is a non-essential.

The simple fact is, that Coleridge, in his "Confessions of an Enquiring Spirit," teaches the very same principles which have enabled all the worst and most outrageous of the German Rationalists to get rid of every fact and doctrine which displeases them in the Bible. Coleridge's and Lessing's principles make short work with doctrines, miracles, history, &c. According to them, you may expunge from the Bible, as uninspired, whatever does not "find" you, or commend itself to your judgment as true or good. Any amount or degree of Rationalistic criticism may find shelter under such principles. Every miracle may be denied. The Apostles may be regarded as misinformed or prejudiced. The Son of God may be considered a mere human being; or even his existence may be denied. The principle is wide enough to include every shade of Rationalism.

We will now proceed to show the identity of Sterling's views



on the subject of inspiration with those of Coleridge. The connexion here is described by Archdeacon Hare in his "Biography of Sterling:"—

"A variety of influences, among others the fascination of Coleridge's genius, drew him away from this negative state, and wrought a temporary reconciliation with that which is best and soundest in the faith and institutions of his countrymen. Under these, and other calming and sobering influences, he took orders. How he did so, how he devoted himself to the duties thus incurred with his whole heart and soul, we have seen. Still there was always a broad divergence in his opinions from those which are held by the great body of the Church, the very same divergence of which Coleridge speaks" [*we should rather have said—"which Coleridge exhibited"*] "in his 'Confessions of an Enquiring Spirit.' Those Confessions, though they were not printed till after Coleridge's death, had been written many years before. . . . Sterling, however, had read them in manuscript with delight and sympathy, had been permitted to transcribe them, and had *adopted the views concerning inspiration expressed in them*, deeming these views, as Coleridge did, to be thoroughly compatible with a deep and lively Christian faith, and with a full reception of all that is essential in the doctrines of our Church."—*Sterling's Life*, pp. 128, 129.

Here, by Archdeacon Hare's own avowal, Sterling derived his views on inspiration from Coleridge. What were Sterling's views? We shall make one or two extracts.

"I sent to England for a volume on *Inspiration* lately published by a learned Dissenter, a Dr. Henderson. He means well enough, but merely takes the old ground, and makes no attempt to meet the obvious objections as to discrepancies, &c. . . . But make it ever so plain, that in upsetting this dead idol [inspiration] one was striving for Christianity, and not for critical and historical science merely, yet I am persuaded that any clergyman caught in the fact must abandon all notion of acting for the future in any ecclesiastical function. It has struck me that, if my life should be prolonged, as I must probably, at all events, relinquish all public ministrations, I might perhaps be peculiarly well situated for trying to do some good of this kind to theology. *The materials are all prepared and abundant in the books of the Germans.* I find that I could not conscientiously publish the things I wrote some time ago about the Old Testament. The earlier portions of it seem to me too uncertain to justify me in professing that thorough and religious faith in them which I do not entertain."—p. 95.

"I seem to see distinctly that the hour must come for the *disclosure* in England of a scientific theory of the Bible; which, however, will not, in my view, directly affect the faith of the multitude, but will certainly modify all our theology and theological no-education. I hold it nearly immaterial for the ultimate result, whether this revolution shall be

brought about by the writings of an infidel, or of a scientific believer." —p. 106.

"All the higher minds of Germany, beginning at least with *Lessing* [Coleridge's guide], have seen and taught . . . that human existence, and the universe which it belongs to, are alike manifestations of a higher idea, which breaks out in all true knowledge, and above all, but not exclusively, in what is called, and is, revelation."—*Sterling's Remains*, i. 262.

In describing Mr. Carlyle's principles, he says :—

"Neither is that for him the solid, abiding, inexhaustible, which is received as such by popular acquiescence. It must needs be a truth which the spirit, cleared and strengthened by manifold knowledge and experience, and, above all, by strong and steadfast endeavours, can rest in, and say: '*This I mean, not because it is told me, were my informants all the schools of rabbins, or a hierarchy of angels; but because I have looked into it, tried it, found it healthful and sufficient, and thus know that it will stand the stress of life.*' We may be right or wrong in our estimate of Mr. Carlyle; but we cannot be mistaken in supposing that on this kind of anvil all truly great men have been fashioned, and of metal thus honest and enduring."—i. 272.

In the system which has been sufficiently indicated by these extracts, we have an exact reproduction of *Lessing's* and *Coleridge's* views, the only difference being that *Sterling* agrees with *Lessing* in actually attacking the Scriptures as incredible, while *Coleridge* only maintains that it is perfectly *safe and right* to think them incredible. The pupil has only carried out practically what the master taught theoretically. *Sterling* was, notwithstanding his assertion to the contrary, quite ready to "blaze up" in opposition to popular prejudices. *Coleridge* contented himself with committing his rationalism to writing, and circulating it in manuscript and by conversation amongst his friends. It was a kind of *Disciplina Arcani*, which was disclosed to the initiated. We are not imputing any intentional deception, or any underhand proceeding to *Coleridge*. We entirely disclaim any such intention in making these remarks, for we have no grounds whatever on which to accuse him of any such conduct, nor even to throw any suspicion on his motives. The fact, however, is, that these rationalistic writings appear to have been in private circulation for many of the later years of *Coleridge's* life, and, notwithstanding this, such men as Messrs. Hare, Maurice, and others, continued to look up to, and refer to *Coleridge* on all occasions, as their leader and master. This has continued even to the present time, though the "*Confessions of an Enquiring Spirit*" were published so long ago as 1840.

We next come to Blanco White, the connexion of whose name with that of Coleridge in this Review has given vast offence to the partisans of the latter. In referring again to Blanco White, we must distinctly explain that we do not pretend to identify his tenets *in their detail* with Coleridge, no more than we should infer identity of view in all points between Coleridge, Lessing, Sterling, Froude, or any of the Rationalists, from their accordance in a leading principle. The fact is, that the adoption of their chief principle, the supremacy of human reason, or inward light, necessarily, and as a matter of course, leads to infinite diversity of opinion, ranging from Ultra-rationalism, through the various stages of Unitarianism, Illuminism, Sectarianism, Catholicism, and Romanism, up to the utmost verge, where it develops into Polytheism. It includes all conceivable theories, and doctrines, and denials of doctrines, and heresies, and speculations. It may with Sterling and Blanco White, assail Revelation; it may with others pay it respect; it may with Froude reject the articles of the Christian faith; it may with Newman, , or Ward, lapse into deification of the Virgin. Its shapes are countless,—as countless as the ideas of that reason or inward light which it recognizes as supreme. But still there is this one principle at the root of all,—this principle which *exalts man above the Revelation which God has given for his salvation*,—a principle which is emphatically, the work of the Evil One. It is but one shape of the spirit of disobedience, which works in the human heart; but a more deceptive shape, a form more attractive to the pride of the human heart, more craftily devised for the ruin of one class of souls by appealing to their peculiar tendencies, more calculated to subvert all faith, and sow the seeds of universal scepticism, never existed. That well-meaning men, even good men, should have been deceived so grossly as they have been; that they should have walked forth so far from light into thick darkness—is, indeed, an awful proof of the strength of the delusion; and of the duty of those who are strong in the faith to uplift their voice in warning, and expostulation, and (if needful) in reproof of those who are wandering away from Christianity. We have a good hope and heart that England is not destined to follow the unhappy career of Germany, or to permit the bulwarks of our faith to be assailed, either directly or indirectly, without a resistance proportioned to the importance of the question at issue. And now to come to Blanco White. Compare the following passages from his life with the “Confessions of an Enquiring Spirit,” and remark their perfect harmony with it.

“What then is Scripture? A written collection of traditions and  
*Mem. The identification of Dr. Pusey's views on this subject, &  
 those of Mr. Newman & John Hall, is retraced in the first  
 number of this Review, as an unaccountable slip.*

speeches concerning Revelation, collected and preserved under that Providence of God which established, propagated, and preserves Christianity? We have no higher source of information upon religious points. But is it not *inspired*? I will not give an answer to this question till I am told what the interrogator means by the *inspiration of a book*: I acknowledge that *some* of the authors of books of Scripture possessed *supernatural gifts* for certain purposes. But, that they are not totally exempted from error as writers, I know as a fact from their writings, &c."—p. 20.

"But is there any thing in the Scriptures upon which Christians are agreed? A great deal, and of the utmost importance. All good men, who acknowledge Christ as their Divine master, agree *in the Spirit* of his doctrine. They all know what temper of mind, what course of action, what views and hopes the Spirit of Christ implies and teaches. This, therefore, and nothing else, can be *essential*."—ii. 21.

That is to say, *all* denominations of Christians believe what is *essential*. As regards the Old Testament, Blanco White says:—

"Why should an alternative be made, either to believe that the writers of those books *never* added an account of a miracle, as an *ornament*,—or to reject Christ and his Gospel? This is an outrageous spirit of theory."—ii. 22.

This is exactly the principle of Lessing and Coleridge—that Christian faith does not depend on any belief that Scripture was really inspired. The following passage is very remarkable indeed, in its relation to our present subject:—

"If I had a little more bodily strength, I would endeavour to open the eyes of Unitarians to the necessity of forming and *avowing* definite notions of the authority of the Bible. Like the old authority of the Church, which acted more like a superstitious feeling than a definite principle, the *oracular* character given indiscriminately to every part of the Bible places intolerance, bigotry, and superstition on vantage-ground. The Bible is revered, not as a rational, intellectual help to Christianity, but as an *idol*. I remember to have heard Coleridge, the poet, say,—though probably he would not say it publicly—that one of the evils of England was her BIBLIOLATRY. But, like all popular idols, the approach to it is dangerous to all but those who creep on their hands and knees."—ii. 136.

This, we think, establishes plainly enough the connexion between Blanco White and Coleridge. Such a passage needs no comment.

Blanco White believed, in the sense of Coleridge, in the indwelling of the Eternal Word or light in the human soul.

"I believe," he says, "in more revelation than most divines. I

believe in the internal presence of God in the sanctuary of the soul. I take—nay, I know—that presence to be active and real. *That oracle is the source of every truth, of every virtue in man.*”—iii. 29.

The same doctrine occurs in every part of Blanco White's journal. Take the following specimen:—

“My study of the Gospels, which, *in spite of much that is not Christianity*, contains undoubtedly the true outline of the character of Jesus and his doctrine, has convinced me that He intended to establish the religion I have described, the purely spiritual religion of the conscience, *the logos, the light of God in man.* . . . . The religion of Jesus (to judge by one admirable sentence which cannot be spurious) has no temple ; its worship consists in the cultivation of our intellectual nature. . . . . The writings of the Old and New Testaments are historical documents, which I treat exactly like other remnants of antiquity : I approve in them what I find worthy of approval, and reject what I see no reason to believe or follow. This is to follow the spirit, the guide of the Christian.”—iii. 154, 155.

These few extracts from Blanco White's writings will have sufficiently established his entire adoption of the system which Coleridge put forth in the “Confessions of an Enquiring Spirit.” In both these writers we find the principle of the logos, reason, or word within us, or, in other words, reason and conscience, made the arbiter of all doctrine ; and in both we find the inspiration of Scripture denied, and Christianity made to depend solely on its conformity with human reason. We also find them objecting to parts of Scripture as incredible, or as labouring under such difficulties as to be probably indefensible.

We are therefore entitled to draw our inference—that the doctrines on the subject of the foundation of belief, which have been taught by Coleridge in the above-named essay, are identical with those of the most notorious amongst our modern infidels, and that they are wholly and absolutely subversive of the Christian religion. It is perhaps well that the question is so much narrowed as it is by the “Confessions of an Enquiring Spirit.” The Church may fairly expect from the adherents of Coleridge an explicit statement of their views with regard to that work. If they will not condemn it, they must be held responsible, in the eyes of the world, for its principles. The doctrine of their acknowledged master and leader—of one to whom they are for ever appealing as an indisputable authority, is justly and reasonably to be attributed to themselves, unless they explicitly disclaim it. Has Archdeacon Hare, or Mr. Maurice, or any other disciple of Coleridge, expressed dissent from the views on inspiration contained in that work ? Nay, has not the first-mentioned writer made use of expressions, in his

*Life of Sterling*, which lead to the inference that he does hold Coleridge's principles on inspiration! We should be most deeply thankful to learn that the school of which Coleridge was the acknowledged founder, rejects in this point the tenets of their master; but we have not as yet seen the slightest evidence that such is the case. We must now offer a few remarks on the principles developed in the "*Confessions of an Enquiring Spirit*."

In the first place, we are ready at a loss what to think, when we find a man like Coleridge deceiving himself and others by imagining that Christianity is quite independent of the truth and divine authority of Holy Scripture. What sort of a faith is that which is ready to admit that the Bible has no authority for us; that it is no more divine than our own thoughts are? If the Bible be uncertain; if it be self-contradictory, if it be merely a collection of the tales, legends, poems, and chronicles of the Hebrews; if it be merely a mythology, of no more authority than the Greek or the Hindoo mythologies, though possessing a greater proportion of truth amidst its fables; if we may really put aside the Bible as we put aside Ovid's "*Metamorphoses*," as a work of fiction—what becomes of all foundation of religion? It may be very well for such philosophers as Coleridge, and Lessing, and Blanco White to imagine that there is within them some faculty which will infallibly tell them the truth, and enable them to sift it out of Scripture, as well as out of heathenism. But the infinite majority of men require to be *taught* religion, if they are to have any religion at all. If they are to know God and to worship Him, and to know the simplest rules of moral duty, and be persuaded to act on them, they require some authority to guide them. All mankind cannot be philosophers; they will be utterly irreligious if there be not something to command their attention and their obedience. Mere reasoning, with the mass of mankind, is wholly out of the question. Coleridge avows in the "*Confessions of an Enquiring Spirit*" his belief in a long list of the articles of the Christian faith. Would the inward light have taught him all these articles, if he had never seen Scripture?

The question resolves itself into this: Is man a self-sufficient being? Is he independent of God? Does he owe God obedience? Does he derive any thing from God? If he be a creature; if there be any hereafter; any future rewards or punishment; or any good or ill whatever dependent on man's relation to God; then there must be a communication to man from God of his condition and duties. Coleridge admits this: so do Blanco White and Sterling. But these reasoners narrow and restrain the power of God to inform man exclusively through the medium of his own intellect and conscience. The objections they make or allow amount



to this—that it is impossible for God to make a supernatural Revelation, *i. e.* a revelation distinguishable and distinct from the actings of each man's mind. They argue that, because there are diversities of opinion amongst men on religious subjects, because there are disputes about the interpretation, genuineness, and text of Scripture, Scripture cannot be a Divine Revelation in the ordinary sense of the term. But this amounts, after all, to saying that God *cannot* cause truths, which are essential to man's welfare, to be committed to writing. For, if He be supposed capable of making a revelation in this shape and way, it follows, as a matter of course, that the moment it is committed to writing, it must be capable of being perverted—the ingenuity of man will always enable him to explain in various senses any document whatever that may be put before him. It is impossible to suppose a case in which questions may not be raised by persons of a speculative turn, on any documents, however clearly they may be expressed. There is not a book in existence on religious subjects, which may not be in some way differently interpreted; and if it be an ancient one, there will also be difficulties about the text, the genuineness, authenticity, &c. Criticism will in time find difficulties in any book or document.

And yet, notwithstanding this, have we any shadow of a reason to assert that God *may not* take this mode of communicating his will to man? On what authority, or by what process of reasoning, can we arrive at such a conclusion? It is granted that such a procedure does not infallibly conduct men to the truth—to unity in the faith! In the practical working of the system, there are many things which seem like defects and anomalies; it is not a system of optimism: there is no mechanical process by which the minds and actions of all men are brought into submission to God's will. But, if these anomalies and imperfections in the operation of the system on man, or (more correctly speaking) if these aberrations of the human will and intellect be reckoned on as an argument against the fact of God's having made a revelation (as we believe Him to have done) in Holy Scripture, or against the possibility of His making any revelation in written documents, then we say with confidence to the sophists who argue thus, that their arguments put an end to revelation altogether. They cut themselves off from the possibility of believing in any revelation at all. Our proof of this position is as follows:—

Those unbelievers who reject the written word of God, and hold it to be a mere collection of old chronicles and fables, fall back upon the reason, or instinct, or conscience of man, informed directly by God himself, as their guide in religious questions. They will not have so uncertain a guide as Holy Scripture joined

with the instructions of God's ministers, and the traditions of the Catholic Church of all ages as a check on the license of private speculation. No: this is not sufficient for them. They must have an infallible and divine monitor within them. Now, then, let us ask of these sophists, **IS THEIR MONITOR INFALLIBLE?** If they reject Scripture, and the creeds of the universal Church, because they have not created unquestioning agreement in all points amongst men, what can they say for their own boasted reason, instinct, divine light, or Logos? Has that reason or light led *them* to unity? Has it cast Strauss, Lessing, Tom Paine, Coleridge, Hare, Neander, Arnold, Maurice, Froude, Newman, and Ward, exactly in the same mould of doctrine? Are there no differences to be found amongst those who recognize the inward light? Quakers, Unitarians, Rationalists, Mystics, Deists, enthusiasts of all kinds, recognize equally the inner divine light; and yet, is there a single point on which they are agreed? The result, then, is, that these advocates of the boasted supremacy of the human intellect, as divinely informed, are driven to the conclusion that there can be no revelation—that God has no means of making known His will to man; for the same arguments which they employ against the Scripture Revelation are equally valid against the revelation which they suppose to be made to every individual. And there is but one step from this to atheism. For how can they believe that there is any God, if they do not allow Him the power even of distinctly telling man his duty? What a notion of God is this! What a helpless Deity they must picture to themselves! The deities of Greece and Rome, soiled as they were with impurities, would yet be far preferable to such a useless Being as this. Of one point we may be sure, that any one who conceives the notion of a Deity without the power of teaching, ruling, and exercising Almighty *power* over man, is a mere fiction of imagination; and that any one who professes to acknowledge such a God is not a worshipper of the **TRUE GOD**, but of an idol conceived in the vanity of his own heart.

The faith of the Christian stands on a foundation far elevated above the contests and uncertainties of philosophy falsely so called. It is rooted in depths where the sophist is unable to penetrate, and ascends in its majestic simplicity into regions of high thought and holy meditation, where the Scribe and the Sadducee, the Reasoner and the Speculator of this world, are left at an immeasurable distance beneath. Believing in that which the world around us tells him—in that which the voice of consentient humanity attests to him—the existence of an Almighty Creator and Ruler, on whose awful decree the happiness or misery

of man is dependent,—believing also in the power of God to reveal this will to man, for his salvation—the Christian knows, not only from the testimony of all around him, but from the voice of conscience guided by the Holy Ghost, that God has indeed revealed Himself to us, and that the Scriptures contain this Revelation, and are His Word. He is rational in this belief, because he acts on the same motives on which his belief in all past events and facts depends. He knows that, if he were to doubt the grounds on which Scripture, *i.e.* on which the facts and doctrines of Christianity depend, he might just as reasonably doubt every event in history, or even question the evidence of his senses. He knows that high probability, amounting to moral certainty, and founded on experience, and moral reasonings, is all that we can attain to in this life. There is nothing which may not be disputed and questioned. Therefore, without entering on the vain and useless speculations which Philosophy would place in his way, he remains “rooted and grounded in the faith,” being persuaded in his heart of hearts that “holy men of old spake as they were moved by the Holy Ghost”—that “holy Scripture is given by inspiration of God”—that “if they hear not Moses and the Prophets,” the Apostles and Evangelists, “neither would they be persuaded though one rose from the dead” before them! And it is this holy simplicity of faith, which the “wicked dreamers” of philosophy “falsely so called” cannot realize themselves, and seek to destroy in others. May their unholy work come to nought! and may some of them be led, before it be too late for themselves, to return from the soul-ensnaring speculations of infidelity, to the sobriety, humility, and consistency of that faith which the unlettered Apostles planted, and which will survive all speculations and all philosophies.

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ART. II.—1. *Hebrew Characters derived from Hieroglyphics. The original Pictures applied to the Interpretation of various Words and Passages in the Sacred Writings, &c.* By JOHN LAMB, D.D., Master of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge. London: J. W. Parker.

2. *A Vindication of Protestant Principles.* By PHILELEUTHERUS ANGLICANUS. London: J. W. Parker.

3. *Biblisches Realwörterbuch zum Handgebrauch für Studierende, Candidaten, Gymnasiallehrer und Prediger, ausgearbeitet von* DR. GEORG BENEDICT WINER. *Dritte sehr verbesserte und vermehrte Auflage.* Leipzig: bei Carl Heinrich Reclam, sen.

It has become quite the fashion among our modern illuminati to represent the religion both of the Old and New Testament as largely impregnated with heathen elements. The period during which this adulteration was mainly effected is said to have been the Babylonish captivity, when the Hebrews were brought into close communication with the Medo-Persian magi. No longer crippled by ritual observances, and charmed (it would appear) by the sublimer teaching of their conquerors, they speedily lost that exclusive sternness which had characterized their forefathers: the "hostile odium," which Tacitus remarked in their estimate of all foreign systems, and which a far greater than Tacitus recorded of them as they "sat down and wept by the waters of Babylon," was for a while most mysteriously suspended; and, with all the alacrity of emancipated youth, they proceeded to enrich the doctrine of Moses from the treasures of Gentile philosophy. Nor, in the opinion of the authors to whom we are alluding, was this facile and free-thinking spirit confined to one school or faction: it soon conciliated a very general welcome, among priests and prophets as well as the ignoble vulgar; and, if we except a small remnant which was hereafter to expand into the sect of the Sadducees, the Hebrew nation returned from their brief exile thoroughly converted to the Zend-Avesta.

As a first consequence of this change, the dualistic principles of the magi were henceforward current in Judæa. To the one supreme Lord, the Author of all good, was conjoined Ahriman, the source of all evil,—modified, it may be, by the peculiar temperament of the Jews, and distinguished by a Semitic, instead of

a Zendic title, but still *essentially* the same being as in the creed of Zerdusht, and subsequently in that of the Manichees. In support of this hypothesis, we are assured that, before the Babylonish exile, the Hebrews had no demonology whatsoever; that Satan, the chief of reprobate angels, was, in a dogmatic sense, altogether unknown,—there being in fact no room either for his existence or his agency, so long as moral evil was regarded as man's own act, so long as the penalty was believed to be entailed by his own unsolicited transgression. God was (they tell us) the proper source (*ausgangspunct*) of all unhappiness, and every calamity inflicted upon men was a necessary and immediate exertion of His righteous vengeance (*Winer*, ii. 384).

From the same eventful epoch, we are instructed to date the "angelology" of the Hebrews, including under that term their dogmatic teaching on the subject, both of good and fallen angels. Presentiments, it is confessed, there had long been of intelligences ranking above man; as, for example, the genii of popular tradition, which owed their origin (we are told) to an imperfect apprehension of the omnipresence of the Deity, and served as so many *points d'appui* for grasping theological abstractions: yet never till the Hebrews were initiated into the learning of the Parsee magi, had their conceptions of superhuman beings gained any degree of maturity, or any systematic conformation. Then it was that the Amshaspands of Ormuzd, together with the subordinate Izeds and Feruers, re-appeared in the angelic orders of the Rabbins, and, through them, in the pages of the New Testament: while their demonology found its type in the corresponding arrangement of the antagonistic kingdom of darkness.

In other words, if we are to believe the writers whose views we have just been stating, a *revolution* took place in the religious system of the Hebrews, at the period of the Babylonian exile; and Sadduceeism, which confessed "neither angel nor spirit," was, in the age of our blessed Lord, the legitimate representative of the patriarchal creed.

Now the historical incongruities of this theory are so many and so inexplicable, that we might have reasonably left it to silent reprobation; and had its influence been wholly restricted to the other side of the German Ocean, such most likely would have been our decision. But, alas! there is too much evidence that the plague is fast spreading even here, that the locusts of a profane philosophy are threatening to consume our own goodly heritage; and to remain silent in such a case is to abandon our proper calling, nay, it is to provoke the still deadlier plague of a judicial "darkness," by which of old time the locusts were succeeded.

In order to justify these our apprehensions, it is not necessary to go beyond the first two volumes, which we have placed at the head of this article; and in selecting them we are by no means producing the worst samples at our command. They are not translations from avowed misbelievers of the school of Hegel, or Paulus, or Strauss; neither do they emanate from persons who have relinquished the communion of the Church, and set at naught her maternal guidance. The author of the first has been for twelve years Dean of Bristol, and for twenty-seven years the head of that college which educated Archbishop Parker. The second work (though anonymous) is attributed without hesitation to the principal of an important grammar-school, who was recently an unsuccessful candidate for still higher preferment. Thus both writers are scholars and clergymen, and, if we may trust their professions, *κατ' ἐξοχήν Protestant*. They are alike gifted by nature and position with no common opportunities for good, and, as the guardians of a distinctive creed, the creed, namely, of the Church of England, they are bound by the most solemn obligations to "teach no other doctrine," and to "contend earnestly for the faith which was once delivered unto the saints."

On these accounts, the task which has been assigned us is as painful to our feelings as imperative on our judgment. We believe most firmly that the healthfulness of the Church is in direct proportion to the orthodoxy of her clergy; that a hearty and manly assertion of her principles is the surest way to preserve her integrity, and to strengthen the sinews of her usefulness; while they who either hold those principles with timid hesitation, or under the plea of purging out her dross would debase her precious metals, are sitting in the chair not of Peter, but of Judas,—are "the death of the nurse that feedeth them."

How far this censure is applicable to the above-mentioned writers will be judged as we proceed to examine their productions. In both, after the most cursory perusal, one cannot fail to observe the same *πρῶτον ψεῦδος*, the same root of bitterness, a restless spirit of speculation, an impatience of all authority save that of the individual fancy, an irreverent handling of Holy Scripture, and a contempt for the received interpretations: although in the degree of its doctrinal divergency, as well as in the tone and temper which pervade it, the latter work has an especial claim to indignant castigation.

I. With Dr. Lamb's theory about Hebrew Hieroglyphics we have at present no immediate concern. Fanciful in many portions, in others not destitute of something like ingenuity, the book might have lived through its day without demanding any



notice at our hands, if the author had not ventured upon themes which betray a most melancholy obliquity in his view of religious truth.

“Non omnes arbusta juvant humilesque myricæ,”

was the reflection of the Roman poet; but, for our part, we had rather see our divines growing grey at palæozoology or palæophytology, than in reviving the heresies of past ages, or in elaborating new ones.

We pass over some startling observations (pp. 93 sqq.) on the history of man in his Paradisiacal condition, to Dr. Lamb's notions of the fall, and the nature of Satanic influence. His object does not lead him to any direct statement respecting the existence of *good* angels, although he is undoubtedly aware that very many of his remarks are quite as applicable to them as to the “Devil and his angels.” If “the Ahriman of Zoroaster is the original model of Satan, and the Jews introduced this, with various other notions, into their writings” (p. 118), it is not improbable that Dr. Lamb would by this time extend his analogies somewhat further, and even assent to the developments of his friend “Phileleutherus Anglicanus.” We will not, however, press this consideration, but confine ourselves to what is most distinctly avowed in the following extract from his work:—

“In the above account of man's fall, it will be observed that there is no mention made of the interference of any evil spirit. And in the whole course of the sacred history *there is not one text* from which we can rightly infer that *there is an order of beings such as are generally represented by the fallen angels, or that sin existed before Eve's transgression.* Divines find a difficulty in reconciling the sin and rebellion of man with that state of innocence in which he was created. . . . . If it be a thing incredible that man, left to his own powers, should sin, how much more incredible is it that an order of angels, who enjoyed much nearer communion with God, and far excelled man in every intellectual faculty, should be the authors of sin? But I will proceed to examine the evidence which the word of God affords us upon this subject.”—pp. 112, 113.

Dr. Lamb here interposes a caveat, of which we shall willingly give him the advantage:—

“I may here be allowed to guard the reader against any mistake respecting the object I am pursuing: I am not attempting to prove that Satanic influence has not existed, or does not exist, but that the authors of it are *not fallen angels*, and had no existence before Eve's transgression.”—p. 113.

We were curious to ascertain what the Dean of Bristol *does*

think respecting the Tempter, his origin, and his agency ; but in this we are cruelly disappointed, for he at once proceeds to those texts of Scripture which divines have hitherto brought forward in proof of the "received opinions." The passages are two in number, 2 Pet. ii. 4—6 ("For if God spared not the angels that sinned," &c.), and Jude 5—7 ("And the angels which kept not their first estate," &c.). Of both Dr. Lamb absolutely determines, that "no argument can be drawn from these passages, unsupported by collateral evidence, in favour of the generally received opinions" (p. 115). It would, we fear, be a bootless task to collect the almost unanimous verdict of commentators in all ages as to the import of the texts above cited ; for, by persons like Dr. Lamb, the rule of St. Vincentius is exploded as "not only retrogressive in its tendency, but as contributing more than any other rule towards narrowing the confines of Catholic truth" (*Vindication of Protestant Principles*, p. 34). In spite, however, of this distaste for the διδαχὴ πατροπαράδοτος, we cannot help informing the Dean of Bristol, that, in denying the application of the above texts to the fallen angels, he was anticipated nearly two centuries by the notorious Balthasar Bekker, whom Bayle characterized as a "rank rationalist." Yet even Bekker, we must add in fairness, was not prepared to question the personality of demons ; indeed he argued for it from other passages of Scripture, but maintained that the prince of darkness was now chained down in hell, and therefore was unable to intermeddle in the fortunes of the Christian Church. This mention of the Low-Dutch misbeliever reminds us of another form, under which the same restless and speculative temper found its first expression in our country. Among the opinions of "Certain Libertines" (the Family of Love), confuted by W. Wilkinson, fol. 66, ed. 1579, we have one couched in the following language : "There is no deuill, but suche as the painters make." With the exception of these, and a few obscure essays of the Deists and quasi-Deists of the last century<sup>1</sup>, the Socinians and Neologians share the whole merit of this opinion respecting Satan with a section of our own angelologists.

But forgetting the grave consideration, which these facts cannot fail to open, what, let us ask, are Dr. Lamb's *arguments* in support of his novel interpretation ? He begins by telling us that the word ἄγγελος corresponds to the Hebrew מַלְאָךְ, signifying "a messenger." This we have no difficulty in admitting, although in the course of our biblical studies we have never before seen it

<sup>1</sup> e. g. Wm. Ashdowne, in 1791, published a pamphlet to show that "the opinion concerning the devil as a fallen angel has no foundation in Scripture."

affirmed, that the Hebrew word for "angel" is *identical* with מַלְאָךְ "a king" (p. 114). But granting this also for the sake of argument, how does it assist in establishing Dr. Lamb's assertion, that the "angels" of St. Peter and St. Jude are members of "the great antediluvian apostasy?" (p. 115.) In what peculiar sense were *they* "messengers," or "chiefs," or "kings?" It is true they may be said literally to have "sinned," and metaphorically to have "left their own habitation," and to have been "cast down to hell;" but with no less truth might this be affirmed of the impious *in all ages*. We are not, therefore, unreasonable in demanding a far more *specific* exposition of the texts which are cited by the Dean of Bristol. And such an exposition is, we think, afforded to us by the clear language of St. Peter, who distinguishes the apostate "angels" in verse 4, from "the old world" in verse 5, and from the postdiluvian catastrophe in verse 6; so that, if we were reading this passage for the first time, unhampered by all theories of our own, we could scarcely miss the conclusion which the Church in all ages has been teaching. This much will suffice for Dr. Lamb's "rational" exegesis.

We have more to observe upon the meaning of ἄγγελος in its reference to superhuman intelligences, as well as upon the copious notices of the *Old Testament*, touching this subject of angelology: but we prefer to reserve our remarks till we encounter the more sweeping objections of the vindicator of "Protestant Principles."

No sooner has Dr. Lamb escaped from the above passages by the "licentious and deluding art" of explaining them away, than he repeats with a somewhat daring emphasis:—

"There is a perfect silence in Scripture respecting any fallen angels or the existence of sin prior to Adam's transgression."—p. 116.

Yet in spite of this strong assertion, he seems unable to shake off the misgiving that other texts are in fact producible, which might tell against his statement. Accordingly, after some loose remarks on the silence of ejected demons as to their own heavenly origin, he proceeds to the denunciation of our Lord as recorded in St. Matthew's Gospel: "Depart from me, ye cursed, into everlasting fire, prepared for *the devil and his angels*" (xxv. 41). Now we venture to affirm that all simple-minded Christians would pronounce this text fatal to Dr. Lamb, and decisive of our own view of the question, viz., that the agents of Satanic malice here spoken of are no other than "the angels who kept not their first estate," and with whom all "children of the devil" will be doomed at the day of judgment; but in the hands of a philosopher like the Dean of Bristol, this testimony is at once most dexterously alchemised so as to become altogether *irrelevant*:—

"Can any thing," he asks, "be clearer than that in this passage by 'the devil and his angels' is meant the *whole body of wicked souls from the creation to the day of judgment*? This place is prepared for them as the kingdom of heaven for the saints. It is the same as if our Saviour said, 'prepared for *you*, the devil and his angels.'"—p. 117.

We know of few flights even in the history of German hermeneutics which can fairly be placed in competition with the hardihood of this criticism; yet we feel at the same time how fruitless would be the most elaborate refutation of it when its author can resort to such expedients for the justification of his error<sup>2</sup>.

Let us, however, entreat Dr. Lamb to reflect upon the following texts which (it would seem) have escaped his notice. St. Paul, after asking the Corinthians, "Do ye not know that the saints shall judge the *world*?" proceeds a step further, and inquires in the next verse, "Know ye not that we shall judge *angels*? How much more things that pertain to this life?" (1 Cor. vi. 2, 3.) Will Dr. Lamb maintain that these questions are identical? We think he would hardly venture upon such a paradox: if not, then angels are not only distinct from men, but will hereafter appear as culprits when "the Lord cometh with ten thousand of his saints to execute judgment upon all." Yet the *holy* angels, having kept their first estate, and being now beyond the possibility of falling, can in no wise be regarded as the subjects of human censure: the Apostle, therefore, can have meant none other than the *apostate* angels, those whom God "charged with folly" (Job iv. 18); those whom He sent among the Egyptians (Ps. lxxviii. 49); those whom, as Christians, we are encouraged not to fear (Rom. viii. 38); those, lastly, of whom we read at large in a notable passage of the Apocalypse, appointed for the festival of St. Michael: "And there was war in heaven: Michael and *his angels* fought against the dragon; and the dragon fought and *his angels*, and prevailed not; neither was their place found any more in heaven. And the great dragon was cast out, that old serpent, called the Devil, and Satan, which deceiveth the whole world: he was cast out into the earth, and *his angels* were cast out with him." (Rev. xii. 7—9.) Whatever be the precise import of this passage, whether the scene be laid in the future or in the past, it describes a tremendous conflict between spiritual beings arrayed both on this side and on that, in distinct ranks

<sup>2</sup> There are some happy remarks on this passage in Bp. Jebb's "Sacred Literature," pp. 364, 365, ed. 1831. Hobbes in the "Leviathan," p. 213, ed. 1651, throws out a conjecture which, oddly enough, tallies with that of Dr. Lamb: "Unless we might think the name of 'devil and his angels' may be understood of the Church's adversaries and their ministers."

and orders : and if (as we are bound to hope) Dr. Lamb does not deny the personality of *good* angels, or the pre-eminence of St. Michael, how will he escape from the conclusion that Satan and his army are no less real, no less præterhuman, no less *angelic* ?

II. We will now pass from Dr. Lamb's angelology to that of his successor "Phileleutherus Anglicanus;" and the first thought which strikes us is the unblushing boldness of the latter in his treatment of theological topics. Verily, he is a doughty champion, albeit, as he tells us in the Preface (p. xi.), he has "entered the lists with his vizor down." We are strongly tempted to break a lance with him on every page of his so-called "Vindication," but shall confine ourselves in the first instance to what he has broached on the nature of angelic manifestations. After reading his thirty-ninth section, we could not repress an exclamation at the servility with which he has trodden in the steps of modern misbelievers. Once or twice, indeed, he admits his obligations to that storehouse of scepticism which we have noted at the head of this article ; but if we are not very much mistaken, he has borrowed still more from Strauss, and not a little from the patriarch of semi-infidelity, we mean Thomas Hobbes of Malmesbury. It is constantly affirmed in the "Leben Jesu," that the doctrine of angels and of diabolic agency is unsatisfactory to the minds of the enlightened pious ; that the religious development of our own age revolts against any such dogma, nay, that one chief objection to the historicalness of certain Gospel narratives is found in their reiterated avowal of angelic apparitions. Strauss, also, like our English misbelievers, asserts most positively that the earliest systematic angelology among the Hebrews is dated from the time of Tobit, and that it is manifestly traceable to the influence of the Zendic mythology.

Hobbes has propounded his theory in the following passage of the "Leviathan," p. 211, ed. 1651:—

"And as the Gentiles did vulgarly conceive the imagery of the brain for things really subsistent without them, and not dependent on the fancy, and out of them framed their opinions of dæmons, good and evil . . . so also the Jews upon the same ground, without any thing in the Old Testament that constrained them thereunto, had generally an opinion (except the sect of the Sadducees), that those apparitions which it pleased God sometimes to produce in the fancy of men, for his own service, and *therefore called them angels*, were substances not dependent on the fancy, but permanent creatures of God ; whereof those which they thought were good to them, they esteemed the angels of God, and those they thought would hurt them, they called evil angels."

It is gratifying, however, to record, that even Hobbes had his lucid intervals, and was, in fact, far more orthodox than our own Protestant champion; for in a subsequent part of the same chapter he is constrained to make this confession:—

“Considering, therefore, the signification of the word ‘angel’ in the Old Testament, and the nature of dreams and visions that happen to men by the ordinary way of nature, I was inclined to this opinion, that angels were nothing but supernatural apparitions of the fancy, raised by the special and extraordinary operation of God, thereby to make his presence and commandments known to mankind, and chiefly to his own people. But the *many places of the New Testament, and our Saviour’s own words*, and in such texts wherein is no suspicion of corruption of the Scripture, *have extorted from my feeble reason an acknowledgment and belief, that there be also angels substantial and permanent.*”—p. 214.

Let us now hear the Vindicator of “Protestant Principles,” whom we shall find far outstripping both the Dean of Bristol and the philosopher of Malmesbury; while his points of contact with Strauss are many and unmistakeable:—

“When, after the Babylonish captivity, the Jewish doctors, corrupted by the superstitions of their heathen conquerors, had begun to regard these angelic manifestations of the Supreme Being as separate created intelligences, they were not long in finding names for the princes and leaders, whom in imitation of the Amshaspands of the Persians, they placed at the head of their Lord’s host.”—p. 76.

To render his meaning more clear, we must remark that, according to “Phileleutherus,” there is no such being as a personal angel in the earlier books of the Old Testament; but that the term is constantly employed with reference to all manifestations of Jehovah, whether the medium of such manifestations be the powers of nature, a voice, a flame, or a visionary symbol. In other words, the doctrine of angels, as believed in the time of our Saviour, and since taught in His Church, is a corruption of primitive truth, an after-growth of Gentile mythology. But lest we should be supposed to misrepresent “Phileleutherus,” he shall have the liberty of speaking for himself:—

“As this system of personification is not to be found in the older and more important (?) books of the Old Testament, and is indeed inconsistent with the representations which they give us respecting the origin of evil, and the dealings of God with the world in general, and with his Church in particular, it would have been unnecessary to say even thus much on the subject, had not the language of the Jews in our Lord’s days been so *deeply tinged with this superstitious phrase-*



ology, that He and His Apostles *were obliged to carry on what had become*, and in the opinion of some persons still is, *a necessary illusion.*"—p. 77.

The clause of this sentence which we have italicized is so abhorrent to our feelings, that we almost hesitated to transcribe it; and yet even that is infinitely outdone by the heresy on the same page respecting "our Lord's struggle with His lower human nature" (i. e. His triumph in the desert over the arch-fiend Satan). We refrain, however, as before, from entering on this question, and would rather ascertain what notices exist in the more ancient of our sacred books respecting the personality and appearances of angels. In this way we hope most effectually to confute both the Dean of Bristol, the learned Phileleutherus, and the whole host of our smaller "thinkers," who "spend their time in nothing else but either to tell or to hear some new thing."

In pursuing this inquiry, we gratefully acknowledge our obligations to Dr. Mill's admirable "Christian Advocate" publications for 1840 and 1841, which "Phileleutherus" with characteristic self-complacency has pronounced "a well-meaning attempt to establish the superstitious theory," p. 167. A larger and more elaborate investigation is supplied by Ode's "Commentarius de Angelis," published at Utrecht in 1739<sup>3</sup>.—Two remarks seem necessary in the outset:

(1.) If we may not argue, *à priori*, for the existence of super-human beings, our belief in such intelligences involves no thought which is not perfectly in accordance with our convictions of the power, the majesty, the wisdom, or the goodness of the Almighty. Even with respect to those once-glorious beings who forfeited their Maker's blessing, "there is nothing in the circumstances or the consequence of their apostasy, or their wish to extend it to other beings, to which *human* analogies do not bear witness as antecedently credible."—*Mill's C. A. Publ. for 1841*, pp. 42, 43.

(2.) We premise, that the existence of like beings in any *Gentile* system can raise no just presumption, that *our* doctrine is an after-growth, or foreign importation: for we are standing upon ground which the latest deductions of ethnology have shown

<sup>3</sup> In his time also there was a "Vindex," like our "Phileleutherus," who maintained that certain opinions of Jews and Christians respecting angels were drawn from Gentile sources. This writer is named Daillonius, and his crotchets are appended to an "Apology for the Reformed Religion." Speaking of such sciolists, Ode remarks very truly: "Ac si modo fides habeatur Verbo Dei, tot huic deliramento reclamant testimonia rerumque documenta, ut mirum sit aut tam crassam ignorantiam, aut tam malitiosam temeritatem in ullis esse potuisse hominibus, nedum illis, qui cæteris etiam sapientiores ac perspicaciores videri voluerunt."

to be still more tenable, when we affirm with the early Fathers, that *all Gentilism is a corruption of the one primeval creed*, and that as a consequence, almost necessarily resulting, we may expect to find very frequent parallelisms or affinities between the Old Testament and other systems<sup>4</sup>. On the particular question of the Zend-Avesta, we might assume even a still higher tone: for besides the strong doubts, which have been entertained respecting its genuineness and antiquity, the learned Prideaux urged with no little reason that its reputed author, Zerdusht, was himself "well versed in the sacred writings of the Jewish religion."—(*Connection*, i. 216; ed. 1718.) Waiving this, however, we affirm that the same argument which proves the Hebrew Satan to have been borrowed from the Persian Ahriman, would prove also his derivation from the Anglo-Saxon Grendel, or the Loki of Old Norse mythology.

With these preliminary suggestions, we turn to the books of the Old Testament, and inquire whether any indications of angelology had appeared among God's ancient people before they were brought into correspondence with the non-Semitic races.

And *first*, of the notices which have been afforded us respecting Satan and the powers of darkness.

No sooner have we commenced the history of man than we encounter the chief of reprobate angels, "the great dragon, *that old serpent* called the Devil and Satan." (Rev. xii. 9.) The circumstantial manner in which the fall is related, the minute geographical description of the scene, the absence of every intimation that the sacred penman was entering upon an allegory, the references made to that event as real by writers of the New Testament, and the fact that we are now experiencing the penalty which is there denounced upon our race—all seem to justify our conclusion that the obvious meaning of the narrative is also to be taken as the true meaning, and that man through extraneous solicitation, and not from the mere motions of concupiscence, was led to the commission of that sin by which he forfeited his native goodness. But who is the prime mover in this ruin? Something far more highly-gifted than either the common or the flying serpent, as must indeed have been self-evident to our first parents and to all the thoughtful among their posterity. "By the envy of the *devil*" (and nothing less) was death inflicted upon the world, and therefore when the Seed of the Woman was revealed, the Apostle could bid us look hopefully to the era when, in

<sup>4</sup> "Unde hæc, oro vos, philosophis aut poetis tam consimilia? nonnisi de nostris sacramentis: si de nostris sacramentis, ut de prioribus, ergo fideliora sunt nostra magisque credenda, quorum *imagines* quoque fidem inveniunt."—Tertull. Apol. c. xlvii.

execution of the curse denounced upon the serpent, our Lord would "bruise *Satan* under our feet." (Rom. xvi. 20.) It is true, that in the narrative of Moses, no *distinct* mention is made of diabolical agency; yet the indistinctness of his language on this subject is in no wise more singular or more perplexing than on other questions of equal moment. The desperate subtlety of the devil, and the inspired record of his triumph, might alike continue in partial obscurity ("adhuc tunc subnubila"), so long as the fuller revelation of the truth would have misled the indiscriminating many, so long (we may say without violence to the language) as "they were unable to bear it:" but no argument is thence fairly deducible in favour of our modern philosophers, who pretend that the idea of Satan, together with the whole group of imagery revolving round it, was a fabrication of later ages. We may cite in our behalf the very striking testimony of the Zend-Avesta, which our opponents on their assumption of its high antiquity will not, we hope, call in question. According to that record, the parents of the human family, Meshia and Meshianeh, were created by Ormuzd pure and upright; but *at the instigation of Ahriman*, who from the beginning sought only to deceive, they fell from their high estate by eating forbidden fruit. And elsewhere in the same book it is related how Ahriman sprung from heaven to earth in the very form of a serpent<sup>1</sup>.

But testimony most decisive is afforded by the ancient book of Job, where Satan (emphatically *the* adversary) was unfolded to the Hebrew Church in all his guile and malice (i. 6—12; ii. 1—7). To escape from the cogency of these texts, our critics have recourse to various artifices no less weak than inconsistent. They first deny that the book of Job was written till the period of the Babylonish captivity; but this objection is at once repelled, by the purity of the language, (especially in the first and second chapters,) by the absence of all allusion to the Mosaic ritual, by the remoteness of sundry biographical notices, and by the unvarying witness of the Church. The second objection is still more fragile, viz., that the angel here called שָׂטָן (*the* Satan) is rather a *holy* angel, endowed with the peculiar office of complainant or "censor morum;" for, besides the etymology of the name, (which to our philologists should be conclusive,) the malevolent character of the agent here mentioned renders him *identical* with Satan in 1 Chron. xxi. 1, and no less with the Satan of Zechariah iii. 1, 2, which was written after the captivity. By resorting, therefore,

<sup>1</sup> Quoted in Dr. Hengstenberg's "Christology," p. 15, ed. Arnold.

to such devices, our opponents have betrayed the hopelessness of their position, and, as it happens, not unfrequently, when bad men are hard pressed by siege or famine, they have rendered their fortunes still more desperate by turning their arms against each other :—

“ Nor needeth him no longer labour spend,  
His foes have slain themselves with whom he should contend.”

*Secondly.* The evidence on which we base our assertion, that the Hebrews believed in the personality of *holy* angels, as well before as after the date of the captivity, will be found to be no less impregnable. “Phileleutherus” has indeed stated, that, “whenever an angelophany is described in those parts of the sacred volume, which are antecedent to the captivity, it is expressly represented as a manifestation of God Himself, and *not* as the appearance of *some independent and created intelligence* ;” that is, if we understand him rightly, the later Jews fell into the universal error of regarding “the heavenly host” as *distinct* from the “Lord of hosts,” instead of holding fast the patriarchal creed, to which all *personal* angels were unknown. We will not dwell upon the antecedent improbability which attaches to this novel speculation, nor upon the fact, on all hands admitted, that the Jews at this period of the captivity were effectually cured of their *polytheistic* tendencies : our best course, as before, will be to collect a few of those passages from the historical and earlier prophetic books, where the doctrine of personal angels is as clearly (if not as minutely) avowed, as in the age of our Lord and His Apostles.

“Angel-appearances” (we are translating Dr. Winer) “are represented *most* frequently in the legendary history of Genesis, and become less frequent as we advance.” (*Realw.* i. 328.) “The *only* historical books which are quite free from angelology are those of Ezra and Nehemiah, written after the captivity.” (*Ibid.*) This, we beg to remind our readers, is the testimony of an adversary, and tells with a peculiar force in favour of our own position. It directs us for the facts, which we are seeking, to that very quarter wherein, according to the theory of its author, we should be least likely to have found them ; while it spares us the pains of examining those books, which we should naturally suspect, upon his hypothesis, to be full of the phenomena in question.

But are those early indications of angelic beings sufficiently *precise* and *personal* ? “Phileleutherus,” we have heard, would answer in the negative ; and here, as in other cases, he is but echoing his German master, the author of the “*Leben Jesu.*” If we turn, however, to the sacred volume, we shall not fail to be

amazed at the flippancy of writers, who could gratuitously put forth so weak a cavillation. When our first parents were expelled from Paradise, it is recorded that the Lord God "placed at the east of the garden of Eden cherubims, and a flaming sword, which turned every way;" or, if we adopt the exposition of Kennicott, to which "Phileleutherus" does not seem averse, the passage would still affirm that the Almighty stationed "angels in a fiery appearance." Could language in either case be chosen more apt to inculcate the belief that the holy angels are distinct beings, personal and ministerial? And is not the same even more predicable of the "two angels," who were sent to Sodom (Gen. xix. 1), who, in fact, say expressly of their errand, "*the Lord* hath sent us to destroy it?" (ver. 13.) Or, again, in that wonderful vision of Jacob, (xxviii. 12,) where angels ascended and descended on the ladder, while "the Lord stood above it," do we not witness the ministrations of the self-same blessed spirits\*, who afterwards ascended and descended upon the Son of Man (John i. 51) in His temptation, and agony, and death, and resurrection, and ascension? Or, if we revert to the ancient book of Job, where we have already seen the prince of darkness prowling up and down in the earth, (ii. 2,) who, we ask, are those "sons of God," presenting themselves before the Lord, but personally distinct intelligences, who, on the birthday of this lower world, had shouted in joyful chorus, (xxxviii. 7,) and who still "execute God's commandment, and hearken unto the voice of His words?" (Ps. ciii. 20.) Or, if we pass over a long interval, which is no less fruitful in the materials we are collecting, our thoughts are still raised to the contemplation of Jehovah riding upon the cherubims, as in a triumphal chariot, with all the hosts of heaven, "even thousands of angels" encircling His glorious presence. (Ps. lxviii. 17.) In the vision of the prophet Isaiah, (vi. 1—7,) nearly two centuries before the exile, he beholds the Great King, the Lord of hosts, sitting upon a throne surmounted by the six-winged seraphim; while one of that blessed company, issuing forth on a message to the prophet, attests in the same act both his independent subsistence, and the nature of angelic ministrations. Or if, lastly, we consult the vision of Micaiah, not less anterior to the age when the Hebrews are said to have imbibed the sacred learning of the magi, we still find the same doctrine of the angelic hierarchy, which re-appears after the captivity, in the books of Daniel and Zechariah: "I saw the Lord sitting on His throne, and all the hosts of heaven standing

\* The Vindicator of "Protestant Principles" speaking of the "phantasmagoria of Jacob's dream," conjectures that it was no more than "a bright stream of light glancing from heaven to earth."—p. 166. *Credat Judæus!*

by Him, on His right hand and on His left." (1 Kings xxii. 19—22. 2 Chron. xviii. 18—21.)

We would fain have expanded these remarks more fully, but our space is warning us to desist. Enough, however, has been advanced to refute the particular objections, which we have here undertaken to combat, viz., the absence of all precise teaching in the ante-Babylonian Scriptures, respecting the doctrine of good and evil angels, as held in the age of our Saviour; for we have shown that, in respect to both classes of superhuman intelligences, the chain of testimony, which extends to the very last vision of the Apocalypse, has its origin at the gates of Paradise. If any should still object,—that we have rather relieved the difficulty than removed it altogether, and have rather evinced the weakness of our opponents, than established an *absolute identity* of language in the several intimations of angels afforded by the Old Testament,—let them consider that even should the latest prophets have made some *additions* to the previous discoveries on this subject, such a gradual revelation of the truth should give no cause for perplexity to the pious student of the Scriptures, who in the whole order of the Divine economy, will observe the twilight ever deepening until the advent of the "Sun of righteousness."

In conclusion, we would recur, for a moment, to the writers who have more especially called forth the preceding observations. As was stated, in the outset, they both manifest a settled contempt for all ecclesiastical tradition; having realized, what the Germans would describe as an absolute "autonomy,"—a persuasion that truth is either yet undiscovered, or that, if it exist on earth, it has sprung from their own bosoms. We have, accordingly, little hope that our arguments will produce any salutary fruit in *them*; but we nevertheless feel it our solemn duty to warn all their readers of the poison which lies hid under their plausible pretences of "asserting the rights of educated manhood." Especially has the author of the "Vindication" established his previous claims to the distrust of every churchman; for, besides the incurable heterodoxy of his book, he has added sin to sin by putting it forth under a mendacious title. What he calls a "Vindication of Protestant Principles," is a vindication of no principle whatsoever: it is a profane assault upon *all* religion, if religion is aught more than a string of loose negations, or than a cluster of shifting nebulæ.

A "Vindication of *Protestant Principles*" forsooth! by an admirer of the "rationalistic" Melancthon! Had Melancthon left no other record of his principles than the "Augsburg Confession," to which "Phileleutherus" refers, he left enough to



convince all sober people of the horror with which he would have regarded the new generation of reformers. "Non enim aspernamur consensum Catholicæ Ecclesiæ," was his avowal for himself and his coadjutors, "nec est animus nobis ullum novum dogma et ignotum Sanctæ Ecclesiæ invehere in Ecclesiam." (Art. xxi. *apud Corpus Confess.* ed. Genev. 1612.) One reformer, indeed, there was, whom the vindicator *does* resemble; we mean, the fanatical Carlstadt, who, as early as the year 1520, (says Ranke,) "entertained doubts whether Moses was really the author of the books which bear his name, and whether the Gospels have come down to us in their genuine form." (Cf. *Vindication of Protestant Principles*, pp. 139. 168.) We must not, however, confound the hallucinations of this worthy with the principles of the reformers at large, any more than we should identify our own *soi-disant* champion with the cause of the English Church. As her Prayer Book protests daily against his errors in the "Te Deum," and weekly in the Preface to the "Ter Sanctus," and yearly in the "Festival of St. Michael and all Angels," so did his hero, Melancthon, by anticipation, repudiate his hollow homage, and denounce his narrow-minded self-idolatry. When the throes of the earlier Reformation had subsided, and Melancthon was left in his ripe old age to survey both the past and future, his apprehensions were transferred from the reviving struggle of the papacy to the seeds of neological unbelief, which even then were beginning to germinate. It was the sight of this lawless monster, threatening to uproot his labours, and to devastate the whole Church, which wrung from the great reformer the ever-memorable ejaculation': "Video multo *intolerabiliorem esse tyrannidem quam unquam fuit antea.*"

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<sup>7</sup> We are indebted for this passage to a series of articles which have just appeared in the "Evangelische Kirchen-Zeitung." Their tone, notwithstanding its despondency here and there, gives us strong reason to hope that the theology of our German neighbours may even yet regain somewhat of healthiness and ancient truth.

ART. III.—*An Appeal to the Scottish Bishops and Clergy, and generally to the Church of their Communion.* Edinburgh: Alex. Lairne and Co.

ALTHOUGH the volume before us appears anonymously, so far as its title-page is concerned, the contents of the work itself, as well as the advertisements which have appeared in the public prints, enable us to ascribe the authorship to the Rev. W. Palmer, of Magdalen College, Oxford, deacon, whose name is already well known to the public in connexion with his publication on the Jerusalem bishopric, and his works on the doctrine of the Russian Church. The work before us is one of a somewhat multifarious character, amounting to 740 pages, octavo, considerable portions of which are printed in a very minute type; and comprising the contents of the author's journal, with large masses of correspondence extending over a period of about nine years, 1840—1849; during which, this deacon has been engaged in a series of conferences and negotiations, bearing on the question of the relations of the English and the Russian Church.

To enter in this place into any detailed account of these matters would be impossible; and were it possible, might be somewhat tedious: we shall however attempt a brief outline of the principal features of the transactions, as far as we can gather them from the complicated narrative before us.

It appears, then, that in 1840 Mr. Palmer went to St. Petersburg for the purpose of studying the character and tenets of the Russian Church, and, if practicable, of being admitted to the communion of that Church, without forsaking the Church of England. During his residence at St. Petersburg, he became acquainted with some Russian families of distinction, and amongst the rest, with a nobleman, who is designated as "Mr. A." Now, it so happened, that while Mr. Palmer was seeking communion with the Russian Church, on the ground that the English and the Russian Churches were one in faith, and branches of the same Catholic Church, the wife and daughters of this "Mr. A." had just separated from the communion of the Russian Church, and joined themselves to that of the Church of England; professing, moreover, doctrines very inconsistent with those which Mr. Palmer was announcing in Russia as the true doctrines of the Church of England; so that his position became

one of the most painful description, inasmuch, as his own Church appeared to disown practically the grounds on which he sought communion from the Russian Church; and he felt that he appeared in the light of an impostor.

Our author, finding himself in this embarrassing position, endeavoured to remove the difficulty, by denying that the ladies above referred to could have been received as converts by any *canonical authoritative* act of the English Church, and at the same time expressing his own strong disapprobation of the step which they had taken. Not content with this, he proceeded to use his best efforts, by correspondence, to induce these ladies to *re-unite* themselves to the Russian Church: with which view, he proceeded from St. Petersburg to Geneva, and subsequently to Paris; and although he failed in inducing the mother, Madame A., to separate from the English communion and re-unite herself to the Russian Church, he was successful in prevailing on one of the family to retrace her steps; and on her being reconciled to the Russian Church, a certain metropolitan was heard drily to remark, that "the Church was very much obliged to that Anglican deacon."

Madame A., as we have observed, proved refractory, and could not be induced either by the arguments or the measures of the deacon (who on one occasion succeeded in obtaining her rejection from communion by the English chaplain at St. Petersburg) to re-unite herself to the Russian Church; and the whole of this volume turns on the contest between this lady and the deacon, in which the latter appears to have been, notwithstanding the firmest resolution and the most indefatigable zeal, finally and completely worsted. The lady appears to remain in communion with the Church of England, having made her ground good by appeals to various authorities in the Church; and our author has been unsuccessful in his different attempts to exclude her from our communion. So that, on the whole, we fear, he has placed himself in a position from which he can only extricate himself with consistency, by being reconciled to the Greek Church—an event which some portions of the work before us show to be at hand.

The whole story is really a curious one—rather lengthy, indeed, and abounding in superfluous details, which render the narrative confused and intricate to the last degree—but still the whole thing is extremely curious and interesting. In speaking thus, we know, of course, that there are many questions of the deepest *importance* discussed in the work before us, and that the real great object throughout was one of the highest and holiest that man can put before him—the re-union of nations in Chris-

tian love and faith. But still, as a whole, the book is the *Journal Book* of an indefatigable, ingenious, pious, learned, and indiscreet man, containing all kinds of miscellaneous information and anecdotes about the proceedings, writings, thoughts, correspondence, and adventures of the writer; and this, while it adds in one point of view to the interest of the production, yet on the other side, detracts from the dignity and gravity of the more important parts of the work. We think it rather unfortunate, moreover, that the whole affair and the book should have been made to take so personal a form; that the deacon and Madame A. should be in such perpetual struggle before our eyes; and that the more solemn topics of the work should be so much mixed up with the obstinacy, or petulance, or other improprieties of this or that individual. We would rather not, for instance, see such anecdotes as the following, which decidedly detract from the gravity of the work.

“A few hours later (that is, on the same day, after the conversation with the Primus) the Bishop of Glasgow good-naturedly observed [to the author], ‘We were sorry for not having your company yesterday at dinner; but I think you did right in not coming after all . . . I confess, I don’t think you owe us, the bishops, any thanks. What passed was unpleasant to my feelings; but we should do just the same, if we had to do it over again. We shall be very happy to see you even if you *do* come back to us with a beard, though then you’ll be a barbarian.’—pp. 333, 334.

Now really, amusing as such an anecdote is, we would rather not see it in such a book, and more especially because it conveys irresistibly to the mind, that the Bishop of Glasgow was actually jocose upon the author, as if he were a fit subject for jesting; and the effect of such an anecdote is, either to show an unseemly levity in a bishop, or else to create an impression very far remote from the respect which is due to the author’s zeal and ability.

We have already remarked that our author, in 1840, was placed in very embarrassing circumstances, at St. Petersburg, on hearing that Madame A. had been received into communion with the English Church. The case appears to have been, that this lady and her daughters, having been resident at Geneva for some time, had been led, by communications with some dissenters, to adopt, what are called, “evangelical” views of a low description; but ultimately she preferred to join the communion of the English Church, and accordingly presented herself, and was received to communion by the English chaplain there.

After various conferences with our author, Mr. A. (the husband of the lady referred to) addressed a letter to the late Arch-

bishop of Canterbury, soliciting from him a reply to various questions on points in the English Canon Law, affecting the relations of the English and Russian Church. This letter was *not answered*; and the fact of its not being answered, appears to have excited great surprise in the mind of Mr. A., and to have been viewed by our author as an encouragement to the course taken by Madame A. For our own parts, we should scarcely think it reasonable to expect from the primate of the English Church a declaration of "the opinion of the Church transmitted through her primate" (p. lxxxix.) on the mere requisition of an individual, who sought it on the ground of "the question touching so closely both on his own *happiness* and that of other members of his family." Were the primate obliged to give answers on difficult points of Canon Law to every foreigner who might think it conducive to his family "happiness" to obtain information on such matters, his office would certainly be no sinecure. We presume, that the primate was of opinion, that such questions could only be answered in the name of the Church by a synod; and that, in the absence of such authority, the most proper person to apply to would be an ecclesiastical lawyer. In truth, the questions were of such a nature, that the archbishop would, we think, have acted not unwisely in declining any *authoritative* declaration on them, without previous synodical conference with other prelates and theologians.

Mr. A., having failed in obtaining from the primate a response favourable to his views, by which he had hoped to convince his wife of the impropriety of her leaving the Russian Church; our author next endeavoured to extract from the Bishop of London a condemnation of the course pursued by the chaplain at Geneva in admitting Madame A. to communion. We have (pp. cv—cix) a long letter from our author to the bishop, comprising a full and minute account of his visit to St. Petersburg, with the object of promoting the union of the English and Russian Church, and the principal conversations that had passed on the subject, together with a statement of Madame A.'s defection to the Church of England, and the expression of an opinion, that it would much conduce to the restoration of union with the Greek Church, if the acts of the chaplain at Geneva could be disavowed by ecclesiastical authority. In reply to this letter, the Bishop of London, after making inquiries of the chaplain referred to, expressed his opinion, that, under the circumstances of the case, the lady having satisfied the chaplain on her religious principles, and on the grounds on which she had determined to leave her own Church, the chaplain was not at liberty to refuse her admission to communion; that "if there be a fundamental difference between the

Greek Church and our own, there must be, in our judgment, good reason for a person's seeking to be admitted to our communion; but if not, there is no reason why the members of one Church should not be admitted to communicate in another." (p. cx.) In a subsequent communication the bishop stated his opinion, that "if a person of good life and conversation presents himself to a clergyman of the Church of England, declaring his assent to the doctrines of that Church, and desiring to be admitted as a communicant, I conceive that it is the duty of that clergyman to admit him. Whether he is a convert from any other Church or not, is a question which concerns the conscience of the party himself, but which the clergyman, admitting him to communion, is not called upon to determine." (p. cxii.)

This language appears to us deficient in precision, and liable to inferences which the bishop could scarcely have intended to approve. We are of opinion, that the principle laid down without any limitation, that "whether he is a *convert* from any other Church or *not*, is a question which concerns only the party himself," is, as thus laid down, one which cannot be safely sustained, inasmuch as it would permit a clergyman to admit at any time to communion, any member of a dissenting community who might wish to receive the sacrament in the English Church, without forsaking his own communion, provided he were able to assent to the doctrines of the Church of England. And thus it would sanction a clergyman in doing what he is *forbidden* to do by the Canons of the Church. There are a number of errors and faults condemned in some of the first twelve Canons of 1603, which ought to exclude certain persons from the communion of the Church of England, even if they were willing to receive that communion; and by Canons xxvii. and xxviii. not only are open sectarians to be refused communion on pain of suspension, but even those who desert the communion in an adjoining parish are to be refused, and remitted back to their own parish for communion. Nor is it to be said, that a clergyman of the Church of England is bound to admit to communion any person who has not hitherto been received to communion, merely if that person declares "his assent to the doctrines of that Church," although he may know him to hold some decided heresy, and, perhaps, to identify that error with the doctrines of the Church of England. We are persuaded that the Bishop of London could not have intended to maintain any such positions as these. He could not have intended to be understood as sanctioning a clergyman of the Church of England in receiving to communion a person who was known by himself to be guilty of *schism*, in separating himself from the communion of his own priest or



bishop ; or of any such grievous offence. We think it would not be reasonable to suppose that the bishop could have intended to sanction any such doctrines, which might perhaps be gathered from the mere wording of his letter ; and though it would have been desirable that his expressions should have been more carefully limited, still we must remember that the letter was a private letter addressed to a private clergyman, and, therefore, perhaps, expressed with less precision than if it had been meant for publication. The terms in which the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Bishop of London concurred, in giving Dr. Tomlinson letters to the Eastern Church, and subsequently in the arrangements consequent on the establishment of the Jerusalem bishopric, prove that it was not the intention of those prelates to promote or encourage secessions from the Oriental Church.

But, after all, when we come to the real question at issue, whether it is or is not allowable to receive persons to the communion of the Church of England, who may wish to leave the communion of the Russian Church on certain grounds of objection to some of its practices or tenets, and of preference for those of the tenets of the English Church, it must be confessed that the question is a complicated one ; and we must express an opinion, that it is one on which good men may think somewhat differently. In the first place, there is this consideration to be attended to,—that if there be a diversity of view and practice on such a question in the English Church, the Russian Church herself is not agreed in theory on the question, whether the Oriental Church is indeed the whole Catholic Church, or only a part of it ; and, therefore, whether the members of the English and the Roman Churches should be received as orthodox, or as heretics. On this great point in theory, the Russian Church is as much divided, as the English can possibly be as to its view of the Russian Church and its doctrines ; though in *practice* it appears at present (in Russia, at least) that no one is received from the Latin or the English Church, to their communion, except as a heretic, after anathematizing the alleged heresies of his own communion. Now, this being the case, it is plain that there is so much estrangement and misunderstanding between the Churches, that it is impossible to apply the ordinary rules of the intercommunion of Churches where communion is in actual operation. Indeed, the fact is, that, as things are at present, *a person cannot be received from the Russian communion without forsaking the Russian communion* ; for, those who are of the English communion are not recognized by the authorities as of the Russian, until after they have pronounced anathema on the English communion as heretical. Thus, then, the fact of joining the English communion is in the eyes of the

present ecclesiastical authorities of Russia, an act which cuts a person off *ipso facto* from their communion; but in this they are certainly in grave error, and act schismatically; nor does it seem reasonable, that, through *their error and schism*, any persons should be prevented from uniting themselves to what we ourselves know and believe to be an orthodox, and apostolical, and catholic branch of the Church of Christ. Madame A. might have held errors on various points; but, as far as relates to the mere question of her *forsaking* the communion of the Church of Russia for that of England, she appears to have understood the principles of her own Church better than the deacon her antagonist; and to have felt, that, in holding communion with the Church of England, she was *obliged* to leave that of Russia; and, putting aside the particular views of Madame A. or their mode of expression, we would say, that if a person united himself to the Church of England, and were virtually cut off from the Church of Russia by so doing, and if that person were to *avow* that he *preferred* the tenets of the Church of England to those of the Russian Church, and that he thought the latter in some points unscriptural, superstitious, or erroneous, there could be no reason, merely on this account, unless his doctrines should be actually contrary to those of the Church of England, to refuse him communion. It would be a different case if he were a member of a Church which was in direct communion with us as a formally-recognized part of the Christian body; it would be inconsistent and schismatical to receive any one as a convert from such a body; e.g. from the Irish, Scottish, or American Churches; but here the case is different. Here was an instance in which there were two opposed duties prescribed by Christian charity. One duty was to enter into communion with that English Church which was believed to be Christian; another duty was to remain united with the Church in which the person had been baptized; but then this latter Church not only *prohibited* the discharge of the duty of Christian charity towards the former, but did so on the ground of differences in practice and doctrines in which she herself was decidedly in the *wrong* for the most part. Now, in a case of this kind we think that the claims of the former communion preponderate; and that a person is free from blame who acts on his conviction of the doctrinal truth of the branch of the Church to which he unites himself, and is sound in his view of that truth; even though in so doing he forsakes virtually the communion in which he has been baptized.

It appears to us, that Mr. Palmer, throughout this whole transaction, proceeded on a hypothesis, which was not borne out by fact. He appears to have gone to Russia, with the real

intention of restoring the communion which has been interrupted between the Eastern and Western Church; but he went to work, as it appears to us, ignoring the fact of such an interruption, and claimed communion as from a Church essentially united to his own. He appears to have been unprepared for the view which he found prevalent in high quarters, that the English Church was "Luthero-Calvinistic," and that her members should not be regarded as entitled to communicate with the Eastern Church. He proceeded with Madame A. and her daughters, as guilty of schism, in separating from the Russian Church, and uniting themselves to the English, exactly as if the Russian and English Churches had been in full communion. Having succeeded in persuading one of these ladies to join herself to the Russian Church again, he had the mortification of finding that this very young lady was, on her reception into the Russian Church, compelled virtually to condemn the English as heretical, and to separate from its communion. And yet he still proceeded to claim communion from the synod of the Russian Church, as if there were no kind of established principle to prevent his reception. We must confess, that, after examining the case between Mr. Palmer and Madame A., it seems to us, that the proceedings of the former ignored altogether the facts of the interruption of communion and its causes, or else were carried on without a sufficient acquaintance with the real state of things; and, as far as the conduct of the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Bishop of London, and the Chaplain of Geneva, was concerned, we think that they had more reason on their side than our author, and that they looked more at the actual state of the case, than he appears to have done. They saw that the case was not so simple as our author thought. He proceeded to work straightforward, as if the Russian and the English Churches were just in the same relations to us as the Irish or the Scottish Churches. But these prelates saw, and rightly saw, the case in a different point of view, and looked at it somewhat more practically than our author. We do not say that the question was without difficulty, or that it was capable of a settlement which would have been thoroughly satisfactory, or which would have completely reconciled all apparent or real duties in different directions; but we do think that Mr. Palmer was much more evidently mistaken in his view of the matter, than Madame A. or the Genevan Chaplain.

Of course we put aside the particular details of Madame A.'s views. We dislike several of her expressions and tenets, as far as we understand them, and do not consider them consistent with truth; but this has nothing to do with the general question, whether a member of the Russian may be received to the English

communion as a convert: i. e., as disapproving of some tenets and practices of the Russian, and acknowledging contrary truths in the English Church.

It is a *fact*—a lamentable fact—that the Universal Church is divided in communion: and that errors and superstitions of various kinds prevail in various parts. We do not pretend to exemption from all fault in our own Church: our discipline is decidedly defective; yet we trust that, whatever our faults may be, our branch of the Catholic Church is, at least, equal, on the whole, to any other branch; and we do distinctly see many points in which she evinces a more faithful zeal for the Gospel of Jesus Christ, than other Churches do. We find her far more jealous of the purity of the worship of the true God than other Churches are—more hostile to heathen and idolatrous principles and practices—less carnal in her conceptions of Religion. And we have a duty to this Church, and through her to the Gospel itself—not to give way by subjection to any who seek dominion over our faith, as if the Gospel came unto them only or proceeded forth from them—but to maintain openly, and in the face of the Christian world, those truths which are taught by the Church of England, and which have been forgotten, corrupted, or explained away in the Churches of Russia or of Rome.

It is our fixed opinion, that the blessing of God can never be expected to rest on any attempts to promote the union of Christians, which proceed on any compromise of great truths. The union of the Church is most earnestly to be desired; but we believe that it is best promoted by the acquisition of more knowledge and greater enlightenment, combined with a fidelity to known and acknowledged truth; and we have no confidence in the success of any direct attempts which individuals or even Churches may make *at present*, for the attainment of that desirable object.

In the instance of the learned and ingenious individual whose attempts are recorded in the volume before us, we think the circumstances under which the attempt was made, afforded little reasonable prospect of success. Here was a private individual—a Deacon of the Church of England, who went to Russia seeking for communion with the Russian Church. He was at once rejected, on the plea that he had not brought with him the letters commendatory of his Bishop. He afterwards appeared again in the character of a deacon, deputed by Bishop Luscombe of Paris, with letters commendatory to all Catholic Bishops, asking them to admit him to communion in their dioceses. These commendatory letters were subsequently altered, and erasures made in them with Bishop Luscombe's consent, which in itself was rather an untoward circumstance. Besides this, it happened most

unluckily, that just as the Deacon was expounding his view of the Catholic and Apostolic character of the English Church, in the way calculated to present her most favourably to the Russians, a volume of sermons by Bishop Luscombe himself was put by Madame A. into the hands of those who were in authority, in which that worthy prelate made a vigorous and perhaps not very well-judged onslaught on the doctrines of Romanism, in such a way as grievously scandalized the Russian authorities. So that our author was again placed in the disagreeable predicament of having the authorities of his own Church quoted against his explanations of her doctrines. The Synod had just before this refused to enter on his case, because the application of "a single deacon," backed by the letters of "a single Bishop," as expressing only the opinions of individuals, was not matter of synodal deliberation, and the British Church had not expressed by any synodal act a desire for the restoration of communion. On being applied to by the author to appoint a person to reconcile him to the Greek Church, provided his heresies could be pointed out, a certain Archpriest was selected by the synod, who coolly went to work on the assumption, that the English Church was heretical, and that our author must confess it to be so, before he could be received into the Russian communion, and he grounded his charges especially on the works of our author's *own bishop*, whose letters commendatory he bore. Thus attacked, our author endeavoured to establish his orthodoxy to the satisfaction of the Archpriest, by pronouncing anathema on a number of doctrines of the Lutherans, Calvinists, and others; but was assured that all would not do, unless he acknowledged that the English Church held these heresies. Our author, then, had no remedy left, but to appeal to the Bishops of his own Church, to declare whether he had not done right in saying anathema to those doctrines and tenets; and so he left Russia to obtain a sanction for his anathemas from the Bishops of Scotland.

Our author is, perhaps, too ready to resort to anathemas, which he has, before now, introduced at times and under circumstances in which they were not understood. In truth, anathemas are not quite as customary now as they were twelve hundred years ago—at least in the mouths of private individuals; and what might be awful and solemn even now, if denounced by the authority of a great synod on some great occasion, is only regarded as presumptuous or uncharitable when volunteered by a private person. Anathemas are not lightly to be thrown out: they are only to be used when there is some grievous false doctrine invading the Church, and there is prospect of benefit from their use.

In 1846, our author, duly fortified with letters from Bishop Luscombe, which appear pretty plainly to have been written while the Deacon was at his elbow, landed in Scotland, and proceeded to lay before the Scottish Bishops his appeal, requesting them to support him by their authority in the course he had taken in anathematizing certain doctrines, and also to agree to certain Articles of discipline which he had drawn up, and which he wished to have sanctioned by synodical authority.

Now, without doubt, it would have been some aid to Mr. Palmer's object, had the synod of Scottish Bishops been induced to give synodical authority to the string of anathemas which he had uttered before the Archpriest in St. Petersburg. It would have given weight to his representations of the real character of the English Church, and would have relieved him from the imputation of merely advancing his individual view of the question. But then, on the other hand, the matter may have appeared in a different view to the Scottish Bishops. They probably looked on Mr. Palmer as in some degree a visionary; and they did not feel that there was any particular obligation upon them to enter on the questions at issue between him and the Archpriest, or Madame A. They did not recognize in this individual deacon of the Church of England, or of Bishop Luscombe, or apparently even in Bishop Luscombe himself, any such claim or authority as should induce them to enter on the thorny discussion, in which our deacon proposed to engage them. There might be various prudential considerations connected with the state of their own Churches, which might induce them to think it more prudent not to volunteer a series of definitions on doctrines such as Mr. Palmer put before them. They might feel, and we think justly feel, that there was something objectionable in placing before them a lengthened series of propositions composed by a stranger, and calling on them to pronounce whether these propositions were right or wrong. In the Articles of discipline too, there were passages which indirectly conveyed the strongest censure on the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Bishop of London. On the whole, the Scottish Bishops, as might have been expected, paid very little attention to the matter of the appeal, contenting themselves with denying the right of the deacon, as deputy of Bishop Luscombe, or even of Bishop Luscombe himself, to any place in the synod; and not even entering on the examination of the propositions which Mr. Palmer was anxious to have approved by them.

We do really think, that the Scottish Bishops cannot be blamed for not entering on the examination of these propositions. They have quite enough on their hands to occupy their attention,



without opening up new difficulties and causes of discussion. The propositions against which Mr. Palmer denounced anathema, are in some instances couched in such language, or invite such questions, as may very fairly make any one in authority pause before he passes an opinion upon them. It appears to us that several of the points which Mr. Palmer has anathematized, are not deserving of so strong a censure. Besides this, synods of bishops, when they *do* proceed to condemn doctrines, may fairly claim the right of employing their own language, and of not being tied down to that of any particular individual. We think that Mr. Palmer's anathemas in various instances raise into articles of faith what are, after all, only opinions more or less tolerable; and it does not at all follow, that because he might have somewhat hastily, and without consultation with persons in authority, committed himself to particular language on many doctrinal subjects, the Scottish Bishops were to engage themselves in discussions on his propositions.

It would not have been sufficient for his purpose, if the Scottish Bishops had merely declared that Mr. Palmer's anathemas did not cut him off from the Church; because the objection would still have been made by the Greek Church that such a declaration might imply a toleration of opinions directly contrary to his. Nor, again, would it have promoted his object, if some of his anathemas had been approved and some disapproved, which would probably have been the case if an actual examination had been made of his propositions. So that, on the whole, we think the Scottish Bishops have acted most discreetly, and most in furtherance of Mr. Palmer's real objects, by refusing to take his propositions into consideration.

The truth is, that our author, with the best possible intentions, undertook a task which was somewhat above his power. He appears to have supposed that every one in the world would enter into his designs and plans with an ardour and interest equal to his own; and he was not prepared for the difficulties, delays, and caution of elder men, who either did not see so far as he did, or perhaps saw somewhat further, and were unwilling to embark in negotiations for the union of Churches under his guidance. It seems not to have occurred to his sanguine mind that the Bishops of Scotland might refuse to examine or act on his appeal, or he would perhaps scarcely have committed himself in the way related in the following passage, which records his reply to the Archpriest above-mentioned, on the latter pressing him to "anathematize the Thirty-nine Articles as being manifestly heretical, and together with them, the Bishop from whom I came, and his Church."

"I answered that I had done my duty, as I hoped, by professing that truth which I had learned from the British Church, according to the measure of my knowledge and ability, and by saying anathema to the contrary heresies, at the bidding of the Eastern Church: that if any positive doubt existed as to the Bishop from whom I came, and his Church, whether they had really taught me in the Thirty-nine Articles, or otherwise, that truth which I professed to have learned from them, or those contrary heresies to which I had said anathema, my necessary and only course was to appeal back to the Bishop from whom I had come, and to his Church . . . that for these reasons I appealed to the Bishop from whom I had come, and to the synod of the Scottish Bishops who consecrated him: that if they owned and approved that confession of our faith which I had made in Russia, I could not reasonably be blamed for having refused to anathematize a Church which turned out to be orthodox: but if, on the other hand, they either allowed those heresies which the Russian synod objected to me, and which I had anathematized, to be the true sense of the Thirty-nine Articles, or attempted by an evasive silence to yoke faith and heresy together, I would return to Russia, and seek to be reconciled by the prescribed form from the Scottish Church, as from heresy."—p. 282.

We must be permitted to express our regret, that the writer before us should have allowed himself to commit so great an act of imprudence as is here related. We think that he had no right to assume that the Scottish Bishops *must speak* at his demand, and pronounce judgment on a set of propositions placed before them by him, on the alternative of his separating himself from their communion as heretics! We must say that this strikes us as in no small degree presumptuous, in dictating to the synod of Bishops of a National Church, what their course of action should be, under penalty of being regarded as *heretics*. One would think that the writer, instead of being a deacon in the Church, claimed *papal* authority; for really nothing less could obviate the charge of extreme presumption. We very much regret to be obliged to speak thus: but we cannot help expressing some surprise at the mode in which this deacon has thought himself authorized to deal with the chief rulers of the Church; and we are disposed to think that one who could thus act, was deficient in judgment, at least. His conduct, indeed, appears to have been, in various instances, precipitate, though his zeal and ingenuity were undoubtedly great.

From the above passage it will appear that Mr. Palmer has pledged himself, that if his appeal is not received and supported by the Bishops of Scotland, he will be reconciled to the Oriental Church, as a convert from the Scottish Church. His appeal has, as we learn from the volume before us, been set aside or not supported; so that we suppose we may expect shortly to hear of the

fulfilment of his promise. One very significant action is repeatedly referred to in this volume—the declaration of the author, that he has arrived at the conviction that on one important point the doctrine of the Greek Church is irreconcilable with that of the English, namely, in the procession of the Holy Ghost; and that the Greek Church is right, and the Latin Church wrong! We presume, therefore, that our author will not long continue a deacon of the *English Church*. The author goes so far as to express his opinion in a letter to the Archpriest, which he has published in his Appeal, that the Western Church (including the English and Scottish Churches) “persists obstinately in maintaining a formal heresy, as far as the expression goes,” by using the addition. “*Filioque*” in the Creed; and that she “is justly rejected by the Eastern Church from her communion, until she return to the œcumenical standard of faith,” (p. 433.) So that he tells the Scottish Church, in the Appeal which he makes for its judgment in his favour, that it is *heretical* on the doctrine of the procession; and that he is of opinion that it is rightly excommunicated by the Eastern Church. We certainly do marvel that, under these circumstances, our author should have appealed to the Scottish Church, as *his Church*, or as possessing any authority; and with his present views we presume that *he* is of opinion that it is of very little consequence whether Russians are admitted as converts, or as members of a sister Church, to our communion; because either act would be wrong. If the English Church teach heresy, and is “rightly excommunicated,” it is not, of course, lawful to communicate with it at all.

To pass on, however, from the author's personal views or actions to a more general question, *the result of his exertions on the whole*. We think it must be admitted by every one, that Mr. Palmer has not only evinced an energy and perseverance in pursuit of a very great object, which entitles him to the most cordial sympathy and respect, notwithstanding his defects of judgment on some points; but has actually materially promoted the object which he had in view. It is true that he has failed in being actually admitted on his own terms into communion with the Russian Church; but the time has evidently not yet come for the realization of communion by any such act; much remains to be done before it can be successful. On the other hand, as far as Mr. Palmer's case is concerned, it does not seem that he has been refused communion in such a way as increases the difficulties and obstacles, but rather the reverse. While, in addition, a very large amount of information has been obtained and circulated in both countries, which will, we trust, prepare the way for future negotiations. At present it appears to us that the

English Church is herself deficient in so many particulars, that she can scarcely have the weight with other parts of the universal Church less doctrinally pure than she is, which would suffice to place in security her principles, which ought not to be compromised, and could not be compromised without sin. While our discipline generally is so much relaxed, and sin is so rarely re-proved,—while the spirit of worldliness is, by means of patronage, so much and widely disseminated amongst us, we could not have, in conference with the Orientals, sufficient moral vigour to require the reform of superstitions which prevail amongst them, and which we ought not to recognize. And, in fine, until we have obtained some degree of liberty for the Church, so as to be able to proceed regularly and synodically for the reform of abuses in our own Church, and for the restoration of communion with other Churches, it would be quite hopeless to attempt any direct negotiations with foreign communities.

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ART. IV.—*The Caxtons, a Family Picture.* By Sir E. BULWER LYTTON, Bart., Author of "*Rienzi, &c.*" Blackwood. 1849.

A VERY charming work has Sir Edward herein presented to us: whether a great one or no, we cannot so easily undertake to decide; whether beneficial or injurious, from a moral point of view, is a point perhaps still more open to question. All the well-known Bulwerian "agréments" are here: first, that charm of style so pre-eminently characteristic of this conscientious artist;—conscientious, that is, as far as the intellectual labour is concerned, requisite for the completeness of any artistic creation. Then, too, we have humour—humour of an amiable and kindly nature, scarcely Shakspearian, but indubitably Sterne-like; and we have that gentle pathos, which from true humour lies never far:

"Erin, the smile and the tear in thine eye!"

And equally conspicuous is that intimate knowledge of society, more especially in so-called "high life," which our author exhibited in his first successful production, "*Pelham*," now matured, and further elevated, by the influence of a more sober philosophy than Sir Edward had then attained unto: not but that this philosophy is still irregular and vague. We shall not find here the wild grandeur of the rich and southern "*Zanoni*," a wierd hymn to the mystical, as its chanter would perhaps be pleased to designate it, nor the truly exquisite beauty, the high poetry, of that one creation of our author's, which has been more or less slighted as a picture- or a lady's-book, but which will certainly live and be treasured with delight, when many of his more ambitious achievements are forgotten: we mean, "*The Pilgrims of the Rhine*." For, be it remarked, that Sir Edward, generally so prosaic in his miscalled poetry, is often a true, ay, and a great poet in his prose! There is a flowing cadence in his exquisitely balanced sentences, which has ever a mystic charm for the soul, almost equalling the musical effects of our most favoured bards, only inferior to them in that concentration of thought and expression, which stamps the poet "*par éminence*," and must ever be his more especial heritage. There is a sentence in this very book before us, which may exemplify our meaning. On page 133 of the first volume we read: "It is not study alone

that produces a writer: it is *intensity*. In the mind, as in yonder chimney, to make the fire burn hot and quick, you must narrow the draught." Now, should not our author be conscious that his draught is not thus narrowed? that this hotness and quickness are wanting to him? and that consequently he can never be a poet, in the literal sense of the term? But to return to our more immediate theme. In "The Caxtons," Sir Edward has again yielded another evidence of his amazing versatility; though in that versatility there remains not only a secret, but even an apparent, unity: for we, for our own part, detected our author before we had read three pages of this last tale of his, when appearing anonymously in Blackwood's Magazine, though we have heard other folks declare that they never should have therein recognized his intellectual handiwork. This declaration surprises us; for we find almost as many of the old faults as of the old beauties in this production. Here is that love for melodramatic effects, which will scarcely ever rest satisfied without ending a chapter with a note of admiration! here, too, is that fond display of recondite learning or odd reading, call it what you may, which was ever one of our author's foibles: here is the occasional bigness of utterance and puffiness of phrase, which betray the too manifest ambition to "say something very fine indeed:" here, to wind up our catalogue of grievances for the present, is that faint and shadowy philosophy,—which seems to hover between heaven and hell, not far from Milton's "Limbo,"—which establishes the unhappy certainty of the fact, that Sir Edward is so far subject to "the spirit of his age" as to be, like his own "Trevanion," without "a conviction."

This circumstance alone, in the eyes of some, perhaps of many, should prevent any lenient treatment on our part of this highly talented "man of the nineteenth century." But we believe charity to be the safer guide in this, and many instances, than too stern and too negative an orthodoxy. No doubt we must adhere to truth, but then truth is by no means so *limited* in such cases as some people imagine it. Our sentence would *not* be that of truth, but only that of bigotry, were we to denounce "The Caxtons" as a directly antichristian work; and yet there is much in it which is antichristian, and which we shall feel it our duty to reprehend severely. But shall we close our eyes to the real merits of the work before us, because it contains much of which we must highly disapprove? Shall we therefore ignore the humour, the pathos, the grace, the elegance, the knowledge of the human heart in many aspects, the partial healthfulness of tone, which *are* therein displayed? A landscape may be devoid of sunshine,—



(every moral landscape *must* be, on which the Sun of Righteousness shines not,)—and yet the stars may shed their beams there with a softened light, a light derived from the great absent luminary; and thus those Christian graces of sincerity, loving-kindness, meekness, endurance, and love, which are manifested in the various characters that occupy our author's scene, may well evoke our sympathy, reminding us Christians, indirectly, as they must do, of the very Fountain of all graces. For much may be religious, ay, and Christian in effect, which is not directly and professedly so; and, with all its deficiencies, its morbid sentimentality, and its very shadowy philosophizing, the novel-literature of our own age and country is *not* deficient in this *religiosity* (we dislike coined words, but this serves our purpose for the nonce); less deficient certainly than that of any *other* age or country; which is not saying much!

We have recently devoted some pages to the recognition of these good purposes and honest intentions in our two great living humorists, Dickens and Thackeray, the former of whom is now presenting us with a delightful work. We are much pleased, by the bye, with the total absence of mean jealousy or envy, displayed by Sir Edward Lytton in occasional references to his great contemporary's creations. Thus we find in the second volume of "The Caxtons," "Are there any of you, my readers, who have not read the Life of Robert Hall? If so, *in the words of the great Captain Cuttle*, 'When found, make a note of it!'" And again in the third volume, "The apparition showed me my way in the rocks to the great '*Battle of Life*.'" Such references are alike honourable to the praiser and the praised; and to us they were the more welcome because we laboured under an indefinite impression, derived, we think, from a certain preface to a very silly novel of Mr. James's, yclept "The Stepmother," that he and Sir Edward had arrived at the conclusion that Mr. Dickens was wholly devoid of humour; which, be it said without offence, would be, like the frog and the crickets agreeing that the nightingale had no voice. The joke may seem a strange one, but one of our most respectable contemporaries, with whom on many points we sympathize sincerely, and whose earnestness and high spirit we very gladly acknowledge, "The Morning Post," is decidedly of this opinion, that Mr. Dickens has no humour whatever, and has not hesitated to express it frequently. After all, every body cannot be expected to understand a joke, and "Pickwick" *may* only be a theme for grave reflection and awful censure with certain earnest and true-hearted philosophers, to whom we may still wish God speed! Meanwhile, we are delighted

to exonerate our old friend Bulwer—friend in a literary sense—from any tendencies to envy; more especially as we are bound to acknowledge that his trial has been severe. Until Dickens waded into our novel hemisphere, Sir Edward, or rather let us say “Bulwer,” reigned supreme. “*Pacis princeps*” was he, since the ~~decease~~ <sup>decease</sup> of the northern wizard: his last new book, whatever it might be, was the all but exclusive theme of novel-readers’ tongues; no man was so much written about, whether for praise or censure; no man so prominently occupied the public literary mind. Then came a change, a startling change. The mirth-inspiring “*Pickwick*” started into being, and Bulwerian philosophy sank awhile into the shade. Was not this a trial, and might not a passing bitterness be pardoned? If we mistake not, a glimpse of some such feeling was afforded us in that very clever and very interesting production, “*Night and Morning*,” but here, if ever, is the place to say, “*Let bygones be bygones*,” surely, “*All is well that ends well*.”

So, to resume the thread of our discourse, (we own that we are too discursive,) our existing novel-literature is not wholly unworthy of a Christian’s regard. True charity and lowly-mindedness (remember “*Pinch*” and “*Cuttle*”) are the virtues Mr. Dickens delineates with most sympathy and delight; and Mr. Thackeray discharges a less pleasing, but not less needful, duty in painting the world of society as it is, and turning it inside out, with all its meanness, and selfishness, and folly. Then we have the thoroughly English manliness and high honour of “*James*,” which never shrinks from the avowal of religious sentiment wherever needed. By the bye, Mr. James is absurdly underrated by some of our contemporaries, “*The Athenæum*” and that small crew: we may strive to do justice some day to the author of “*Attila*,” “*The Gipsy*,” and “*Morley Ernstein*.” Would he only emulate Sir Edward’s external graces, would he only resolve never to write without a *purpose*, would he only be a conscientious artist, in a word,—which is a very different thing from being a conscientious man,—why then, he might take and hold his post among the foremost of our standard novelists! Then we have Mrs. Marsh, whose *Emilia Wyndham* is surely indirectly Christian, at the least, in its beautiful spirit of resignation and life-long endurance. This lady writes too much and too hastily, and, alas! sometimes too affectedly; but with all this she is an artist, and an artist of a very superior order. Others might be named with Christian tendencies and aspirations; but we do not wish to prove too much, and should mention, as a set-off, the existence of such an authoress as the so-called “*Currer Bell*,” as

a sample of a more mischievous class. Her "Jane Eyre" was emphatically a *bad* book, though a clever one (by no means so clever, however, as a certain class of criticlings proclaimed it !): her recent "Shirley" is at once dull and odious, though, of course, egregiously belauded and bepuffed: it is far worse than a mere negative failure.

But, to return at last from these digressions to our author and his new work,—“The Caxtons,” we proclaim it, will live, and will be honoured long. Despite occasional affectation, despite some displays of morbid sentiment, despite the worst of all deficiencies, the absence of any true *conviction* in the writer’s mind on the highest of all themes,—this is a creation of genius, picturesque, yet real and life-like, the rich fruit of its author’s summertime, which will not soon wither or pass away. It professes to be the autobiography of a certain “Pisistratus Caxton,” son of a poor gentleman and great scholar, who is moved by a certain wildness of his animal spirits, as well as by the want of “cash,” to emigrate to Australia; whence he returns, after the absence of ten years, with a reasonable fortune, marries his pretty cousin Blanche, and so settles comfortably for life as a gentleman farmer. “Autobiography,” did we say? No! that is not the right word: for we read less of Pisistratus himself than of others; his father Austin or Augustin, his high-spirited uncle Roland, his speculative uncle Jack, his sweet mother, and his mysterious cousin, Vivian, or Gower, or Herbert de Caxton, by whatever name we choose to greet him: and therefore this is in very truth that “Family Picture” which its author’s title-page proclaims it; and the many passages therein redolent of home and its affections are the things which most endear it to our sympathies. The most prominent characteristic of this production, that which would first strike the general reader, is its obvious “setting in” for the humorous; that is, not the humour of Dickens, nor of Jerrold, but that of Rabelais, of Sterne, of Jean Paul, and more especially of Southey, whose “Doctor” we suspect Sir Edward of having read *very recently*; in fact, only just before entering on the execution of this book. Not that there is not much in Sir Edward’s own heart and mind which would not take kindly to such learned banter and good-natured ridicule of the world and its follies. He does not quite stand on the intellectual height of the great bard of Keswick, who had so thorough and so earnest a contempt for the public. (Have our readers read the beautiful chapter in “The Doctor,” which deals with this *grave* theme?) For truly we recognize Southey’s mind, as one of the very noblest and loftiest ever possessed by a human being, and trust to do some justice to him in connexion with his interesting biography,

now publishing. But, though that distinctness of thought, whether for good or evil, right or wrong, common to all great poets, and more especially to be noted in Southey, is *not* Sir Edward's heritage, yet his knowledge of the world is real and extensive, far more practical than that of the bard of Keswick; and his learning, if not so profound, is scarcely less versatile, while his natural powers of humour, exemplified in this as well as in earlier works, do not place him far below the level of the author of "Queen Mary's Christening," and the exquisite "Queen Orraca and the Martyrs Five."

But, after all, though we *like* the humour of "The Caxtons," we are not quite sure what it does *there*; whether its presence can be satisfactorily accounted for. In many parts of this book Pisistratus, its author, and we suppose hero, is abundantly earnest and passionate, and quite forgets to emulate Rabelais: and we cannot but entertain doubts whether these strong affections, sometimes melodramatic in expression, assimilate very naturally with the humouristic strain, which is taken up again whenever the more violent emotions subside into temporary quietude. We suppose Sir Edward would tell us that Pisistratus has inherited much of the natural humour of his father; but then this should have been more clearly shown us in the course of the work: *there* he is rather made to talk like a pragmatical philosopher, whenever he takes any part in a discussion, than like a humourist. Certain it is, that no such union of passion and humour will be discovered in Rabelais, or Sterne, or Southey, or any other humouristic writer we know of, save and except Byron in his "Don Juan;" and that pre-eminently wicked book is obviously an exception to all rules, and plumes itself, as it were, on the transgression of them. This combination certainly strikes us as unreal; and yet we feel that from a certain point of view it may be defensible. Pisistratus is not represented as a genius. Why *should* he write "at first hand?" Why should he not, by an effort of the mind, throw himself into the attitude of a literary humourist, even if such attitude be not natural to him? He cannot help seeing his father's foibles. How natural that he should disguise them beneath this mask of kindly humours, or rather, that he should pitch his own tone in unison with that of his progenitor! But these arguments "pro" and "con," which might be extended "ad infinitum," are leading us wide of the mark; and we are bound to remember both the exigencies and the dignity of "the English Review."

Without further ramblings, then, let us to the work before us. It commences with a scene which recalls most vividly the first in "Tristram Shandy;" and yet has, in some respects, more

affinity with that of Southey's charming "Doctor." It is free from the coarseness which is Sterne's chief bane, but not altogether free from vulgarity,—vulgarity most unnatural to Sir Edward, into which he has only been seduced by his resolution to be sternly humouristic. (This is not meant for a pun: Heaven forbid!) Such a phrase from the scholar and gentleman, Austin Caxton, as, "Why, my wife is *a precious woman!*" at once appeared unnatural to us, and seemed only the more so when we made the closer acquaintance of its speaker. It is the birth of "Pisistratus," the narrator, which is herein set forth; upon the whole, with no little spirit. The gentle mother, and the well-meaning but wrong-headed "Squills," the doctor, are adroitly placed before us, with a few touches. And so the scholar, Augustine (rather a bore he must have been! we should shudder to *know* such a man), soon displays his amiable qualities, and makes himself, more or less, agreeable to the reader. His winning of his wife is happily suggested: the christening too is not ill-treated, though, of course, in that light tone which indicates that our author is wanting in "conviction." The first family anecdote, however, which has much interest for us, is that of the broken flower-pot, which is simply and charmingly told, and which illustrates "the sanctity and the happiness of self-sacrifice." We refer our readers to the book for it. "Pisistratus" grows, and his intellectual growth is far too rapid: at eight years old he is a "Chinese man," a premature philosopher, and is very wisely packed off to school, where he soon gets rid of his loftier morbid imaginings. Our author writes most sensibly under this head (vol. i. p. 41). "The ordeal for talent is school: restore the stunted manikin to the growing child,—and *then* let the child, if it can, healthily, hardily, naturally, work its slow way up into greatness. If greatness be denied it, it will at least be a man, and that is better than to be a little Johnny Styles" (a child of genius) "all its life,—an oak in a pill-box." May all fond mothers and doting fathers act on this sound advice! Here ends the first book or part. Why this work should be divided into parts, we cannot precisely see; but Sir Edward likes the theatrical, likes to lower the curtain and draw it up again, and sometimes pop it up and down most unexpectedly: and such little stage starts are excusable enough, after all, *if* nature and truth are not sacrificed in their attainment. But we proceed. The school, with its German master, Dr. Hermann, is graphically suggested rather than portrayed, and some amusing matter occurs as to Greek names, which, according to Dr. Hermann, should be Greek indeed to the vulgar, even "Thoukudídes" and "Peisistratos." Then uncle Jack comes on the stage: and admi-

rably developed is this compound of humanity, and speculation, and selfishness, in which the latter quality most decidedly preponderates. His sister's admiration of him, for having robbed her of a doll for some charitable purpose, when they were both children, is highly humorous and life-like. "So like him, so good!" she would often say pensively." (See p. 63.) Now, uncle Jack, having failed in his attempts on other people's pockets, has set his heart on making a "millionnaire," that is, a victim of Augustine Caxton, the scholar; and this after sundry efforts he accomplishes. But, for the present, he baits the hook in vain: the man of learning will not rise. A charming little anecdote occurs here, which we must needs appropriate to our pages. It is a passage in natural history. The Caxtons' comfortable country-house, on the outskirts of a village, has just been described; so has its garden. This garden has a walk, on which Austin "deambulates."

"In these deambulations, as he called them, he had generally a companion so extraordinary, that I expect to be met with a hillalu of incredulous contempt when I specify it. Nevertheless, I vow and protest that it is strictly true, and no invention of an exaggerating romance. It happened one day that my mother had coaxed Mr. Caxton to walk with her to market. By the way they passed a sward of green, on which sundry little boys were engaged upon the lapidation or stoning of a lame duck. It seemed that the duck was to have been taken to market, when it was discovered not only to be lame, but dyspeptic: perhaps some weed had disagreed with its ganglionic apparatus, poor thing. However that be, the good wife had declared that the duck was good for nothing; and, upon the petition of her children, it had been consigned to them, for a little innocent amusement, and to keep them out of harm's way. My mother declared that she never saw her lord and master roused to such animation. He dispersed the urchins, released the duck, carried it home, kept it in a basket by the fire, fed it and physicked it till it recovered; and then it was consigned to the square pond. But, lo! the duck knew its benefactor; and, whenever my father appeared outside his door, it would catch sight of him, flap from the pond, gain the lawn, and hobble after him (for it never quite recovered the use of its left leg), till it reached the walk by the peaches; and then sometimes it would sit, gravely watching its master's deambulations; sometimes stroll by his side, and, at all events, never leave him till, at his return home, he fed it with his own hands; and, quacking her peaceful adieu, the nymph then retired to her natural element."

Is not this admirably told? How it would have delighted Southey's heart! It reminds us of Simrock's story of "The Dog of Bretten," which we have not space to narrate just at



present. Let us pass on. Uncle Jack's sayings and doings are all very humorously reported. A little political anecdote anent this worthy will not "come in" amiss, to vary our pages. A Tory Squire has attacked the existing state of things: Uncle Jack, always anxious to sympathize with the last speaker, chimes in, but without having the least notion whether Squire Rollick is a Tory or a Whig. Jack commences, then, by repeating the Squire's ejaculation:—

" 'Not a county newspaper to advocate the rights of ———' Here my uncle stopped, as if at a loss, and whispered in my ear, 'What are his politics?' 'Don't know,' answered I. Uncle Jack intuitively took down from his memory the phrase most readily at hand, and added, with a nasal intonation, 'the rights of our distressed fellow-creatures!' My father scratched his eyebrow with his forefinger, as he was apt to do when doubtful: the rest of the company, a silent set, looked up. 'Fellow-creatures!' said Mr. Rollick, 'fellow-fiddlesticks!' Uncle John was clearly in the wrong box; he drew out of it cautiously: 'I mean,' said he, 'our *respectable* fellow-creatures!'"

The gist of the joke lies in this charming epithet, *respectable*, as here applied; but Sir Edward, or rather Pisistratus Caxton, carries on the sentence as though *he* did not see it.—Pisistratus is now home for the holidays; but soon he comes home to stay: and the passage on this subject is rather striking:—

"That is a very strange crisis in our life when we come home '*for good*.' Home seems a different thing. Before, one has been but a sort of guest after all, only welcomed and indulged, and little festivities held in honour of the released and happy child. But to come home *for good*, to have done with school and boyhood, is to be a guest, a child no more. It is to share the every-day life of cares and duties; it is to enter into the confidences of home. Is it not so? I could have buried my face in my hands and wept."

Setting aside the last line, which is a little, a very little, morbid, (for a fine youth might feel this, but would scarcely thus express himself,) the rest is very well said, and very true:—

"Homeward at last! O, rapturous pleasure!  
Homeward at last our journey goes,  
To where my father mourns his treasure,  
To where our silent river flows!

\* \* \* \* \*

Homewards? There's rapture in the word!"

We must not linger. Uncle Jack's speculation with the county paper we have passed by. "Pro Rege et Grege," is an  
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admirable motto for an agricultural organ, we aver in sober earnest,—we, who, like Sir Edward, are “Protectionists.”

Make room for Uncle Roland! one of the best-drawn characters in the book,—the enthusiastic soldier, the Christian, the deeply-wronged father! Christian? And yet how should this agree with the very heterodox view of the origin of religion assigned to this worthy, on page 107? Surely, Sir Edward, setting aside the absurdity, and even wickedness, of the notion, you have forgotten all fitness, you have set aside all nature, here. This does not tally with the Captain’s sentiments; but we cannot enter on a theological disquisition just now, though come it must, when we consider Austin’s “Magnum Opus,” the “History of Human Error.” But we have various colloquies betwixt the brothers,—Squills, Pisistratus, and his gentle mother, being also interlocutors,—which have no little merit in their way. “My Uncle Roland’s Tale,” (page 140,) suggestive of his own sad fortunes with his only son, a runaway profligate, is very striking and graphic: the incident of “the Motto,” which forms its epilogue, reminds us too closely of Uncle Toby and his fly. And yet, “perish they who have said our good things before us!” may Sir Edward ejaculate: “I should have written the same chapter, had no Sterne breathed this mortal air!” It may be so, Sir Edward; but, surely, this must remain a doubt,—a charitable doubt, at best.—The fourth part opens with a graphic passage on early rising. We quote it:—

“I was always an early riser. Happy the man who is! Every morning a day comes to him with a virgin’s love, full of bloom and purity and freshness. The youth of nature is contagious, like the gladness of a happy child. I doubt if any man can be called ‘old,’ so long as he is an early riser, and an early *walker*. And oh, youth!—take my word for it,—youth in dressing-gown and slippers, dawdling over breakfast at noon, is a very decrepid, ghastly image of that youth, which sees the sun blush over the mountains, and the dew sparkle upon blossoming hedgerows.”

There is a pertness almost bordering on vulgarity in Pisistratus’s share in the ensuing colloquy: we cannot approve of it. And now we have arrived at the so-called great work, the life’s production of the scholar; and a very useless production it would seem to be,—a ramblification through all climes and ages to arrive at no result whatever, a history of all errors, without one positive word anent truth,—in fact, a mere negative protest, a child still-born, a piece of learned lumber. We wonder Sir Edward does not see this; but he is apt to confound the means with the end, and so to rest in the former. Hence his intense

admiration of mere scholarship, as scholarship. But he may tell us *he* does see all this; that it is only the son, Pisistratus, who is blinded by his filial affection: if so, we cannot accept this explanation; for Austin Caxton is the "Deus ex machina" of the book; his is admitted, on all hands, to be "the master-mind." He reforms the otherwise incorrigible Vivian, Uncle Roland's truant son; to him, too, the statesman Trevanion bows down; by him Lady Ellinor, herself depicted as so great, is guided and metamorphosed. So we are certainly *expected* to look upon Austin Caxton as a very wise man indeed, while to us he appears a very silly one. We have no patience with your circular reasoners, your endless talkifiers, your intellectual windmills, your "Hamlets,"—in one word, fellows who want the faculty of putting two and two together, and who would always hold it unphilosophical and gratuitous to assume that the said two and two made four. Yet these are the gods of Sir Edward's idolatry. He has too much of this German element himself; but, surely, he should know this, and strive to cast it out, not put it on a pedestal for worship. Such minds are to be found among the followers of various parties: we need scarcely say that *ultra*-high churchmen are often this way inclined, who accept any thing because they believe nothing! This total absence of positive core, or bearing, is most conspicuous in Austin Caxton's "Great Achievement." It is just "a big talk," as the Indians say, and "there's an end." But not so thinks Sir Edward. "It was the moral history of mankind, told with truth and earnestness, yet with an arch unmalignant smile." Pooh! bother! Our dignity as reviewers is at war with our wholesome indignation. In the next sentence we are informed quite coolly (page 161) that he, the sage, "viewed man first in the savage state, preferring in this the positive accounts of voyagers and travellers, to the vague myths of antiquity, and the dreams of speculators on the pristine state." Very pretty, indeed! The "vague myths," and "the dreams;" and this is said of God's Word, which Sir Edward, in the person of "Pisistratus Caxton," professes to reverence so very highly. We are ready to believe that Sir Edward Bulwer Lytton never considered the consequences of his truly insolent assumption; but this we can tell him,—because we have thought upon the subject, if he has not,—that the Old Testament and the New tally so marvellously, as to drive every rational man to the conclusion, that that agreement must proceed from fraud and forgery, or otherwise be the inevitable result of the internal unity of all the parts of Revelation: and we can further assure him, that this latter conclusion will be forced upon every impartial inquirer, with a force which will admit of no cavil or shadow of a

doubt. To illustrate this here would be a work of supererogation. We may refer, Sir Edward, however, to a fine article in the last number of "The Edinburgh," for some striking observations on the subject, though the case of Christianity is there much understated, owing, in all probability, to the imperfect orthodoxy of its writer; and we may perhaps be allowed to remind him, that the germ of that prophecy, which was finally fulfilled in the coming of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, (to whom we offer our unfeigned worship,) is to be found in that very so-called "myth," which he dismisses so contemptuously. So much, too, let us add! The further science spreads her researches, the more evidences do we obtain of a *common origin* for man. We had thought that no well-informed thinker would venture to dispute, that, from the evidences of the past, and their own records, all the savages in the world are in a state of decadence and decay,—are slips from the common stock of humanity, who have been transplanted from the centre of civilization. Here then lies a gross and fundamental error at the root of all the researches of the learned Mr. Caxton. Such learning is "foolishness" indeed; but let us waste no more words upon the subject. There is a pretty image, though a very false one, at the end of this chapter, lauding this very sorry "Magnum Opus." Pisistratus is supposed to wish his father had been a novelist. "Ah!" he says, "what a writer of romances he would have been, if—if what?—if he had had as sad an experience of men's passions, as he had the happy intuition into their humours. But he who would see the mirror of the shore, must look where it is cast on *the river*, not *the ocean*. The narrow stream reflects the gnarled tree, and the panting herd, and the village spire, and the romance of the landscape. But the sea reflects only the vast outline of the headland, and the lights of the eternal heaven!" That is to say, the man of contemplation, the essayist, is infinitely greater, than the man of creative genius. As the sea is to the stream, so is Bacon or Shaftesbury to Shakspeare! Truly, a monstrous assertion! Cannot the sea reflect a rocky giant coast far, far into its bosom? Has Sir Edward never travelled from Nice to Genoa, or even overlooked the cliffs of Devonshire? Creative artists, we may add, when they paint passions, do this from intuition, not experience. Think you Shakspeare's daughters must have "torn his heart out," before he could paint "King Lear?" The same intuition conceived that royal madman, and the Ariel of the Tempest. The essayist, indeed, the thinker at second hand, may be likened to the stream, which takes the line of the banks past which it glides. Creative genius is expansive as the ocean, has its calms, and its tempests; and mirrors,—mark

it, Sir Edward!—the polestar of faith, which *may* never shine upon the little river. But to proceed. To promote the publication of this work, the family go up to town. Pisistratus travels thither on foot, and, on his way, falls in with the Trevanions, old friends of his father's. Mr. Trevanion himself was the fellow-collegian of Austin; Lady Ellinor was his first-love: both are admirably described. Mr. Trevanion is, in our opinion, a type of Sir Edward Bulwer Lytton, in more than one respect. Thus we read of him (page 212): "As a speaker, he wants the fire and enthusiasm which engage the popular sympathies. He never embraces any party heartily; he never espouses any question as if wholly in earnest. The moderation with which he is said to pique himself, often exhibits itself in fastidious crotchets, and an attempt at philosophical originality of candour, which has long obtained him with his enemies the reputation of a trimmer." And again, he is made to say himself (page 250), "Come, I will tell you the one secret of my public life,—that which explains all its failure (for, in spite of my position, I have failed) and its regrets,—*I want conviction!*" One cannot help suspecting that Sir Edward had an eye to his own case, when he penned these lines. At page 269 of vol. iii., this shilly-shally undecided character of mind is further developed in Trevanion, pushed even to the ludicrous; and yet we fear Sir Edward secretly admires it all the while. Trevanion's daughter, Fanny, is rather indicated, than painted; but the indication is admirably given. But Lady Ellinor's portrait is more finished, and we must extract it:—

"With curious interest, and a survey I strove to make impartial, I compared Lady Ellinor with my mother; and I comprehended the fascination which the highborn lady must, in her earlier youth, have exercised upon both brothers (Roland and Austin), so dissimilar to each other; for, *charm* was the characteristic of Lady Ellinor,—a charm indefinable. It was not the mere grace of refined breeding, though that went a great way: it was a charm that seemed to spring from *natural sympathy*. Whomsoever she addressed, that person appeared, for the moment, to engage all her attention, to interest her whole mind. She had a gift of conversation very peculiar; she made what she said like a continuation of what was said to her; she seemed as if she had entered into your thoughts, and talked them aloud. Her mind was evidently cultivated with great care, but she was perfectly void of pedantry. A hint, an allusion, sufficed to show how much she knew, to one well instructed, without mortifying or perplexing the ignorant. Yes, there probably was the only woman my father had ever met, who could be the companion to his mind, walk through the garden of knowledge by his side, and trim the flowers, while he cleared the vistas."

Setting aside the very exaggerated compliment to Austin Caxton, whose mind seems to have been a mere vast lumber-room, whose exhaustless memory was his only valuable faculty,—what a portrait have we here, one worthy of the first of literary portrait-painters! Ah! Sir Edward, if to that gift of observation you added, but in a minor degree, that of generalization, *then* you would be a *great man* indeed! But we must take things as they are; not as we should wish them: even now you are a *great novelist*, and that is saying much.—But we must pass on hastily. Pisistratus comes to town at last, having further fallen in with the scapegrace Vivian on the way, into whose adventures we cannot enter: subsequently, he becomes Trevanion's secretary, and falls in love with his daughter Fanny. When he finds this out,—Pisistratus, we mean,—he is conscience-stricken, and finally resolves to put himself out of harm's way by leaving the house. The love of his parents in some degree consoles him. Our author says very beautifully (vol. ii. p. 99);—“How much we have before us in life, while we retain our parents! How much to strive and to hope for! What a motive in the conquest of our sorrow, that *they* may not sorrow with us!” There is much good matter about Captain Roland's sufferings and “Robert Hall.” The Captain, indeed, is the most religious character in the book, and says nothing offensive, if we except the one unhappy slip, already noticed, respecting the origin of religion. But now a great crisis is approaching. Pisistratus goes to college, and, meanwhile, Uncle Jack lugs Austin Caxton by the mental ear of his vanity, into a most ruinous speculation. Pisistratus returns in alarm, and a final arrangement is entered into, by which 8000*l.* are saved. Then, finally, Austin and his establishment locate themselves with Uncle Roland in the family tower in Cumberland. Here Pisistratus vegetates for some time, but at last naturally grows impatient, and writes a very striking letter to Trevanion, asking him whether he should not emigrate. This letter, depicting as it does the strong necessity felt by a class of our rising youth, for some active sphere of energy, with space to move in, is referred to by Sir Edward himself, as one of the main points of interest in his work. We cannot find space for it: but our readers may conceive how those, who would have been mailed knights and squires of old, cannot now bind them to the ledger, cannot now toil over books for life, and yet may not have “the needful” for army or for navy. What then is left? Emigration! Trevanion of course coincides with his young friend, and finally our hero starts, having, by various means, won over his uncle Roland, his father, and his mother, to the project. But first he achieves great things: he rescues Fanny Trevanion from an auda-



cious adventurer, who had succeeded in carrying her off towards Gretna Green, and this adventurer proves to be "Herbert de Caxton," Uncle Roland's son, previously reclaimed from infamy by the exertions of our Pisistratus. But Fanny is not to be our hero's after all: no, her hand is won by the delightful Sir Sedley Beaudesert, alias the Earl of Castleton, with 100,000*l.* a year, the very "beau ideal" of all ladies' men,—amiable to an excess, refined and yet manly, forty-seven years of age, and still an Adonis! A very admirable sketch is "Sir Sedley Beaudesert:" drawn too, we should say, despite its strangeness, from the life. And a very happy pair are he and Lady Castleton—"née" Fanny Trevanion, and admirably are they depicted towards the close of the third volume. But first, and before Pisistratus starts for Sidney, Uncle Roland's son is to be reformed, and this wonder is effected mainly by the marvellous eloquence of Austin Caxton, "*Credat Judæus!*" say we. It is evident enough that the fiery "Vivian" would have thought this worthy Austin both a twaddle and a bore. But, pass we that,—and cross we the wide ocean to Australia, which is graphically brought before us in its wild bush-life. The description of the Australian night (p. 211) is high poetry. "Guy Bolding," who finds every thing disagreeable "such fun," is capitally drawn. His spirits have been the ruin of him in England, but he finds a vent for them in the new world, learns even to prize books from being so long without them, and finally marries and settles down most comfortably in "the Bush." Meanwhile Pisistratus, who, as we said before, has made "a sufficiency," returns, getting first some three or four thousands back from Uncle Jack, who has actually picked up a fortune in Australia. Well, he comes home, sees his cousin Blanche, who has grown tall and beautiful meanwhile, and rejoices his parents' and his uncle's hearts, by marrying her. That uncle's *son* had left Australia (whither he first accompanied Pisistratus,) and had entered the Indian service, in which he at last fell, covered with glory, and, in thus far, redeeming the past.

Such is the general course of the narrative before us, but we must return again for some characteristic extract or extracts wherewith to do fuller justice to our theme. One passage, though very long for our pages, we consider so masterly, as to be unable to deprive ourselves of the pleasure of transcribing it. It occurs after the crash of ruin in the second volume. The family are gathered together, Uncle Roland and Squills being present, and have just agreed to break up the establishment, to abandon their beloved household gods, when "Uncle Jack," the cause of all this ruin, is announced. We must not omit to add, that he had taken Austin in most thoroughly, and squandered all his money, with-

out his knowing any thing about it. He has further involved himself, rather made himself responsible, for he *had* nothing to begin with, and so he has been incarcerated in "the Fleet" some little while, but soon set free by the exceeding liberality of Mr. Caxton. However, he is presumed to be most penitent, and is not expected to show his face for years. Having said thus much, we may proceed to the extract.

"Mr. Squills was about to reply, when ring-a ting-ring-ting! there came such a brisk, impatient, make-one's-self-at-home kind of tintinnabular alarum at the great gate, that we all started up and looked at each other in surprise. Who could it possibly be? We were not kept long in suspense; for in another moment Uncle Jack's voice, which was always very clear and distinct, pealed through the hall; and we were still staring at each other when Mr. Tibbets" (that is his name) "with a bran new muffler round his neck, and a peculiarly comfortable great-coat, best double Saxony, equally new, dashes into the room, bringing with him a considerable quantity of cold air, which he hastened to thaw, first in my father's arms, next in my mother's. He then made a rush at the Captain (Uncle Roland), who ensconced himself behind the dumb-waiter with a 'Hem! Mr.—Sir—Jack—Sir—hem, hem!'—Failing there, Mr. Tibbets rubbed off the remaining frost upon his double Saxony against your humble servant; patted Squills affectionately on the back, and then proceeded to occupy his favourite position before the fire. 'Took you by surprise, eh?' said Uncle Jack, unpeeling himself by the hearth-rug. 'But no, not by surprise; you must have known Jack's heart: you at least, Austin Caxton, who know every thing—you must have seen that it overflowed with the tenderest and most brotherly emotions; that once delivered from that cursed Fleet, (you have no idea what a place it is, Sir,) I could not rest, night or day, till I had flown, here,—here, to the dear family nest—poor wounded dove that I am!' added Uncle Jack, pathetically, and taking out his pocket-handkerchief from the double Saxony, which he had now flung over my father's arm-chair. Not a word replied to this eloquent address, with its touching peroration. My mother hung down her pretty head, and looked ashamed. My uncle retreated quite into the corner, and drew the dumb-waiter after him, so as to establish a complete fortification. Mr. Squills seized the pen that Roland had thrown down, and began mending it furiously, that is, cutting it into slivers, thereby denoting, symbolically, how he would like to do with Uncle Jack, could he once get him safe and snug under his manipular operations. I bent over the pedigree, and my father rubbed his spectacles. The silence would have been appalling to another man: nothing appalled Uncle Jack. Uncle Jack turned to the fire, and warmed first one foot, then the other. This comfortable ceremony performed, he again faced the company, and resumed, musingly, and as if answering some imaginary observations, 'Yes, yes, you are right there, and a deuced unlucky speculation it proved too. But I was overruled by that fellow Peck. Says I to

him, says I, 'Capitalist!' (the name of the ruinous publication started) 'Pshaw, no popular interest there, it don't address the great public! Very confined class the capitalists; better throw ourselves boldly on the people. Yes,' said I, 'call it the *Anti-Capitalist*. By Jove, sir, we should have carried all before us; but I was overruled. The *Anti-Capitalist*! What an idea! Address the whole reading-world there, Sir: everybody hates the Capitalist—everybody would have his neighbour's money. The *Anti-Capitalist*! Sir, we should have gone off, in the manufacturing towns, like wildfire. But what could I do?'—'John Tibbets,' said my father solemnly, 'capitalist or anti-capitalist, thou hadst a right to follow thine own bent in either, but always provided it had been with thine own money. Thou seest not the thing, John Tibbets, in the right point of view; and a little repentance in the face of those thou hast wronged, would not have misbecome thy father's son, and thy sister's brother.' Never had so severe a rebuke issued from the mild lips of Austin Caxton; and I raised my eyes with a compassionate thrill, expecting to see Jack Tibbets gradually sink and disappear through the carpet. 'Repentance!' cried Uncle Jack, bounding up, as if he had been shot. 'And do you think I have a heart of stone, of pummy-stone! Do you think I don't repent? I have done nothing but repent; I shall repent to my dying day.' 'Then there is no more to be said, Jack,' cried my father, softening and holding out his hand. 'Yes,' cried Mr. Tibbets, seizing the hand, and pressing it to the heart he had thus defended from the suspicion of being pummy; 'yes, that I should have trusted that dunderheaded, rascally curmudgeon, Peck; that I should have let him call it *The Capitalist*, despite all my convictions, when the *Anti*—' 'Pshaw!' interrupted my father, drawing away his hand. 'John,' said my mother, gravely, and with tears in her voice, 'you forget who delivered you from prison,—you forget whom you have nearly consigned to prison yourself,—you forg—' 'Hush, hush!' said my father, 'this will never do; and it is you who forget, my dear, the obligations I owe to Jack. He has reduced my fortune one half, it is true, but I verily think he has made the three hearts, in which lie my real treasures, twice as large as they were before. Pisistratus, my boy, ring the bell.'—'My dear Kitty,' cried Jack, whimperingly, and stealing up to my mother, 'don't be so hard on me; I thought to make all your fortunes—I did, indeed.'—Here the servant entered.—'See that Mr. Tibbets' things are taken up to his room, and that there is a good fire,' said my father.—'And,' continued Jack, loftily, 'I *will* make all your fortunes yet. I have it *here*!' and he struck his head.—'Stay a moment!' said my father to the servant, who had got back to the door. 'Stay a moment,' said my father, looking extremely frightened; 'perhaps Mr. Tibbets may prefer the inn!'—'Austin,' said Uncle Jack with emotion, 'if I were a dog, with no home but a dog-kennel, and you came to me for shelter, I would turn out, to give you the best of the straw!'—My father was thoroughly melted this time.—'Primmins will be sure to see that every thing is made comfortable for Mr. Tibbets,' said he, waving his hand to the servant. 'Something nice for supper, Kitty, my dear—'

and the largest punch-bowl. You like punch, Jack ?'—'Punch, Austin ?' said Uncle Jack, putting his handkerchief to his eyes.—The Captain pushed aside the dumb-waiter, strode across the room, and shook hands with Uncle Jack ; my mother buried her face in her apron, and fairly ran off ; and Squills said in my ear, ' It all comes of the biliary secretions. Nobody could account for this, who did not know the peculiarly fine organization of your father's liver.' "

This we affirm to be a very masterpiece. Which of our readers doubts it ? Surely, we need not point out the consummate delicacy and tact, the refined humour, the thorough knowledge of human character, here displayed. Every word tells. Every epithet has the happiness of genius. We pity him who cannot " chuckle " quietly, but delightedly, over the various incidents which form this wondrous whole. We question whether " Tristram Shandy " contains any thing equal to it.

This one extract has occupied so much space that we are compelled to omit others we had marked for quotation : the admirable account of Sir Sedley Beaudesert's miseries in finding himself Earl of Castleton, and master of 100,000*l.* a year,—one or two Australian scenes,—a humorous passage about a sixpence, and various sayings which pleased our fancy, or touched our feelings, must be left in their native sphere by us.—But, thus omitting to quote beauties, we must be very hasty, on the other hand, in the record of those censures which might have otherwise dilated beneath our pen. We *did* mean to suggest, that Sir Edward's humour, though generally most refined, does here and there seem to us,—and yet the expression is strong,—we were about to say,—does seem to border on *silliness* ; but the fault may be in our want of appreciation. We could instance certain talk on p. 19, vol. i. ; the passages, or some of them, introduced by Austin Caxton's " putting his hand into his waistcoat," the amount of learning anent the " Antanaclasis and Epiphonema," which seems to us a little out of place, displayed, vol. ii. p. 283, even the rather studied break in the narration (vol. ii. p. 33), concluding with " the end of the chapter." Then, too, sundry *affectations* should be adverted to : excess of sobbing and weeping in various places, and a certain priggish sententiousness, which shows itself in the speeches of Pisistratus, as in vol. ii. pp. 49. 53, &c. There is an occasional tendency, too, to " bigmouthedness," where there is really little to be said, as in the grandiloquent passage, vol. ii. p. 194, on " Silence : " but this error of judgment in Sir Edward's utterances is much less frequent than of yore. Then, too, there are the little stage trickeries already noticed : the last word, too, in many a chapter is forced and stagey, to avoid an anticlimax. But we can understand Sir

Edward's failing on this point very well: his style seems to render this little device unavoidable, occasionally. Of course, the worst point about this very clever book is its *religious indifference*, or fashionable pantheism, or whatever our author himself would be pleased to call it. Man's *nature*, with him, is divine. If we can but awake that, all must be well. We need scarcely say, that this is a very partial and a very incorrect view; that man's nature is compounded of good and evil; and that evil, for the more part, has a decided preponderance, wherever religion does not exert her influence. But religion is virtually ignored in this book; a clergyman is *once* mentioned, and only once, in a half line: one might suppose that the Church and Christianity were dead letters. True, there are one or two pathetic passages about the Bible; but then what do they *mean*? No one can tell. True, there is a fine passage (vol. ii. p. 41) about that SOMETHING, that immortal spirit, without which our best-beloved fellow-creature is but a clod of clay. But this, and more than this, forms but a slight "set off" against the downright infidel philosophy promulgated, as to the origin of man and of religion, and what we may call "the ignoring," throughout, of Christianity, as a vital element, nay, as *the* life itself, something beyond a sentiment, and a memory.

Sir Edward Bulwer Lytton has, then, much to learn, and to unlearn, before we can hail him as a fellow-workman in the cause of humanity. We admit that a man may serve God by action as well as prayer; we admit that an author may serve Christianity indirectly as well as directly. We admit, too, that in a Christian land, and under the omnipresent influence of Christianity, many of its fruits are oftentimes displayed by those who are not really Christians; even such men as "Sir Sedley Beaudesert." If not the rose (to recal the old and hackneyed Eastern simile), *they* have lived near it. Nevertheless truth remains truth. The Redeemer was what He proclaimed Himself, God suffering for humanity, or He was, what our pen would shrink from tracing. This is a central verity. He who neglects it, neglects it to his eternal peril. He who receives it, must realize it in all he does, or says, or creates. This is our last word for the present with Sir Edward Bulwer Lytton.

and the largest punch-bowl. 'You tin?' said Uncle Jack, putting his hands with Uncle Jack; and Squid fairly ran off; and Squid's secretions. Nobody particularly fine organises.

This we doubt it, delicacy of his epithet.

*Mr. Seymour's Rome. By the Rev. M. HOBART SEYMOUR, M.A. London: Seeleys.*

The narrative which influence many men in their choice of religion will scarcely bear the analysis of sober reasoning. To some persons the aesthetics of Christianity constitute almost its sole claim on their acceptance. The romance and mystery of certain parts and portions of religion, whether true or false, are a potent charm to minds of a certain constitution; and it is difficult to say what amount of effect is producible on such minds by skilfully appealing to their predominant sensibilities. Without doubt a great influence has been exercised over persons both within and without the communion of the Church of Rome, by the representation of profound self-denial, monastic austerities, continual habits of devotion, and other impressive features. The church continually open for prayer, and exhibiting its silent worshippers, the daily celebration of mass, the resignation of the world's gaieties and splendours by the self-devoted virgin,—all these are fraught with matter for the romantic, the enthusiastic, the pious, and the credulous; and all the other side of the picture being kept out of sight, and studiously concealed, the most favourable impressions are made.

Yet, after all, those who have been in actual contact with Romanism, and are not merely acquainted with it in books, are fully aware that there is a very different view of the case; and many a man has been cured of all his tendencies to Romanism by witnessing with his own eyes the actual state of things—by descending from the regions of romance and imagination to those of common sense and fact.

Mr. Seymour, in the work before us, has supplied a real desideratum in our literature, by presenting to us a minute and accurate survey of the actual state of things in the Church of Rome. He details to us the results of his own experience. Without doubt his book will be differently viewed by different parties; but we have here a series of facts accredited by the author's name, and which bear along with them the evidences of a candid and a conscientious investigation. We deem these facts of so much importance, that although we doubt not that many of our readers are already familiar with the volume, we feel it a duty



to draw attention to the volume as one which, though not without some slight blemishes, is calculated to be of high utility in the present times.

We have long felt the extreme desirableness of such a work as Mr. Seymour has here accomplished ; and we know not where to look for such a work : for, though travellers have frequently collected valuable information, yet it was generally cursorily introduced, or little authenticated, and liable to be forgotten : we wanted a traveller who should make it the especial object of his research to represent the Church of Rome *as it actually is*, and not as it is imagined by some of those who have never been eye-witnesses of its proceedings. The value of this work consists in its minute and graphic details on all these points, which are of special importance and interest in the present day.

While, however, we admit, to the fullest degree, the merits of this work, we must note one or two points in which we think the author has not exhibited his usual discretion. In some places we think that insinuations are made in reference to the practice of *immoralities* in monasteries, which may indeed be well founded, but which are not supported by evidence, and which therefore will be only set down to uncharitableness and prejudice. On another subject, too, we have to express some difference of view from Mr. Seymour.

In the account of his visit to Milan cathedral, he is led to observe that it is the pride and boast of the city, and is regarded amongst the inhabitants chiefly in the light of the greatest ornament of the city ; “ but,” he goes on to remark,—

“ It is seldom viewed by them simply in reference to that God to whom it is dedicated, or to that Church for whose services it is designed. Its chief use seems to be that of ornament ; its secondary use, that of religion : and, accordingly, it is but poorly attended ; and many churches, of not one-tenth of its magnitude, have a far larger attendance of the inhabitants for worship. I visited it many times, both on Sunday and on other days, and was surprised at the fewness of the attendants, the more especially as one of their popular preachers was there on Sunday, when the whole of his congregation did not exceed one hundred and twenty persons.”—p. 54.

The same appears to be generally the case all over the continent, as far as cathedrals are concerned : and this is an interesting fact, as bearing on the precisely similar case of our own cathedrals. It appears from Mr. Seymour's work, that the cathedrals are in general on the continent just as badly attended as our own ; and the reason is the same in both cases. Mr. Seymour shall here speak for himself :—

“ There is a great gulf between the original intention, and the modern application of the cathedral system.

“ The original of the system was the bishop or head missionary planting his church as the central or principal station for missionary labour,—a station from which his missionaries might issue in every direction to propagate the Gospel of Christ. When any missionary had succeeded in his labour of love, and a number of converts had embraced the faith, then a congregation was formed, and a church erected in that locality, and the missionary, or some other, at the discretion of the bishop, was there placed, and became the local or parochial clergyman. In this manner he sent his band of missionaries, and planted his churches; his own church, as the central station, being the church for the converts of that locality (though afterwards called the cathedral church, from being the seat of the bishop), was the church of the locality where he resided; so as that originally a cathedral church differed in no respect whatever from any other parochial church, being for the same uses, and having the same services, with the alone exception that it belonged to the station, or district, or parish, in which the bishop resided: and, at the same time, the clergy who were with him were his fellow-labourers in the missionary work, and his fellow-counsellors and advisers in all circumstances connected with the exercise of his authority in the work of the mission, very much as is the case in the present day, when all give counsel and assistance to the principal missionary of the missionary settlement.”

We believe this statement to be perfectly correct. It represents the discipline of the Church as it existed for several centuries; and this, subsequently, developed into the various forms which Mr. Seymour proceeds to describe, but not, we think, exactly in the chronological order he assigns to them. For more than a thousand years the cathedrals continued to be parish churches, the bishops, presbyters, and deacons being engaged in their respective duties in regard to the district attached to the cathedral. The bishop alone administered baptism, confirmation, the holy eucharist, and preached. The presbyters, archdeacon, and deacons assisted him in divine service, in visiting the sick, in ministering the alms, in instructing candidates for baptism, in the administration of penance and absolution, and generally in the whole affairs of the diocese, according as he had need of them. The presbyters, deacons, and principal laity chose their own bishop on the vacancy of the see, in accordance with the neighbouring bishops and metropolitan. We must now quote a passage from Mr. Seymour:—

“ In times still later, a further change passed in some countries over the system. It was now the time when wealth and honours flowed in a broad stream into the Church, and made an entrance for the evil spirits

of ambition, covetousness, and self-seeking ; they came in wafted upon the surface of the broad current . . . there was ' ample space and verge enough ' for providing well for the staff or band of clergymen around the bishop. New offices were created, and canons for the cathedral, and prebendaries for the cathedral, and readers for the cathedral, and choristers for the cathedral, were called into existence, and there were ample endowments for all. The bishop, appointing them of his own motion, and regarding them as his own creatures, could not look on himself—at least, could scarcely look on himself—as called on in any degree to regard them as his fellow-counsellors or advisers : and thus, as they had ceased to be regarded as missionaries in the natural course of things, so these cathedral clergy soon ceased to be treated as fellow-counsellors, and thus sunk into the unenviable and unchristian state, of mere creatures of the bishop, and drones in the Church."—pp. 56, 57.

We are of opinion that the above passage is somewhat inaccurately expressed. The chief difference, as it appears to us, between the original system, and the system of canons and prebendaries, being, that the cathedral body under the latter system was brought into a more monastic form than under the earlier system. The canons or prebendaries were the presbyters subjected to a certain monastic rule. But we are not aware that any addition was made to the cathedral bodies of clergy at this period, or that their wealth was much augmented from what it had been when they were under the former system. There was no intention whatever on the part of the regulators of the cathedral system who founded chapters of canons, or remodelled the old polity into that shape, that their canons or prebendaries should be wealthily endowed. They were, in fact, supported originally from the common fund of the Church ; and it was only gradually that they were allotted distinct revenues, which made their places so many benefices, instead of offices. This division of the funds of the cathedral was probably contemporaneous with another and most important change to which Mr. Seymour refers subsequently:—we allude to the erection of *parish churches* in cathedral cities. It was this that really and truly left the canons without duties ; they were divested of the cure of souls : their offices became sinecures ; and, having nothing more to do, the greater part of their body, when there was a large number of canons, became *non-residentary*, that is, were released from residence at the cathedral, and engaged in the care of remote parishes, or in other occupations. Plurality of benefices arose with non-residence ; and it subsequently extended even to the *residentary* canons, who were permitted to leave the cathedral to the care of one or two of their body in succession, while they

held benefices elsewhere, and resided for a few weeks in each year at the cathedral, or perhaps not at all, as the case might be. The appointment of minor canons, on whom the performance of divine service was devolved, and who were a species of curates under the canons, enabled this system of non-residence to be carried out. Divine service could thus be conducted without the presence of any of the canons.

Now all this arose, as we conceive, from the fatal alteration in ecclesiastical discipline, which divested the canons of cathedrals of those duties which they had always previously been subject to,—we mean, *THE CURE OF SOULS*. The moment that churches in cathedral cities were founded in such numbers, that all the people were placed under the charge of clergy of their own, the cathedral clergy were ousted of their most important duties, were placed in a false position, and thenceforward became only proverbial for sloth, self-indulgence, or avarice. Such was the state of things at the Reformation; and at that period the only alteration made in the system, consisting in the abolition of the offices for the hours of prayer, and of a vast number of other rites and ceremonies, left the canons even less to do than they had before. And thus it has continued ever since without alteration as a system, the only change effected being that of 1840, by which all the non-residentiary canonries were deprived of their incomes, and the number of residentiaries diminished; but there was no attempt to give substantial duties involving residence to those who were left.

We must here again refer to Mr. Seymour, though we do so with pain, and cannot concur in several of the expressions he employs. In the first part of the following remarks, however, every Churchman must cordially concur. In reference to the cathedrals, as existing at the period of the Reformation, he observes:—

“The splendid fabrics being already in existence, and large and ample endowments being already provided, the great question was, how they ought to have been disposed of. To destroy those magnificent structures would have been an act of Vandalism, almost without parallel in the history of the world; and to suffer them to fall to decay and ruin would have been as terrible a barbarism, deserving the worst execration of posterity. And yet their continuance in this their then state, and for their then uses, was utterly inconsistent with the religious spirit of the Reformation.

“It can never be too much lamented that there was no adequate reformation of the cathedral system; and that through the lapse of 300 years, the bishops of the Church of England had never proposed either to convocation, in the age of convocations, or to parliament, in this age

of parliaments, to make the cathedral system useful to the Church and subsidiary to the advancement of the true religion established among us. But that, on the other hand, they have continued and perpetuated the former state of things, only in a more effete and useless state, eagerly exercising their right of patronage in the appointment of the cathedral clergy and appropriation of the cathedral endowments, but making no efforts to render them subsidiary to the real wants of the Church, or assistants to the true interests of religion."—pp. 59, 60.

There is but too much truth in this very severe passage. Such neglect as is here referred to evinces, unquestionably, a want of zeal and energy to grapple with great and undeniable evils. But, then, it must be remembered that the fallen condition of the cathedral system was not the only evil, or even the greatest that had to be contended with. The general decay of ecclesiastical discipline was a still greater evil—the abuses of ecclesiastical courts, or of the whole system of corrective discipline—the utter cessation of the system of episcopal visitation; these were things that were of still more importance than cathedral reform, and yet they were not accomplished.

But, with reference to this latter question, we think, that Mr. Seymour should have reminded his readers, that the bishops alone were not responsible for the continuance of the abuses of the sinecure system in cathedrals. It should be remembered, that the crown possesses the patronage of all the deaneries, and one half of the canonries; and there is, at least, a fair degree of probability, that the crown would not have wished any interference with a system which placed at its disposal so many pieces of preferment for the accommodation of its adherents and favourites. Still we do not remember to have read that the attempt was ever made by our episcopate to reform the cathedral system; and in this we must admit that there was a very lamentable mistake, which will perhaps issue in the destruction of the whole system, with its good points as well as its bad.

The following remarks are deserving of attention:—

“There were three courses, any one of which might have been pursued with real profit to the Church of England, and the advancement of true religion.

“1. They might have adopted the collegiate system, appointing professors instead of canons . . . If the bishops, acting on their own authority, or applying to parliament for the requisite power, had converted the residences of the cathedral clergy into cathedral colleges, so as to secure a sound theological education for them who were to be prepared for the ministry of the Church—if they had appropriated the endowments now wasted upon the cathedral clergy, to the maintenance of such colleges and schools, such professors and teachers, as could

effectuate all this, then, indeed, they would have accomplished much for the best interests of the Church of England.

"2. Or they might have made another arrangement, which was always, and still is, in their power, and might at any moment be carried into effect. They might confer those cathedral appointments solely upon learned men—upon studious men, who desired to be separated from all parochial occupations, so as to devote themselves uninterruptedly to study. They might thus provide for men who were desirous of the time and opportunity for study, and who should be precluded from holding any other species of preferment, as that would defeat the very object in view. If the bishops had done this, or even attempted to do this, or would even now, at this the eleventh hour of the Church, begin to do this, the Church of England would reap a noble harvest from such encouragement to learning.

"3. Or yet, again, they might have pursued a third course. If they had desired some arrangement by which, always retaining the cathedral clergy as a sort of clerical staff around them, who, like the staff officers of the army, or the assistant missionaries of a missionary station, might be sent to any direction or to any work that might be required in the exigencies of the times,—if new churches were built in poor districts, where there are no maintenance or endowments,—if any parochial clergyman, from ill health or other causes, were compelled to be absent one or more weeks from his charge, then the members of this clerical staff—these cathedral clergy could be sent to supply his place; if the bishops of the Church of England had done this, then they would have done that which would have been found an incalculable convenience and assistance to the clergy, and a great advantage to the Church.

"The bishops have not adopted any of these courses; they have continued the mediæval system without mitigation."—pp. 60, 61.

There is much in this which every friend of the Church of England must approve of. It has been invariably the effort of all advocates of cathedral establishments to point out the utility of their endowments in maintaining a learned and studious clergy. Without doubt, learned men have been, from time to time, possessed of cathedral preferments. As, however, they have held them with parochial preferments, their canonries have not given them any "learned leisure." It would have been well, had the suggestions of many persons in the Church been attended to, and the canonries been attached to professorships in diocesan theological colleges, or other offices with onerous duties. All suggestions, however, for improvement in the cathedral system have been made in vain; they have been wholly set aside. Mr. Seymour observes, that,

"It is often stated in apology for the bishops, that, however desirable such a measure might be, and however desirous they might



be to accomplish it, they have not the requisite authority—they have not the power.

“Have the bishops exhibited any such desire, by applying to the legislature for such power?”

“I answer, No.

“The bishops have not exercised the inherent powers which they possess for making the system useful: they could have carried out at any time the second of the three courses, to which I have referred. They required no new or additional powers for this; and if they required new or additional powers for enforcing any other salutary reform, they ought to have applied to the legislature. But, instead of this, they have left themselves open to the charge of acquiescing in a system, which without promoting education, without encouraging learning, and without assisting the over-wrought clergy, has enabled themselves to heap sinecures—lucrative sinecures—on those who were already sufficiently provided for by benefices. If indeed they had conferred these sinecures upon the poor working curates, to assist them in their deep poverty,—if they had conferred them upon those laborious men who have expended their health and strength, and have broken down in the greatness of their labour for the Gospel,—if they had done this, a murmur had never been heard against the system. But, when these sinecures, with scarcely a single exception, were conferred upon those who already had benefices elsewhere, and were already amply paid for the duties they performed, it must cease to be a matter for wonder that the wise and the good in the land should have reclaimed against the system.”—pp. 62, 63.

We must again remind Mr. Seymour that not merely the bishops, but the government, have pursued the course of which he complains, and that it is rather hard to fix the blame on the episcopate solely, even though more might have been expected from them than from mere secular rulers. But we must really add, in apology for the episcopate generally, that the case before us is one which many truly good and conscientious men view somewhat differently from Mr. Seymour. They are convinced that the welfare of the Church generally, and its influence on the community at large, depends essentially on the existence of *prizes* in the Church, by which men of superior talents, and men of good family, may be induced to take holy orders, on the expectation of attaining as large emoluments in the Church as if they entered some other profession. And therefore they look with the highest satisfaction on the accumulation of benefices of all kinds, and of the largest amount on individuals. They see no evil in the old system of canons with incomes varying from 500*l.* to 5000*l.* a year, holding other benefices to the amount of 5000*l.* a year more. They would think it positively beneficial to see a dignified clergyman in the receipt of 10,000*l.* or 15,000*l.* a year.

This is the principle which has been acted on, and continues to be acted on, as far as possible. We can only express our dissent from that principle, with all due respect for the many distinguished and eminent individuals in Church and State who hold it; but Mr. Seymour may depend upon it, that his view of the case will be opposed *on principle* by most influential parties.

The cathedral system, in its present aspect, has been handed down to us from ages anterior to the Reformation. The true principle on which its reform should be conducted is, in our opinion, to act, as far as possible, on the will of founders, on the original statutes of cathedrals, modified according to the change of circumstances, so as to elicit from those foundations the greatest amount of spiritual utility of which they are capable, always bearing in mind the great principle of restoring *residence*, and maintaining the cathedral service in its fullest effectiveness.

It is really a curious fact, and one of which we were not aware, that the attendance in the great foreign cathedrals is as small as in our own. In Milan the attendance on Sunday under the most favourable circumstances was only 120. At Lucca, again, the attendance is thus described:—

“ We visited the Duomo, or cathedral, of Lucca: a service was performing as we entered, and no less than sixteen priests took part in its performance. The performers were *sixteen priests*, and the spectators—for I cannot well call them worshippers—were only *two persons*, exclusive of ourselves!

“ We visited it again the next morning, under the impression that we had seen it at an unfavourable hour; and we therefore attended at the hour of the morning when the mass is celebrating, and the largest congregations usually attend. There were three masses performing, by three priests, at their different altars, at one and the same moment. At one of these, there were *three* worshippers; at the second, there were *two* worshippers; and at the third, there were *four* persons worshipping; so that, although there were three priests with their three masses, and their three attendant boys at the altars, yet the whole assembled congregation amounted to no more than *nine* persons! At the conclusion of all these three masses, the priests retired, and soon appeared again with others, making altogether the number of ten priests. They proceeded to one of the altars, and commenced some service, which seemed to me to be devoutly attended to by two of the number, but most irreverently performed by the others. On this occasion, not one soul, except my wife and myself, went near them, or listened to them!”—pp. 126, 127.

And now for St. Peter's itself:—

“ Even at St. Peter's, on ordinary days, when no high ceremony is expected, and when I have witnessed five or six masses all celebrating

at so many different altars at the same time, I have reckoned sometimes not more than three or four persons at each; and, on many occasions, I have observed the mass wholly neglected, and without one person in attendance beyond the official assistant! There are, however, some occasions on which, and some churches where, a comparatively large number is certain to attend. Very seldom, however, except on occasion of the high ceremonies, does the number exceed eighty or a hundred, even in the most favourite churches."—pp. 379, 380.

On the whole, we think it is pretty clear, from Mr. Seymour's observations, that the daily service of the Church of England is quite as well attended as any daily services in the Church of Rome; and that the usual Sunday services are attended amongst us by congregations quite equal in numbers, in propriety of demeanour, and in devotion, to those of Romish countries; and this, though we have neither the centre of attraction presented by the mass, with its attendant ceremonies, nor the same amount of pomp and decoration as in the Roman Church. The vespers appear to be badly attended in general:—

"Although thus a few solitary persons may be seen entering the churches, yet generally the attendance at the service in the afternoon is as small as can well be imagined. We have frequently witnessed the vespers celebrated, sometimes by two, sometimes by three, sometimes by ten priests, and not a single individual to form or represent a congregation."—p. 382.

This is curious enough; and what follows is still more so. It appears plainly that if we, in England, attach rather too much importance to the sermon, and if some of us esteem it more highly than the prayers, our Roman Catholic brethren are precisely in the same predicament:—

"It is at Rome as in England, and among Romanists as among Protestants, where there is a sermon there is a comparatively large attendance, varying, of course, according to the popular talents of the preacher. Sermons are seldom preached at Rome, except during the season of Advent to the Epiphany, and during the season of Lent. For fully two-thirds of the year, for eight months of the twelve, there are few or no sermons, except on special occasions; and, therefore, when the season for sermons comes round, the people, who are fond of them, are eager to attend; and the attendance is considerable. We constantly attended to hear these sermons: and we have heard some even in these seasons, when the hearers are not twenty in number, while we have witnessed an attendance of perhaps 500 persons when there was a popular preacher."—p. 382.

How many churches are there not in London, and throughout

England, in which not merely *hundreds*, but *thousands*, of attentive hearers are present every Sunday in the year !

But now comes an important question. How are those who attend the services of the Church in the Roman communion occupied while it is going on ? Do they join in the service ? Do they take any part in it ? Do they attend to it ? Are they reverential in their demeanour ? Now here, of course, we must be prepared for an extraordinary diversity from any thing that ever happens in our churches, because the mass of the congregation in the Romish churches do not understand a word of the language in which divine service is performed. They understand Latin as little as we do ; yet they are bound to be *present*. In order, therefore, that they may not be wholly idle, but may have some religious and devotional exercise, though they do not understand the words of the priest, they are obliged to have recourse to a variety of expedients :—

“The poorer and more ignorant classes all kneel and pay their devotions in whatever part of the church they please, being, by an admirable arrangement, and one well worthy of imitation, as free and welcome as their richer neighbours. While kneeling, they are generally occupied in prayer, not however in attending to the words of the priest, while celebrating the service of the mass, joining with him in prayer or praise, or the Gospel, or Epistle. He may pray, but they do not hear him ; he may praise, but they do not heed him ; he may read the Scriptures, but they mind him not : all he says is in Latin ; whether he read the confession, or the consecration, or the Gospel, all is in Latin, and in a compressed voice, so that no one hears him ; and even hearing him no one understands. The poor people, therefore, continue their own devotions, perfectly distinct from his devotions ; their prayers are altogether distinct from his prayers ; their service has nothing in common with his service ; but, instead of attending to him, and joining with him, they are all occupied in telling their beads. This, perhaps, requires explanation :—They have a string of beads, every tenth bead being different from the others : holding one of the common beads in their fingers, they repeat the ‘Hail, Mary,’ &c., and so with the next bead, and the next, till they have said nine of these short prayers, holding the nine beads in succession. They then hold the tenth, or different bead, and repeat the Lord’s Prayer. Having said this, they pass to the common beads again, and so the same series is again and again resumed . . . . The people, wholly inattentive to him [the priest], and taking no part whatever with him, regard all his proceedings as *his* affair, as *his* service, to be performed *for* them, and not participated in *by* them. They therefore repeat their own prayers, in such form as may please them best ; and it is only when the attendant at the altar rings the bell, to announce to them the elevation of the host, that they cease from their private prayers, and,

kneeling to adore the host, return, after the ringing of the bell, at the elevation of the cup, to their private prayers as before."—pp. 384, 385.

Such is the worship of the lower classes in the Roman Church. But how do the higher classes act? Do they take any part in the service with the minister, or accompany him in his offices of prayer and praise to God?—By no means. They act exactly on the same principle as the lower orders. Each conducts his devotions separately, and in a different way; each brings his favourite book of devotions. Gentlemen and ladies appear with their favourite books of prayer; monks and priests are there with their breviaries or favourite authors; bishops and cardinals attend with their offices, or other books of devotion. Some have translations of part of the service; but each has his own book, and, in almost all cases, a book quite different from that which the priest employs. Mr. Seymour looked into these books, and found one of them a book of psalms, another a book of devout meditations, another a breviary, another a volume of prayers to the Virgin Mary:—

"I have stood in that part of the Sistine chapel, where I could overlook the books of five or six of the cardinals, and no two of them were reading the same thing. I have repeatedly observed this, and say most solemnly, that, except during the holy week, when they followed some of the services, I never saw them reading the same place with the officiating cardinal. In the general congregations of the churches in Rome, one person has a breviary, another an office; one person is reading a psalm, another a litany; one is reading some devout meditation, another offering some prayer to the Virgin; one is earnestly praying to St. Catherine, another devoutly praying to St. Cecilia. It is among them precisely the same as it would be among us, if in a Protestant Church one person were reading Nelson's *Fasts and Festivals*, and another Barrow's *Sermons*; or as if, having the *Book of Common Prayer*, one was reading the *Litany*, and another the *Communion*; one the *Psalms*, and another the *Ten Commandments*; or as if, while the clergyman read the lesson from *Isaiah*, one of the congregation was reading from the *Book of Samuel*, and another from *Revelation*, while no one heard the clergyman, no one heeded him; and all had their favourite books of devotion, and were occupied exclusively with them."—p. 387.

Such is the effect of the retention of the Latin language in the offices of the Church, when it has ceased to be vernacular. The result is, that, in the Church of Rome, there is no united offering of prayer and praise in the most solemn service of all—the holy Eucharist. The office of the mass throughout supposes united prayer: it is always expressed in the plural number. The

priest in all parts speaks as leading the congregation. He addresses himself to them. The whole office supposes united prayer to be offered up; and yet there is no such thing in fact. Each member of the congregation prays to whomsoever or about whatever he chooses, leaving the priest to proceed with *his* service; and paying no attention to his "Oremus," or his "Dominus Vobiscum," or his "Sursum Corda," or any thing else except the elevation of the host. The mass, therefore, becomes, *of necessity*, a service offered by the priest alone: the people *can* take no part in it, and accordingly they are taught to employ themselves in any devotional exercises they can manage to learn. There is no other remedy; for it would not answer to leave them wholly unemployed while the mass is going on. So that, in order to preserve intact the Latin of the mass, the essential character and meaning of the mass itself, as a united act of Christian worship, is sacrificed, and the chief act of worship in the Christian Church is converted into a scene of confusion and disorder, to which the confusion at the Tower of Babel affords the only just and fair parallel. In order to maintain the *Latin* phraseology, the Church is deprived of the blessed privilege of united prayer for God's grace, and united thanksgiving for God's mercy in Christ Jesus: its devotions are narrowed into a thousand individual supplications or meditations different in kind: and, assuredly, this disorderly and divided mode of worship cannot look for the accomplishment of the promise of Jesus Christ made to the *united* prayer of his disciples.

What benefit or advantage, or what obligation there can be to be present at mass at all, when no attention is paid to the mass, we cannot conceive. We know that it is, in fact, a matter of obligation; but on what *principle* that obligation can be founded, when there is no part to be taken by those who are present, except bowing at a certain moment, is not easily to be discerned. If the mass is only offered *for* them, might it not be offered just as effectually in their absence, as in their presence? And if they have no part to take in the worship, why should not their meditations and devotions be as effective at home as if they were offered in the time of mass?

The truth is, that the whole system is in direct contradiction to the plainest dictates of Christian wisdom, and to the universal practice of primitive times. It is one of those cases in which men, by catching at the mere letter of institutions and ordinances, have wholly lost their spirit, and rendered the letter itself an absurdity. The mass is now, notwithstanding its rigid retention of a Latin garb, a positive absurdity, in its addresses to congregations who are unable to understand a single word of it,



or are taught to pay no attention; and in its plural prayers, which only one individual offers up.

The description which Mr. Seymour gives of the monasteries in Italy effectually dissipates any ideas that might be formed of them from the pages of St. Bernard or of other ancient writers. All austerity is at an end, as regards, at least, that class of monasteries which is intended for the reception of the younger sons of the nobility and gentry. Many of these convents are richly endowed, and conducted in excellent style, with many comforts, and without rigid discipline. The mode of life is like that of some members of the English Universities. The members of the Society live in their rooms, dine together, gossip together, attend the services in the chapel, and, if they like, read. They possess pleasant gardens, a good library, an excellent table, with well-furnished apartments.

“In one establishment—through the whole of which I was kindly conducted by one of its members—there was appropriated to each a suite of small apartments, consisting of a sitting-room, a sleeping-room, and a little study, all opening into another vacant apartment, or hall, or gallery; and the whole being separated by a door from all the rest of the establishment. There were twenty-two gentlemen living in this convent, every one of them possessing a similar suite of apartments. And though to the eye of one accustomed to the comforts of an English house, there always seemed a lack of comfort about these establishments; yet such is the general character of an Italian house. And I am bound in candour and honesty to say, that the bachelor life of a convent in Italy is in every respect, considering the two countries, equal in comforts and in society and enjoyment to the general run of a college life in England. . . . The freedom with which they can leave their convents, ramble through the country, lounge through the streets, frequent the coffee-houses, and visit the drawing-rooms of their female acquaintances, gives them the opportunity of enjoying life, and unhappily also of bringing occasionally much scandal on religion.

“I do not feel disposed to attribute to the monks and friars of Rome any special irregularity or impropriety of life. Every one knows, who has any knowledge of the world, that when a number of unmarried men are living together in a barrack, or residing together in a college, the atmosphere of such places is not more pure and moral than elsewhere. The experience of the world has long since settled this matter. Now the convents of the higher classes in Italy are neither more nor less than large boarding-houses for the younger sons of the aristocracy,—a sort of club, arranged in an Italian fashion, where they can live cheaply and well; and keeping the society of those who are in every respect their equals, within the establishment, and at all times go forth to enjoy any society more suited to their tastes, without the establishment.”—pp. 177, 178.

What would St. Anthony, or St. Pachomius, or St. Bernard say to all this? What would they think of those "gentlemen," who "are seen in the drawing-room, and in the billiard-room, and at the gaming-table, and in every place of fashion or amusement?" All this may be very agreeable, and very gentlemanly, and so forth; but certainly it is a misnomer to call establishments of this kind monasteries. They are well-managed *boarding-houses*, as Mr. Seymour calls them.

The monasteries intended for the reception of the poorer classes are chiefly those of the Franciscans and the Capuchins, the filth of whose persons, and the odour of their clothes, are familiar, as Mr. Seymour remarks, to every traveller. Mr. Seymour was taken through one of their convents, which contained 170 monks. It was a large building, arranged much like a barrack for troops, only that each monk had a room of his own. "The dirt and stench of these little rooms, equalled only by a squalid garret in St. Giles's, in London, exceeds any possible description, and was only rivalled by the disgusting and loathsome dirt and stench of the monks who inhabited them." The chapel and infirmary were good.

"I found that it required no money to secure admission, as the establishment was so miserably endowed, and its members so wretchedly poor, that no person with five pounds in the world would enter it. But all those persons or classes of persons who ought to be domestic servants, but were unwilling to work, or who ought to handle a spade or a pitchfork as agricultural labourers, but preferred a life of laziness and idleness to one of labour and industry,—a matter of rather general occurrence in Italy,—could obtain room in this and similar convents, and secure a wretched subsistence, by wearing the dress of the order, and taking the usual vows. These lazy, idle, dirty fellows were of every age. The great majority of them varied from twenty-five to forty years of age. And all without exception seemed of the class of the lowest labouring population; many of these monks being unable to read or write; so that, though the establishment might in theory be regarded by some minds as a holy and Christian home and retreat for pious and devoted men from the lower classes of society, yet in actual practice it was a sort of overgrown almshouse, a sort of union poor-house, the inmates of which were not the sick and the infirm and the aged, as in England, but the strong, the active, the healthy, and the able-bodied of the population, who ought to have been compelled to labour for their support. And as for this and the other similar establishments of Franciscans and Capuchins, as houses for the pious and holy, it needs not that any man should be informed that the inmates are often the most vicious and depraved even in Italy."—p. 181.

This certainly presents no very pleasing picture of the convents for the lower orders in Italy. It sadly mars the romance attendant on this notion, to find that their inmates are so extremely dirty in their habits. Filth can hardly be regarded as an essential feature in monastic life ; for if so, we are at a loss to account for its absence from the convents inhabited by gentlemen. The inference, then, is, that the dirty and slovenly habits of the lower orders find their way into convents inhabited by them, and that the filth of Capuchins and Franciscans simply arises from their low habits previously to their admission as friars.

The ceremony of taking the veil is usually invested with every possible circumstance calculated to produce an effect on the minds of spectators. The pomp and publicity which is invariably given to displays of this kind both in Italy and in England, and of which Mr. Seymour gives many very curious instances, are especially designed for the purpose of inducing women to devote themselves to a conventual life. But whatever may be the motives which lead persons in England to enter on this state, they are not, at least, under the *moral necessity* which appears to exist in Italy for taking such a step. It appears from Mr. Seymour's statements, that all classes of persons in Italy are agreed, that such is the vitiated state of the moral atmosphere in that country, that female purity is exposed to the greatest danger, and can scarcely be preserved intact except within the walls of a monastery ! This was the continually-expressed opinion of the most eminent preachers, and of women of irreproachable character, mothers of families. Such a fact speaks volumes as to the state of morals in Italy.

The convent also forms a convenient way of disposing of unmarried daughters ; and the parent of this class of gentry, who pays from 200*l.* to 500*l.* to settle his daughter in a sisterhood, is relieved from all further care for her support, while he knows that she will possess every thing needful for her rank in life. In the more expensive convents, sums varying from 500*l.* to 1000*l.*, according to the amount of luxury and comfort provided, are requisite.

The novice, when placed by her parents at a convent, becomes at once subject to such an amount of pressure from the state of public opinion and from the resolution of her own parents, that she is virtually, though not legally, *compelled* to take the black veil at the expiration of her novitiate. Mr. Seymour gives some interesting accounts of the ceremony of taking the white veil. On these occasions, in Italy, as well as in this country, the postulant appears, in the first instance, clad in the utmost splendour and magnificence ; and the congregation are led to wonder at the sublime self-denial which can induce a woman to relinquish so

much which captivates the senses, and consign her youth and beauty, and accomplishments, to the retirement of the cloister. One of these scenes is ably portrayed by Mr. Seymour.

“On approaching the monastery I was struck with the profusion of flowers that strewed the entrance. Early as the season then was, when in our colder climate there is neither bloom nor perfume, neither verdure nor blossom for the flower, there was a profusion of what seemed to me to be wild flowers, of every hue of the rainbow, mingling with sprigs of leafy green from many and various shrubs. . . . Even the street in which the monastery stands was strewn to a considerable extent with those emblems of rejoicing at the nuptials of one more maiden to her heavenly Spouse. It is in this light they affect to regard such events.”

We must pass over part of the description, and come at once to the principal personage.

“In a few moments the destined bride of Jesus Christ entered. She was led into the chapel, and along the aisle, by the Princess Borghese. They knelt for a few minutes at the side-altar, and then the princess conducted her to the cardinal-vicar. They both knelt to him, and as the candidate bent her head, her long rich tresses of chestnut-coloured hair fell like a veil around her, and gave her a peculiar interest. . . . This destined recluse, or bride of Jesus Christ, was dressed specially for the occasion. Her dress was white satin, richly damasked in gold. Her head was adorned with a diadem of diamonds, beneath which fell a profusion of long and luxuriant curls of rich chestnut-coloured hair. Her neck was covered with precious stones, that flashed through the many ringlets that fell among them. Her breast was gemmed with brilliants set off by black velvet, so that she sparkled and blazed in all the magnificence of the jewels of the Borghese family, said to be among the most costly and splendid in Italy.”—p. 226.

This splendid lady, having paid her devotions, and having heard a sermon delivered by a reverend confessor in a very effective way, was subsequently conducted out of the chapel, into a room within a grating, where the following scene was witnessed by our author :—

“They affected to be very anxious to see for themselves ; but on this as on all similar occasions, they endeavoured to make every thing mysterious by concealment. I was resolved, however, that I would not be disappointed ; and I found them sufficiently courteous not to prevent me looking over the shoulder of a priest. The destined nun was on her knees, inside the grating. The Princess Borghese was beside her, directing her maid to take off the tiara and other jewels ; no other hands—not even the hands of the nuns, were allowed to touch a diamond, they were the jewels of the Borghese family, and the princess and her maid watched every stone till they were all carefully removed by their own

hands, and deposited safely from any light fingers that might possibly be present, even in the sacred interior of a monastery of nuns! At last every diamond was gone; and then the hair—the beautiful hair with its luxuriant tresses, its long, wreathy ringlets of rich and shining chestnut, was to be now cut off. It was the loveliest charm she possessed; and in parting with the world, its pleasures and its sorrows together, she was to part with that which, of all else, had attracted the admiration of men: she meekly bowed her head to her sad destiny. Lo! they touched it, and it was gone! as if by a miracle, it was gone! Alas! that the pen must write the truth,—it was a wig.”—p. 231.

Such things as this certainly throw a new light on the romantic ceremonial of a profession.

“A chiel’s amang you takin’ notes,  
And faith he’ll prent ‘em.”

Professions of nuns are evidently *imposing*, in more senses than one. They look very well in print, and they appear so to the eye; but if an observer like Mr. Seymour could tell us the real facts of each case, disclose the prudential motives which have dictated the choice of a monastic life, and detail the contrivances by which display has been effected, we should look on the whole affair in a different light. In the case here mentioned, the “lovely postulant” was a vulgar-looking woman of more than forty years of age, a maid-servant of Princess Borghese, who thus exchanged a menial condition for a most respectable establishment, in which she was the equal of all its inhabitants. We wonder what the founders of the monastic institute would have thought of all this display of these bewigged and bejewelled candidates for admission into their cloisters. Does it not look very much as if those who were about to forsake the world were anxious to have at least one *very deep* draught of its pleasures before resigning them? It is probably on the same principle that the Italians make themselves amends beforehand for the abstinence of Lent, by the feasting and gaiety of the Carnival.

We must, with regret, pass over much that is interesting in this volume, especially the description of the high ceremonies at Rome at Easter and on other great occasions, which are clearly and well explained and justly criticized, and pass on to one or two curious illustrations of the religious amusements of Rome.

It was at the church where the Bambino (a little wooden image of our Lord about two feet long, held in immense veneration by the people) is worshipped, that our author came one day on the following curious scene:—

“While multitudes of persons, almost exclusively of the lower orders,

were arriving and departing in increasing succession, we observed a little girl of about ten years of age, dressed modestly, and not unlike a nun, elevated on a platform, and preaching to a large congregation. She concluded at the moment we arrived within hearing, and was immediately succeeded by a little boy of about the same age. He was robed in the ordinary dress of the clergy, with cassock and short surplice, with the usual cap worn by the priests in the churches. He was a perfect miniature of a priest. There was not a smile on his little face, he looked grave and serious. He seemed as if he felt what and whom he represented. The moment he took his place, he proceeded with the utmost gravity to lift his cap in the usual way, and then to cross himself, and then to kneel in private prayer. He arose and resumed his cap, took out his white handkerchief and used it, looked gravely at the people, repeated a few words, again took off his cap, and after thus mimicking with the most perfect accuracy every thing the priests and monks are in the habit of doing when going to preach, and at the same time mimicking them with a gravity of look and manner exceedingly droll in so young a child, he actually commenced a sermon. So admirably did the little fellow bear himself, that I could not divine whether all this was done in sober seriousness, or in mockery of the priests and monks, especially as the child was incomparably schooled in the acting. In all that required acting, the movement of the limbs, and the expression of the face, he was inimitable, so that while he acted throughout with the utmost gravity, the whole congregation, consisting of men and women, monks and children, laughed long and loud at what seemed to them an admirable imitation of their preaching priests. And yet the sermon otherwise was not one to be laughed at. It was well and carefully written, and the little fellow had learned it by heart, and had most carefully been trained to go through every portion of it. He would now address himself to the fashionable, now to the careless, now to the wicked. He would then appeal to the heavens, then to the earth, then to the Bambino, with his hand outstretched, and his finger pointing to the scene before described. At one time his hands were clasped, and his head hung upon his breast with an expression of deep sorrow. At another time his arms were flung wide, and his little face turned as towards heaven in the expression of adoration. Then at the conclusion of each paragraph or division of his discourse, he would, in the most cool, collected, and solemn way, so as to excite considerable laughter, draw forth his handkerchief, and apply it to his face, and then pause and prepare for again proceeding."—pp. 354—357.

It appears that this was connected with some school exhibition ; but really, considering that it was in a church, we think "the monks and friars, who came in considerable numbers," might have abstained from "laughing aloud and clapping their hands." That the mass of the people "looked on and laughed and joked, as if it were an amusing species of Punch and Judy," cannot be any matter of surprise.



In truth, it is not in England alone that the people evince a want of sufficient respect for the temples of God. The same kind of levity and disrespect prevails to a still greater degree in Italy. We have just had an instance ; here is another :—

“ When we entered this church [at Genoa] to witness the vespers with music and a procession, we were surprised at the extreme irreverence that marked the whole bearing and conduct of the congregation. A very few poor women were kneeling as if in worship, many were seated on benches in conversation, while the great majority of the congregation were walking about the church, laughing together, and acting in a manner irreconcilable to all our English notions of propriety and decency, to say nothing of reverence. . . . And as soldiers in their brilliant uniform, civilians in their showiest attire, young girls in their jendulas, monks in their sombre dresses, all moved before us, and chatted and made a regular promenade of the church, as if utterly indifferent to the religious character of the place, while we were looking and wondering at all, a respectable-looking woman took her seat beside us : she seemed rapt in devotion for some moments, repeated her prayers in a gently audible tone, and then slyly slipt her hand before me, and asked for money, for the sake of the blessed Virgin ! She could not take a refusal gently given, but persevered ; so we removed to another place to avoid her. . . . We soon stopped and stood in the centre of the church, and were observing the bright and lively appearance of the congregation, as they passed by and around us, when we were more particularly struck by the conduct of the monks. There were many of them there,—some chatting with young men, some conversing with young women, others standing in groups. . . . I must confess that our astonishment was extreme when we observed these men chatting, laughing, and promenading with as much levity as the youngest and gayest of the congregation.”

After the author had several times been applied to for alms by persons who had previously endeavoured to attract his attention by making a great show of devotion, the service commenced. The congregation did not take any part whatever, or join in the responses.

“ During the pauses in the services, there were several splendid interludes, or perhaps, more strictly speaking, operatic music of the very highest order. Nothing I had ever heard in the way of music surpassed it ; but it was precisely that which may be heard at the opera, and certainly is not often heard elsewhere. Some of the pieces were very grand, some were very sweet and pretty, some were very lively and brilliant. Every thing,—the brilliant lights, the shining dresses, the conversation, the promenade, the gallantry, the coquetry, and especially the character of the music, threw over all the tone and style of some musical entertainment at a theatre ; and at times, there flashed

across my mind, the promenade in Kensington Gardens, when the military band was there ; all was as brilliant, as merry, and as gay. I looked carefully throughout the church, while the priests were in the act of officiating, and I could observe but one man kneeling, and one woman leaning on a chair in a half-kneeling posture."—pp. 107—111.

There is a great deal to be gathered from all this ; but we think that Mr. Seymour might as well have abstained from the remarks which he has appended on English cathedral service and the practice of intoning the prayers (pp. 114—116). It may be, and is true, that there are persons who attend cathedral service more as a musical display than as the worship of God ; and it may be, that Mr. Seymour himself cannot follow the cathedral service with feelings of devotion, or without a great effort. But, unquestionably, to very many others, the cathedral service is an aid to devotional feelings, and they would most keenly feel the deprivation of such a service. The increasing number of churches in which this service is to a greater or less extent performed, and the large attendance, and devotional demeanour of the congregations, are sufficient evidence that no inconsiderable part of the community look on the musical services of the Church of England with very different feelings indeed from those expressed by Mr. Seymour. What we have to complain of, in many of our cathedrals, is, the slovenly, irreverential, and ineffective performance of that service ; so badly managed indeed has it been, even in some of our principal cathedrals, that some have often felt, that if the service were to remain thus, profaned by the levity and indevotional character of singing men and choristers, it were far better that it should perish. Our cathedral service too, frequently, is any thing but an inviting musical treat. But where it is reverentially, solemnly, and well executed—when the music is appropriate and accordant in style with the sacred character of the offices it is employed in, we cannot conceive on earth a higher enjoyment or a more efficient aid to devotion. Were the cathedral service what it ought to be, we should find it far more numerously attended than it now is ; and we hope that the day of improvement is at hand, and that all choirs may stand in the efficient and respectable position occupied by those of Exeter and of Canterbury.

Having thus discharged a duty in protesting against Mr. Seymour's notions on cathedral service, we must bring our remarks to a close, with an expression of the high sense we entertain of the substantial value of his "*Pilgrimage to Rome.*" There are things here and there which we could wish otherwise, and which must render his volume less acceptable to Churchmen

than his "Mornings with the Jesuits." We think that his work might be made more generally popular, and therefore more useful, by being subjected to a careful revision, with a view to remove casual expressions and sentiments which will give needless offence to the very persons to whom his work might otherwise be most useful and beneficial. And having said this, we must conclude with expressing the gratification, and the instruction which we have derived from this very able and deeply interesting volume. It is a work which deserves to be carefully studied by all classes of Churchmen ; and it meets a great want which was felt to exist for authentic information on the every-day-life working of the system of the Church of Rome.

- ART. VI.—1. *Correspondence respecting the Affairs of Italy.***  
 Part I. 1846—1849. *Presented to both Houses of Parliament by Command of Her Majesty, July, 1849.* Part II. From January to June 30, 1848. *Presented to both Houses of Parliament by Command of Her Majesty, July 31, 1849.*
- 2. *Correspondence respecting the Affairs of Rome.*** *Presented to both Houses of Parliament by Command of Her Majesty, Jan. 15, 1849.*
- 3. *Ma Mission à Rome.*** Mai, 1849. *Mémoire présenté au Conseil d'Etat. Par M. FERDINAND DE LESSEPS.* Paris: Amyot. 1849.
- 4. *Réponse de M. F. de Lesseps au Ministre et au Conseil d'Etat.*** Août, 1849. Paris: Amyot. 1849.

EIGHTEEN months ago we parted with the Pope at Rome<sup>1</sup>. His resolution to uphold, in all its pristine pride, his pseudo-Apostolic power, was unshaken, but his strength was utterly broken. The attempt which characterized the commencement of his reign, to make the democracy throughout Europe subservient to the aggrandizement of the Papacy, and to the restoration of its former ascendancy in the political world, had borne its legitimate fruit. The Constitution of March 14th, which carried concession, according to the then declaration of Pius himself, to its utmost limits, had been extorted from the fears of the Pontiff by popular clamour; the Order of Jesuits, the pillar of the Papacy, though standing high in the personal favour of Pius himself, had been forced to yield before the storm, and to withdraw from the eternal city; the revolution, for such it was, of the first days of May, 1848, the result of the Allocution of April 29th, had deprived the Pope of all real control over the foreign relations of the Pontifical States; and for his own personal popularity, or rather for his deliverance from the most menacing storm of unpopularity, the once idolized Pius stood indebted to the patronage of one formerly branded by the Church with the mark of heresy, and driven into exile as a political offender.

Virtually the Papacy was deposed in Rome itself in May, 1848. The shadow only of the Pope's sovereignty remained. The

<sup>1</sup> See "The Papacy and the Revolution," *English Review*, vol. ix. pp. 255—285.

ministry of Count Mamiani, reconstructed in August by one of its members, the unfortunate Count Rossi, in vain endeavoured to reconcile the violent demands of the democracy, and the popular aspirations after an Italian nationality, with the spiritual supremacy of the Pope, and with the relations in which, as the head of the Roman Church, he stood to the "Catholic" world. The hopeless struggle ended in the assassination of Count Rossi, and the ignominious flight of the Pope in the month of November, 1848,—events which are, no doubt, fresh in the recollection of our readers, and which we need not therefore recapitulate. This was a death-blow, not only to the temporal, but to the spiritual power of the Pope. The charge of ingratitude, contained in the protest issued by Pius IX. on the 29th of November<sup>1</sup>, sat lightly on the consciences of his rebellious subjects, who on the 12th of December committed the government of the State provisionally to a Junta, in which the sovereignty was vested until the Pope should return to his dominions. The protest of Pius against the Junta, and his subsequent Bull of excommunication<sup>2</sup>, failed of producing the desired effect. The election of the Constituent Assembly was proceeded with, the Pope's spiritual censure was treated with every indignity which enmity and profaneness combined could devise<sup>3</sup>; and on the 9th of February of the present year the deposition of the Pope, and the constitution of the Roman Republic, was solemnly proclaimed on the Capitol; a final and decisive step which induced the Pope, in a circular issued by Cardinal Antonelli on the 18th of February, to invoke the armed intervention of the European powers for the restoration of the Papacy.

At this point, then, commences the history of the open warfare in which the Papacy has been engaged with the republican principle, and in which it has been supported, not only by the ancient "Catholic" monarchies of Europe, but, strange to say, indirectly by Protestant England, and directly by republican France. The three months, or nearly so, which had elapsed since the assassination of Count Rossi and the flight of the Pope, had been consumed in fruitless endeavours made by both parties to secure their own ends without coming to an open rupture; the revolutionary party at Rome seeking at first to prevail upon Pius to return and continue to lend the sanction of his name to their proceedings,

<sup>1</sup> See our "Foreign and Colonial Intelligence," *English Review*, vol. x. pp. 488, 489.

<sup>2</sup> See our "Foreign and Colonial Intelligence," *English Review*, vol. xi. pp. 232—235.

<sup>3</sup> See for the details our "Foreign and Colonial Intelligence," *English Review*, vol. xi. pp. 235—238.

and, even after the refusal of Pius to receive their overtures, hesitating to make any other than a temporary provision for the administration of the Government, in the still cherished hope of rendering the weakness of the Pontiff's character subservient to their designs; while, on the other hand, the Pope tried the various weapons with which the armoury of his authority, both temporal and spiritual, supplied him, in the hope of bringing his revolted subjects back to their obedience by exhortation and remonstrance. It was not until all these expedients had been resorted to in vain; when all chance of a peaceable accommodation was clearly at an end; when the Romans were clearly convinced that the Pope would not abate one jot or tittle from his ecclesiastical pretensions, nor give for the maintenance of free institutions the guarantees which his people demanded of him; and when Pius could no longer disguise from himself that upon no account the Romans would again willingly submit to the bastard sovereignty of an ecclesiastical power;—not till then it was, that both parties took a course involving open and irrevocable hostility, and evincing a determination at all costs to maintain their respective claims; the Romans their claim to civil freedom, the Pope his claim to absolute and irresponsible dominion. This being the critical point, at which the Romans became decidedly republican, and the Pope avowedly reactionary, it will not be uninteresting to examine somewhat more minutely the documents from which the temper and spirit of both parties and the view which they took of their position may be collected.

The decree of the Roman Assembly, which cut off all possibility of reconciliation with the Pope, was the result of a protracted debate of fourteen hours, in the course of which Mamiani and Sterbini, with a few others, alone had the courage to oppose the general determination to do away with the Papal sovereignty altogether: out of 144 members five only voted against the proposal to proclaim the republic; fourteen, though they voted for the deposition of the Pope, were not prepared to vote for the republican form of government; while all the rest voted both for the deposition of the Pope and for the proclamation of the republic. The decree of the Assembly, enacted by this overwhelming majority, was as follows:—

*Fundamental Decree.*

“*Art. 1.* The Pope is deposed, *de facto* and *de jure*, from the temporal government of the Roman State.

“*Art. 2.* The Roman Pontiff shall have all the necessary guarantees of independence in the exercise of his spiritual power.

“*Art. 3.* The form of government of the Roman State shall be



a pure democracy, under the glorious name of 'the Roman Republic.'

"*Art. 4.* The Roman Republic will entertain with the rest of Italy those relations which are demanded by a common nationality<sup>5</sup>."

This decree, dated "February the 9th, at one o'clock in the morning," was proclaimed in the Capitol at noon on the same day; and, after the ceremony, the following proclamation was published by the ministry:—

"A great fact has been accomplished. The National Assembly, consisting of our lawful representatives, has, in the name of the sovereignty of the people, concluded, that the only form of government suitable for us is that which rendered our forefathers so great and glorious.

"Accordingly the Roman Republic has been decreed by the Assembly, and proclaimed this day from the Capitol.

"Every citizen, who is not an enemy of his country, is bound to give his prompt and loyal adherence to this government, which, sprung from the free and universal vote of the representatives of the nation, will proceed in the paths of order and justice.

"After so many centuries, we behold our country and our liberty restored; let us prove ourselves worthy of this gift of God, and the Roman Republic will be eternal and prosperous."

A circular was at the same time addressed by the Minister for Foreign Affairs to the Roman Ministers and Consuls abroad, for the purpose of announcing to them the proclamation of the Republic, and the confirmation of the Government Commission by the Assembly, and of inducing them to acknowledge with as little delay as possible the Roman Republic, which, it is said in the circular, "having sprung from the free vote of the people, is, as a matter both of right and of fact, the most legitimate government in the world." On the following day an Executive Council of three,—Italians, responsible and removable—was appointed by the Assembly; the first Triumvirs were Armellini, Salicetti, and Montecchi; the first of whom retained his position to the last, while the other two were subsequently replaced by Mazzini and Saffi. Two days after, another decree passed the Assembly, ordering the laws to be promulgated and justice administered 'in the name of God and the people;' adopting the tricoloured flag, with an eagle, as the national standard; and re-

<sup>5</sup> Although we have enumerated, at the head of this article, several documentary collections and authentic publications, yet, as there are many documents connected with the history of these transactions not contained in them, we shall freely quote from the public journals, without deeming it necessary to indicate the particular source from which we have taken each document.

leasing all civil and military functionaries from the oaths which they had taken to the late government.

Thus far, unquestionably, the change which had been effected, was the work of the Romans themselves; but it is fair to mention, that at this period the influence of Mazzini, who had already visited Rome in December, but who was at this time staying in Florence, began to manifest itself. On the 25th of February, the *Costituente Italiana* contained an article of three columns, from the pen of Mazzini, and signed with his name, a few extracts from which will best serve to show the character of his views:—

“Rome the sainted, Rome the eternal, has spoken; and her first word is the first word of a new era—the third Italian era. From a period of artificiality, of political sophistry, of immoral machinations, incapable of creating a people and making them into a nation, the Romans now pass on to the broad and brilliant life of truth. The veil has been withdrawn from the lie of an impossible agreement between liberty and a power which had become a dead corpse; between national unity and the mean selfishness of foreign courts or courts in bondage to the foreigner; and we arise in the consciousness of our mission and our strength.

“To the prince who flies when the country awakes fair and radiant with a thought of love and of new life, we say: ‘Thou art not worthy to live upon our soil.’ To the priest who, untrue to the mission of emancipation committed to him by the First Martyr of humanity, drives the prince to an act of cowardice, and who threatens to anathematize a people eager to interrogate him on the duties and the rights of the new era, we make answer in the words of the Bishop of Gaul: ‘Thou camest to excommunicate, and thou shalt depart excommunicated.’

“Religion, betrayed by its ministers, resides in us, who are, in community of sacrifice, of love, and of progress, the Eternal Church of the faithful. Let the phantom vanish before the light of truth. None reigns here but ‘God and the people;’ God, sovereign in heaven and in earth; the people, progressive worshippers and interpreters of his law. As in the days of Gregory III., we may inscribe on our banners, ‘*Ecclesia sancti Dei et respublica Romanorum.*’

“But, in order to be resuscitated as a Church and as a republic, we must drink into love, and into the consciousness of originality and autonomy—of an autonomy which shall not be, as some would have it, provincial and dynastic, but Italian.”

As a useful gloss upon this rhapsody of mingled Deism and republicanism, we subjoin, from the same document, what may be called Mazzini’s profession of faith:—

“To us life is a mission, this earth the stage on which we are to fulfil it in order to elevate ourselves to God. Man is a prefectible and social

being, accordingly progressive perfection is the law of his existence ; the means to its attainment association with his fellow-men. The more extensive and intimate that association is, the more strength shall we have for proceeding in the road of improvement.

“ We propose, therefore, to place at the top of our social edifice the most excellent in mind and heart, in genius and virtue. We are travellers in the unknown territories of the future, and we mean to confide our destinies, those of our children and grandchildren, and of the generations to come, not to men marked out by chance, or by the privilege and despotism of conquest, but to men of approved intelligence and devotion, to men who shall be constantly forced to lean upon our confidence.”

Of this new political and religious creed M. Mazzini was the high priest, the deistical Antipope to the Mariolatrous Pope, Pius IX. ; both antagonistic to the Christian faith as well as to each other. It is by thus marking the religious no less than the political character of the two conflicting powers that we obtain the key to the singular drama which has recently been enacted at Rome, and to its significance in the history of the world. To treat the question, as has been done in an exceedingly clever but thoroughly wrong-headed, and in its statements of the facts somewhat unscrupulous article in the *Quarterly*, without reference to the religious considerations involved in it, is to tread in the footsteps of the ingenious author who wrote the history of the Jews without reference to their divine mission. It was not merely the adoption of one set of political views in the place of another ; the preference given to a republican Utopia, which promised a reign of universal justice and purity of purpose, over an ecclesiastical government, the abuses, the iniquities, and corruptions of which had become wholly intolerable ; but it was the manifestation of the popular unbelief in the long-sustained doctrinal lie of Rome which procured for Mazzini, as the apostle of a new and professedly purer creed, the triumphal reception, bordering on idolatrous veneration, which was given him, when, on the 6th of December, he took his seat, by the side of the president, in the Constituent Assembly of Rome, destined soon to be raised to the chief place of power in the deistical republic.

In that memorable session, the frantic enthusiasm of which, as described by the journals of the day, forcibly recalls to mind the sway which the prestige of tribunician power had over the people of ancient Rome, M. Mazzini delivered himself of a discourse on what he was pleased to call the *unification*, as contradistinguished from the *union*, of Italy, which will serve to complete the sketch already given of his daring and extravagant political system. The immediate occasion of it was the proposal for the union, or,

to conform ourselves to the Mazzinian phraseology, the *unification* of Tuscany with Rome :—

“The general tendencies of Tuscany,” said M. Mazzini, “are all in favour of *unification* with Rome. I say *unification* and not *union*, because the latter expression has fallen too much into disrepute. The Tuscan journals are all favourable to this unification, with the exception of one, which says not one word upon the subject, and which by this very silence proves the desire to be so general, that it would be idle to oppose it<sup>6</sup>.

“The government and the clubs have pronounced a favourable opinion, and the provisional government would have yielded to this general wish, if it had not been afraid of violating what it calls legality. On one hand I respect this scruple, on the other hand I condemn it. Italy, gentlemen, is in a state of revolution. Now men who head a revolution have no other judge but God, the people, and their conscience. To endeavour to remain within the bounds of legality is to misconceive the very elements of revolutionary government.

“In Tuscany there is no *municipalism*. Autonomy is there understood in its true sense ; that is to say, a different meaning is attached to it from that which the first inventor of this word (Gioberti) gave to it, understanding as he did by it the domination of a family, a caste<sup>7</sup>.

“The Tuscans recognise in Italy only two autonomies—that of the nation, and that of the city or municipality ; and they desire to see them both respected.

“The objections turn upon two points. It is apprehended, 1, that union might impede the administrative business in progress of execution ; 2, that the union might interfere with the municipal element.

“As to the first point, the assembly ought to give the assurance that the administrative business will suffer no delay ; and on the second point it ought loudly to declare that what it wants is a political *unification*, which may serve to develop social life in all its ramifications, and not an imperialist union or a union *à la Française*.”

These few specimens of the terms in which the views of the republican party were propounded will be sufficient to give our readers an idea of the spirit with which the Papacy is at present disputing the allegiance of the public mind of Italy. We may, therefore, now revert to simple matters of fact, and proceed to examine the nature of the constitution, which the Roman republic

<sup>6</sup> This fact which, unexplained, “speaks volumes” in favour of the Mazzini policy, admits, however, of a very different explanation. There were at this time four journals published at Florence ; three of which, *La Costituente Italiana*, *L’Alba*, and *Il Popolano*, were entirely under the control of Mazzini’s party. The fourth, *Il Nazionale*, had excellent reasons for its silence, having before its eyes the doom of two other journals *La Vespa* and *La Riforma* which had forfeited their existence by their opposition to the dominant faction.

<sup>7</sup> This is probably not the only case in which these new lights fail to understand one another, or even themselves.

imposed upon itself as the fundamental law of the new state of society about to be established. The fundamental principles of it are set forth in the preamble, as follows:—

“The sovereignty residing, of eternal right, in the people, the people of the Roman State have constituted themselves into a Republic.

“The Roman citizens are equal and free.

“The Roman republic honours virtue, and sacrifices made for the brethren and for the country.

“The republic takes upon itself the education of all citizens, in order to enable them to ameliorate their condition by industry, labour, and intelligence.

“All the rights of nationalities are sacred to the Roman republic, which regards all nations as brethren.

“Every citizen is bound to sacrifice his life for the defence of the republic, and of the national independence.

“All the municipalities have equal rights; their independence is limited only by the laws of universal utility.

“The Catholic religion is the religion of the State. The exercise of civil and political rights does not depend on religious belief.”

After this preamble the constitution itself is set out in nine chapters, containing eighty-three articles.

The first chapter treats of “the rights and duties of the citizens.” Among its provisions is in Article vi., the abolition of capital punishment and of confiscation.

The second chapter treats of “the exercise of the powers.” It vests the legislative power in a representative assembly, chosen every three years by universal suffrage, every citizen, at the age of twenty, having a vote; and the number of representatives being at the rate of 1 to every 30,000 citizens. The executive power is placed in the hands of two consuls, chosen by universal suffrage, and requiring, at least, 100,000 votes, in default of which they are to be chosen by the Representative Assembly; one consul to go out of office every year, and not to be re-eligible till the expiration of two years. As a check upon this executive, twelve tribunes are appointed, likewise by universal suffrage, for five years, and immediately re-eligible.

The third chapter defines the powers of the Assembly, which is declared indissoluble, and to which alone it belongs to make war or peace, and to conclude treaties.

The fourth chapter defines the functions of the consuls, and settles the subdivision of the departments of the state.

The fifth chapter defines the attributes of the tribunes, who are inviolable during their term of office, and for a year after. To these the consuls are bound to render an account of their administration, at the close of their year of office: they determine

whether there are grounds for impeachment, and they have the power of convoking, in case of need, extraordinary comitia, or assemblies of the people.

The sixth chapter defines the position of the Council of State, consisting of fifteen members, chosen by the Assembly, whom the consuls are bound to consult on all important affairs of state.

The seventh chapter refers to the administration of justice. The judges are nominated by the consuls, and hold office for life. All judicial proceedings are to be conducted "in the name of God and the people."

The eighth chapter treats of the military power, both by land and by sea. The appointment of general commanders is vested in the Assembly.

The ninth chapter makes all changes in the constitution dependent on the requisition of, at least, one-half of the representatives, and determines that the present constitution shall not be changed till one year, at least, after its promulgation.

The main outline of this constitution is evidently borrowed from the ancient republic. The most remarkable feature of it is the total silence which it observes respecting the papacy, plainly indicating a determination not only to exclude the papacy from all participation in the political power of the state, but to make the machinery of the state wholly independent of its existence.

While republican Rome thus laboured to consolidate its new institutions, the Pope, finally undeceived by the proclamation of the Republic as to the advantages to be gained for the papacy from an alliance with the democracy, began seriously to turn his attention towards the possibility of his forcible restoration by the armed intervention of the European powers. To this end Cardinal Antonelli prepared a memorial, which was communicated to the different Courts of Europe, among others to the British Government through the Marquis of Normanby, to whom it was officially transmitted by the Pope's nuncio at Paris, and which we give *in extenso*, as we find it in the Parliamentary Paper, No. 2, at the head of our Article, but in a translation of our own; the official translation being throughout of a very mediocre character, and in several passages positively erroneous:—

"Gaeta, February 18, 1849.

"Our Lord's holiness had, from the very beginning of his Pontificate, nothing else in view but to pour upon his subjects benefits in accordance with the times, making every possible provision for their

<sup>3</sup> Nothing can be more discreditable than the slovenliness and downright ignorance of these official translations. The veriest penny-a-liners could hardly do worse. We should like to see a return of the persons employed and monies expended in the translation department of the Foreign Office.



welfare. In fact, after having pronounced the pardon of those who were in exile or in prison for political offences ; after having erected the *Consulta di Stato*, and instituted the council of ministers ; after having granted, through the imperious necessity of circumstances, the institution of the Civic Guard, the new law for a decent liberty of the press, and, lastly, a fundamental statute for the States of Holy Church ; he had a good right to that gratitude which is due from subjects to a Prince who regarded them not otherwise than as his children, and who led them to expect no other reign than that of love. But far different was the return he received for the many benefits and acts of condescension which he had lavished upon them. After short demonstrations of applause, directed, however, by those whose bosoms already harboured the most criminal designs (demonstrations, to which the holy father exerted himself to put a stop in a way altogether peculiar to his paternal heart), he very soon experienced the bitter fruit of ingratitude. Forced by the unbridled violence of a faction to involve himself in a war with Austria, he found himself constrained to pronounce an allocution in the Consistory of the 29th day of April of last year, in which he declared to the whole world that his duty and his conscience were not consenting to it. Nothing more was wanted to cause the long-prepared machinations to break forth into open violence done to the exercise of his full and free powers, by compelling him to make a division of the ministry of state into ecclesiastical and civil,—a division which he has never recognised.

“ The holy father trusted, however, that, by placing in the different ministries suitable persons and friends of order, matters would take a better course, and that a partial stop would be put to those mischiefs which already threatened great calamities. But a murderous weapon, wielded by the assassin’s hand, cut short, by the death of the minister Rossi, the hopes which had been conceived. From that crime, hailed with triumph, the reign of violence shamelessly inaugurated itself ; the Quirinal was surrounded by armed men, attempts were made to set it on fire ; against the very apartments where the supreme pontiff resided shots were directed, to which he had the grief of seeing one of his secretaries fall a victim ; and at last it was intended to force an entrance at the cannon’s mouth into his palace, unless he consented to admit the ministry meant to be imposed upon him.

“ Having, through a succession of deeds so atrocious, necessarily succumbed to the empire of force, as is well known to all the world, the Pontiff found himself reduced to the hard necessity of removing from Rome, and from the whole Pontifical State, in order to recover the liberty which had been taken from him, and which he must enjoy in the full exercise of his supreme power. Having in the order of Divine Providence repaired to Gaeta, where he was hospitably received by an eminently Catholic prince, and being surrounded by a large portion of the Sacred College, and by the representatives of all the powers with which he is in relations of amity, he did not delay a moment to make his voice heard in announcing, by the Pontifical Act of the 27th November last, the

motives of his temporary separation from his subjects, the nullity and illegality of all the acts which had emanated from a ministry extorted by violence, and in nominating a government commission which should assume the direction of public affairs during his absence from his States.

“Taking no notice of this manifestation of his will, and contriving to elude its force in the eyes of the ignorant multitude by paltry pretences, the authors of these sacrilegious outrages proceeded to greater crimes, arrogating to themselves those rights which belong to the Sovereign alone, by the institution of an illegal representation of government under the title of Provisional and Supreme State Junta. Against this most aggravated and sacrilegious misdeed the holy father solemnly protested by his other act of the 17th December last, declaring that the said State Junta was nothing else but an usurpation of the sovereign power, and was consequently without any authority.

“He expected that these protests would recall the transgressors to the duties of fidelity and allegiance; but, instead of this, a new and still more monstrous act of open felony, and actual rebellion, filled up the cup of his bitterness. This was the convocation of a General National Assembly of the Roman States, for the purpose of framing new political forms to be given to the states of the holy see. Whereupon he protested against that act by another *motu proprio* of the 1st of January last, condemned it as an enormous and sacrilegious outrage committed against his independence and sovereignty, deserving of the chastisements threatened by divine as well as human law, and prohibited all his subjects from taking any part in the same, warning them, that whosoever ventures to assail the temporal sovereignty of the supreme Roman pontiffs, incurs censures, and especially the major excommunication,—a penalty which he declared that those also had incurred who in any manner, and under any lying pretext whatever, had violated and usurped his authority.

“As for the reception given by the party to this protest and authoritative condemnation, it is sufficient to state that every effort was tried to prevent its promulgation; whoever dared to inform the people of it, or did not second their views, was subjected to punishment; nevertheless, in spite of such unheard-of violence, the majority of the subjects remained faithful to their own Sovereign, and exposed themselves to sacrifices and to perils, even of life itself, rather than be wanting to their duty as subjects and Catholics. Greatly exasperated by seeing their designs obstructed, the said party redoubled, in a thousand ways, violence and terror, without paying any regard to rank or condition, but, being determined at all cost to consummate their excess of felony, they had recourse even to the vilest and most mercenary arts. Thus proceeding from excess to excess, through the abuse of the very benefits granted by the Pontiff, and especially converting the liberty of the press into the most revolting licentiousness, after the most iniquitous malversations, committed in order to reward their accomplices and to rid themselves of the presence of honest and conscientious men, after so

many assassinations committed under their ægis, after having disseminated in every direction rebellion, immorality, and irreligion, after having seduced so many unwary youths, having cast off all respect for sacred places and for the asylums of peace and solitude, and even the places of public instruction, so much so as to convert them into layers for a most undisciplined soldiery, raked together from refugees and common rogues of foreign countries, it is intended to transform the capital of the Catholic world, the seat of the Pontiffs, into a seat of impiety, casting down, if it were possible, every idea of sovereignty in him who is destined by Providence to rule the Universal Church, and who, for the express purpose of a free exercise of his authority over the whole Catholic world, is in possession of a State as the patrimony of the Church; at the sight of which desolation and destruction the Holy Father cannot but be deeply grieved, as well as moved by the cry of his good subjects, who implore his aid and assistance for their deliverance from the most atrocious tyranny.

“ His Holiness, as is well known, soon after his arrival in Gaeta on the 4th day of December last, addressed himself to all the Sovereigns with whom he has relations, and informing them of his removal from his capital and from the Pontifical State, and of the causes which had led to it, invoked their protection in defence of the dominions of the Holy See. It is a pleasing satisfaction to be able to declare that almost all responded kindly, showing the most lively sympathy for his sufferings and his painful position, offering themselves ready to support him, and at the same time manifesting the most obsequious feelings of devotion and of attachment.

“ While, reckoning upon such happy and generous dispositions, Her Majesty the Queen of Spain had with so much solicitude promoted a Congress of the Catholic Powers for determining the means of promptly restoring the Holy Father to his States, and to his full liberty and independence,—a proposition to which several Catholic Powers had given their adhesion, and that of the rest was expected,—it is a painful duty to report that the affairs of the Pontifical State are a prey to a devastating conflagration through the exertions of the party which aims at the subversion of every social institution, and which, under the specious pretences of nationality and independence, has left no stone unturned to attain to the height of its iniquity. The so-called ‘ Fundamental’ Decree, issued by the Roman Constituent Assembly on the 9th instant, presents an act which, upon every account, teems with the blackest felony and the most abominable impiety. By it the Papacy is declared *de facto* and *de jure* deposed from the temporal government of the Roman State; a republic is proclaimed; and, by another act, the tearing down of the arms of the Holy Father is decreed. His Holiness, thus seeing his supreme dignity as pontiff and sovereign set at nought, protests, before all potentates, and before every individual Catholic in the whole world, against this excess of irreligion, and against so violent an attempt to despoil him of his imprescriptible and most sacred rights. Unless a prompt remedy be applied, the succour will arrive after the States of the

Church, now wholly a prey to its bitterest enemies, shall have been reduced to ashes.

“The Holy Father, therefore, having exhausted all the means at his disposal, urged by the duty incumbent on him before the face of the whole Catholic world to preserve in its integrity the patrimony of the Church, and the sovereignty annexed to it, which is so indispensable for the maintenance of his full liberty and independence as supreme head of the Church itself, and moved, moreover, by the groans of the good, who are loudly calling out for help, being unable to endure the iron yoke and tyrant-hand any longer, turns once more to the same powers, and especially to those Catholic powers which have with so much generosity of mind, and in so unequivocal a manner, manifested their decided willingness to come forward in defence of his cause, well assured that they will with all solicitude concur, by their moral intervention, in his restoration to his see, and to the capital of those dominions which were constituted expressly for the maintenance of his full liberty and independence, and guaranteed moreover by the treaties which form the basis of the European law of nations.

“And, forasmuch as Austria, France, Spain, and the kingdom of the Two Sicilies are, by their geographical position, in a situation which enables them to be readily at hand with their arms, for the restoration, in the dominions of the Holy See, of that order which has been subverted by a band of sectaries, the Holy Father, relying on the religious interest felt by those powers, as children of the Church, demands with full confidence their armed intervention, principally for the deliverance of the State of the Holy See from that faction of wretches, who, by every species of wickedness, exercise in it the most atrocious despotism.

“By this means alone can order be re-established in the States of the Church, and the chief pontiff restored to the free exercise of his supreme authority,—an issue which is imperiously demanded by his sacred and august character, by the interests of the universal Church, and by the peace of nations ; and thus will he be enabled to preserve that patrimony which he received at his accession to the pontificate, that he should transmit it entire to his successors. The cause is that of order and of catholicism. Wherefore the Holy Father trusts, that while all the powers with which he is in relations of amity, and which, in the situation into which he has been thrown by a party of factious men, have in so many ways manifested the strongest interest in him, will give a moral assistance to the armed intervention which he has been forced, by the gravity of the circumstances, to invoke, the four powers above mentioned will not delay one moment to render the assistance required of them, thereby deserving well of the cause of public order and religion.

“The undersigned, cardinal pro-secretary of state of his holiness, therefore engages your excellency to have the kindness to bring this note as promptly as possible to the knowledge of your government : and in the confident hope of a favourable reception, he has the honour, &c.”

While this document exhibits the political views of the Pa-

pacy, in opposition to those of the Italian democracy, it is worth while to contrast with the deistical creed of Mazzini and his school the religious character in which the Papacy presented itself before the world at this critical moment. At Rome itself a most barefaced attempt was made to get up a reaction in the public mind, by the lying miracle of the handkerchief of St. Veronica, the particulars of which we recorded at the time<sup>9</sup>; and the whole world was filled with appeals to "the Queen of Heaven," as "the sovereign mother of mercy," on whose protection Pius IX. declared that he relied with especial confidence, and whose more particular favour he endeavoured to conciliate by the famous Encyclic on the Immaculate Conception, preparatory to the contemplated promulgation of that fundamental heresy as an article of the faith<sup>1</sup>.

The documents which we have transcribed, and those to which, having formerly placed them on record, we have referred our readers, will enable them to form a correct estimate of the character of the two contending parties, more in accordance with the facts of the case than the fallacious picture drawn by the writer in the *Quarterly*. As regards the long catalogue of crimes and barbarities laid to the charge of Mazzini and the rest of the leaders of the revolution in the article to which we allude, we cannot but feel surprised that so respectable a publication should scrape together such a mass of wholesale accusations, without vouchsafing to indicate the authority upon which they rest. To say nothing of the explicit denial of these charges, as applicable to himself, and to the government of which he was a member, which appeared in the public prints both in England and France, at the very moment when the article in question must have been in course of preparation, in a letter addressed by Mazzini to MM. de Tocqueville and de Falloux, the exaggeration and untruth of the representations in the *Quarterly* is apparent from their self-contradictory character. While the writer at one part of his narrative states, with perfect truth, that the civic guard, and the revolted soldiery of Rome, were the parties by whom the cardinals were arrested, the life of Pius endangered, and the whole body of the clerical power driven from Rome, he requires his readers at another part of his story to believe that the great mass of the population of Rome was well affected to the Pope, and that the whole revolution was the work of a small faction, composed chiefly of foreign refugees.

<sup>9</sup> See *English Review*, vol. xi. pp. 236, 237.

<sup>1</sup> See the conclusion of the Rescript of Nov. 27, 1848; *English Review*, vol. x. p. 487; and the Encyclic, vol. xi. pp. 238—240.

If this had been the state of the case, would it, we ask, have been possible for a handful of terrorists to have maintained, not only their own power, but the defence of Rome, for upwards of two months, against the science and superior power of the French army? And why, we would further ask, can the French not venture to quit Rome, nor Pius IX. to enter it, although the "faction," and all its adherents, have long been driven forth into exile, and scattered far and wide over the earth?

We are not concerned to vindicate the character of Mazzini and of his coadjutors, for whose principles we need not say that we feel the utmost abhorrence; but truth, and the interests, not of history only, but of the present course of European diplomacy, require that no false colouring should be given to the facts of the case. The Roman revolution, whatever its character, was essentially the work of the Roman population; its excesses, whatever they might be, the fruit of deep religious and moral depravity, engendered by popish superstition and papal misrule,—deeds of blood perpetrated in the streets in a moment of frantic excitement, the terrible response made by a brutalized populace to bloodier and more cruel deeds perpetrated for ages in the dungeons of the Inquisition. We may, indeed, stand aghast at the spectacle of a conflict which exhibits, to whichever side we look, humanity depraved, and Heaven outraged; but to make use of the iniquities of the one party,—to say nothing now of exaggerations or of false imputations grounded upon facts for which those upon whom they are charged are not responsible,—for the purpose of palliating the iniquities of the other; to attempt to enlist the sympathies of men for a system vicious in its origin, and intolerable in its operation, by painting in the blackest colours the system and the men which have risen up in opposition against it, is a manœuvre unworthy alike of the historian and of the statesman.

But we must not anticipate. Before adverting to the part which other states or nations have acted in reference to the Roman question, let us first of all endeavour to get at an impartial view of the position as it was at Rome itself, and to ascertain to which side right and justice incline, whether to the Papacy, or to the republic by which the Papacy as a temporal power was, for a time at least, supplanted.

Viewing the matter, first of all, politically, how does the case stand between the Papacy and the republic? upon what foundation of political right does the Papacy rest? There are, in all, three foundations upon which, politically speaking, a government may rest: the first, hereditary right; the second, the choice



of the people ; the third, admissible only under circumstances of great peculiarity and as an exceptional case, the consent of other powers recorded in solemn treaties. To which of these grounds will the Papacy appeal? Not to the first, because the papal sovereignty is not hereditary, but elective; not to the second, because it is not by the choice of the people, but by that of the College of Cardinals, themselves appointed by the Pope, and many of them foreigners, that the Pope is elected; not to the third, because although the Papacy has been recognised in the successive settlements of Europe, still the Papacy, having recorded a solemn protest against each such settlement<sup>3</sup>, cannot possibly prefer any claim of right on the ground of treaties which have by its own voice been declared unlawful and invalid. In any case, it admits of a question, whether the consent of other powers can be binding as between a sovereign and his subjects, whose free consent, or else their admission and belief of the hereditary rights of the sovereign, is essential to the validity of any dominion whatever; but that a sovereign at variance with his subjects cannot appeal, as a ground on which he claims their obedience, to treaties with other powers against which he himself has protested, is abundantly evident.

The conclusion, therefore, is, that the Pope cannot substantiate any *political* right to his sovereignty over the Roman States. This fact alone is sufficient to put the Roman people in the right, in any issue turning upon the question whether or not the Pope shall rule over them and they obey him. So long as they acquiesce in his bearing rule over them, he may have a semblance of authority; but, when the point is raised, the defect in his title becomes at once apparent; and his legitimate rule is at an end the moment his *de facto* subjects take it into their heads that they will no longer own him for their sovereign.

If, on the other hand, it be asked whether or not the government of the Roman Republic was a lawful government, the answer is equally decisive. The Roman government which was overthrown by the arms of General Oudinot had the highest political sanction which any government not derived from hereditary right possibly can have. It was the Government established by the choice of the people,—the fruit of universal suffrage. We are aware that there is a doubt as to the extent to which the right of voting was exercised in the election for the Constituent Assembly; and the *Quarterly* has a strange tale upon this as well as upon most

<sup>3</sup> The extraordinary diplomatic position in which the Papacy has placed itself by its own acts and declarations, is fully discussed in a pamphlet published last year for the National Club by Messrs. Hatchards, under the title, "Papal Diplomacy and the Bull in *Cænâ Domini*."

other topics. But, even supposing that, from apathy, or from religious scruples arising from the Pope's bull of excommunication, large numbers of electors did not go to the poll,—nay, supposing it proved that the majority took no part in the election,—can this invalidate the election itself? It is not so much as pretended that any violent measures were resorted to, to deter the electors in the interest of Pius from recording their votes. They were free to vote, if they chose; their absence from the poll must under such circumstances be taken as a tacit acquiescence in the decision of the majority of those who voted. There was not at the period of the election in the Roman States any thing like the agitation by which the various elections in France, since the revolution of February, 1848, have been accompanied; and there can be no manner of doubt that the Constituent Assembly, which exercised the sovereign power in Rome from the 9th of February to the 2nd of July, 1849, was as lawfully chosen and constituted as the National Assembly of France; and that the title of Messrs. Lamartine and Co., and afterwards, that of General Cavaignac and M. Louis Napoleon Bonaparte, to the executive power in France was, and is, no better than that of Messrs. Armellini, Mazzini, and Saffi to the triumvirate of Rome.

We beg our readers to bear this point distinctly in mind, that according to the *political* principles recognised by the law of nations Pius never had any right, and on the contrary Armellini, Mazzini, and Saffi had as good a right as, under the circumstances, any one could have, to rule in Rome and over the Roman States.

Upon what, then, is the claim of Pius IX. to the sovereignty of Rome founded? Notoriously, by the evidence of history and by his own confession, upon a religious theory,—upon the theory that the Pope is, as the viceregent of Christ, and the visible head of the Church, invested with supreme authority over all Christendom, and that for the better exercise of this authority a temporal dominion has, in the order of Divine Providence, been assigned to him. Now it is certainly a striking fact that this religious theory, the only solid basis on which the Pope's authority can be made to rest, is denied at Rome itself; that in the very city and state to which this religious theory gives all their importance in the history of modern Europe, the theory, and with it the Pope's sovereignty, is repudiated; and it is difficult to see how, in the teeth of this fact, the theory can be considered as conferring any validity upon the alleged right of the Papacy over the Roman States. The acknowledgment of that theory by the Romans themselves is manifestly an indispensable condition of the existence of any right of sovereignty over them which that theory may be supposed to confer upon the Pope; and, therefore, since the Romans them-

selves have repudiated that right, no other power can, by virtue of its admission of that theory, acquire any right of intervention in the affairs of the Roman States, for the purpose of upholding the repudiated sovereignty of the Pope.

From the same premises some other curious consequences are deducible, which, though we shall have occasion to advert to them more fully hereafter, it will be useful to note down at once in this place, for the completeness of the argument.

The religious theory on which the sovereignty of the Pope is based, we have seen, can give him a right over the Roman people only in the event of their accepting the theory, and not otherwise ; it can give to other powers a right of intervention in the affairs of the Roman State, only in the event of the Pope's right being acknowledged by the Romans, and in the further supposition that those powers themselves accept the religious theory. In the absence, on the contrary, of a distinct recognition of that theory on the part of any given power, no right of intervention can possibly belong to that power. France, for example, does not as a state recognise the religious theory in question. The Roman Catholic religion, of which that theory forms a part, or rather to which it exclusively belongs as one of the distinctive features of its doctrinal system, is not the religion of the state of France, but only the religion of the majority of Frenchmen. Consequently France can have no right to interfere for the maintenance of the Pope's sovereignty. Furthermore, if the religious theory on which the Pope's claim to sovereignty over the Roman State is founded, be expressly denied by any power, that power is by that very fact precluded, not only from interfering to uphold the Pope's sovereignty, but from holding any intercourse or communication with him as a sovereign ; and, though it may have no direct call to put down a claim which it believes to be founded in falsehood, yet, if ever called upon by circumstances to give an opinion or to take action on the subject, such opinion or action must of necessity be directed upon the abolition of a sovereignty known or believed to be based upon an essentially untrue foundation. This is precisely the case of this country ; it is the *rationals* of the laws which prohibit the sovereign and government of these realms from having any diplomatic dealings with the Papacy. The policy of England is to put down the Papacy, even as it is the policy of the Papacy to put down the Church and State of England ; and on either side this is not a matter of choice, but of moral necessity. For this country to take any part, direct or indirect, in upholding the Pope's sovereignty over the Roman State, or to recognise that sovereignty by any diplomatic intercourse, is to stultify the national faith, and the established religion of the kingdom, which pro-

nounces the religious theory on which the Papacy is based an untruth, and the sovereignty claimed on the strength of it an usurpation. Lastly, there is one more conclusion, and that an all-important one, which ought not to be lost sight of in the consideration of this question. If that religious theory be actually, as we believe it to be, contrary to God's truth, if it be neither more nor less than an error, a falsehood, and a pretence, what else can we expect but that the papal sovereignty, which is based upon it, will sooner or later be overthrown and crumble in the dust? Unless we embrace the monstrous supposition that God has abdicated His own sovereignty, and His character as a God of truth, we cannot anticipate aught but a terrible downfall for any edifice raised upon a foundation opposed to His truth.

If this reasoning be correct,—and we are at a loss to see upon what ground its validity can be called in question, being in fact the same reasoning by which, starting from opposite premises, the Papacy itself derives its claim,—we are entitled to lay down as incontrovertible the following propositions:—

Politically, the Pope's claim to sovereignty over the Roman states is wholly untenable.

Upon the ground of a religious theory, that claim must be repudiated by those who repudiate the theory; it cannot be supported by those who, without repudiating the theory, do not acknowledge it; it may be supported by those who themselves accept the theory; provided always, that the Roman people, whom the claim affects as the Pope's alleged subjects, accept the theory, and its consequence, the Pope's sovereignty over them.

Applying these general principles to the case in hand, we arrive at the following conclusions:—

When the Roman people,—casting off, from whatever cause or motive, the religious theory in which, as well as in its consequence, the Pope's sovereignty over them, they had hitherto acquiesced, pronounced the deposition of the Pope,—constituted themselves into a republic, and placed at the head of that republic governors of their own choosing, they did that which they had a perfect political right to do, and by this their act they caused the sovereignty of the Pope to become, not only *de facto*, but *de jure* extinct.

The interference of any foreign power whatever, for the purpose of forcing the Pope back upon the Roman people as their sovereign, is, under these circumstances, wholly unjustifiable. If it was not thought that the powers of Europe were called upon or entitled to interfere for the purpose of forcing Charles X. in 1830, or Louis Philippe in 1848, back upon France, there was still less

reason or right to force back Pius upon Rome : for both Charles X. and Louis Philippe had a title to the throne ; the former his hereditary right, the latter the choice of the people ; both sanctioned by European treaties and international recognition ; whereas Pius, as we have seen, had neither.

Had the circumstances been different,—had, for example, a well-ascertained and recognised majority of the Roman people pronounced itself in favour of the Pope's sovereignty over them, and called for protection against an internal faction, or against a foreign invader, it would have been competent for the Roman Catholic powers of Europe, with the tacit or express consent of the rest, to interfere ; but even in that case there would have been no room for the interference of France, which, as a state professing no religion, can have no claim or aptitude to interfere in a question the merits of which turn altogether upon points of religious belief.

France, by interposing her armed intervention for the restoration of the Pope, has been guilty of a violation of the law of nations which nothing can justify ; she has done that which, although from the peculiar circumstances of the times acquiesced in by the French people and by the other European powers, and—for a time at least, for the end is not yet known—successful, never can lay the foundation for any permanent settlement of the affairs of Rome, and which reflects infinite disgrace upon France, on three distinct grounds :—

1. Because the invasion of the territory of the Roman republic by the French army was an act of unprovoked aggression, considerably aggravated by the relative strength of the two republics.

2. Because for the French republic, established by universal suffrage, to put down the Roman republic, established upon the selfsame basis of universal suffrage, was not only a political error, but a political iniquity ; France trampling under foot, in the case of Rome, rights and principles which, in her own case, she had herself quite recently asserted.

3. Because, in a question the merits of which depend entirely on the tenets of a particular faith, France, which as a state has no religious faith whatever, can have neither call nor title to interfere, having no data for determining the object to which her interference ought to be directed.

In addition to these three evident reasons, which rendered the French expedition to Rome necessarily unlawful and improper, France has disgraced herself by the duplicity and perfidy with which the invasion was planned and carried into effect.

When the first proposal was made in the National Assembly of

France to send an expedition to Rome, the official report made to the Assembly by the Commission to which the subject was referred, stated expressly :—

“ From the explanations given by the President of the Council, and by the Minister of Foreign Affairs, it has been made evident, that *the idea of the Government is not to make France a party to the overthrow of the Republic actually established at Rome*, but that it acts independently, free from all joint responsibility with other powers, consulting only its own interests, its honour, and the share of influence to which it is necessarily entitled in any European question. Your Commission has recorded these positive declarations.

“ Sprung from a popular revolution, *the French Republic could not, without lowering herself, co-operate in the enslavement of an independent nationality*. But it is precisely because Piedmont has succumbed, because the imperial armies threaten Tuscany and the Romagna, by virtue of the laws of war and of the privileges of victory, and because in their train cruel reactions would necessarily take effect, that it is all-important for France,—unless she is prepared to abdicate her position,—to have her flag flying in Italy, in order that under its shadow *humanity may be respected, and liberty be at least partially saved*.

“ Your Commission has understood that, in authorizing the executive power to occupy a point in Italy, which is at this moment menaced, you would instruct it to *set a limit to the pretensions of Austria, and by an arbitration, which the force of our arms would support if necessary, to put an end to all the differences by which the peninsula is still divided, and which our interest as well as our honour requires that we should see settled in a way as favourable as possible for the development of democratic institutions*.”

To this report M. Odilon Barrot, the President of the Council, declared that he gave his hearty assent. “ I repeat,” he said, “ I withdraw not one word of all that I have stated in the commission, and that has been reproduced at this tribune.”

Nothing could be plainer than this announcement of the views and intentions of the French government. In this sense the expedition had, according to the political principles of the French republic, a rational and legitimate end. The Roman people had done what the French people had done before them. They had deposed a sovereign who had, as has been before shown, less right to rule at Rome than Louis Philippe had to rule at Paris. They were threatened with a reaction, forcing back upon them their deposed sovereign. This was a declaration of war against the principles on which the existence of the French as well as of the Roman republic depended. If France abstained from interfering to promote republican institutions beyond her frontiers,



she had a reciprocal right to demand that no other power should crush republican institutions beyond its frontiers : she had a right to say to Austria, " If I do not promote the establishment of a republic at Milan, you have no right to oppose the existence of a republic actually established at Rome." Accordingly the French Assembly voted the necessary funds, and the expedition sailed, not, we repeat, for the purpose of re-instating the Pope, but of securing Rome against a possible restoration contemplated in other quarters.

The expedition landed at Civita Vecchia on the 25th of April. On the day preceding a notification was addressed to the President of Civita Vecchia by the aide-de-camp of the commander-in-chief, in which the following passage occurs :—

" The government of the French republic, always animated by a most liberal spirit, declares that *it intends to respect the will of the majority of the Roman populations*, and that it comes upon their territory with a friendly intent, for the purpose of maintaining its legitimate influence. It is, moreover, *thoroughly determined not to impose upon those populations any form of government not chosen by themselves.*"

Had the real intentions of the French government corresponded with its professions, the expedition would have been received with open arms, as an immense accession of strength, by the government of the Roman republic. In fact, the first landing of the French troops at Civita Vecchia was effected without resistance, in consequence of the reliance placed by the municipality of the place upon these declarations. The first appearance of the fleet in the port created an uneasy sensation ; but the above manifesto of the French commander soon allayed the excitement, and the troops of the sister republic were greeted as friends and deliverers. The address of the municipality indicates, it is true, a lurking suspicion that all was not as it should be. " If, which was impossible, *their confidence should be betrayed*, they appealed to the judgment of Europe ;" but with this exception the address offered to their French " brothers" the " affectionate welcome of a population confiding in the nobleness and the honour of the French nation." It concluded with these words : " Long live the French republic ! God save the Roman republic !"

Meanwhile the executive at Rome, better informed, it would appear, of the real policy of the French cabinet, had hastily convened the Assembly, when the following protest was addressed to General Oudinot :—

" The Roman Assembly, surprised by the menace of an invasion of

the territory of the republic, and convinced that this invasion, neither provoked by its conduct towards other nations, nor preceded by any communication on the part of the French government, excites to anarchy a country which, tranquil and well organized, relies on the consciousness of its rights, and on the concord of its citizens; that it *violates at the same time the law of nations, the engagements contracted by the French nation in its Constitution, and the relations of fraternity which ought naturally to link together the two republics*, protests, in the name of God and the people, against this unexpected invasion, proclaims its firm resolve to resist, and holds France responsible for all the consequences."

This protest, drawn up on the very day on which the landing of the French troops was effected, was accompanied by orders to the authorities of Civita Vecchia, to oppose the landing: but these orders arrived too late; under the name of friendship, treacherously assumed, the French had obtained a footing in the Roman territory, and all that the prefect of Civita Vecchia could do was to address to General Oudinot, in reply to a despatch which he had received from him, a protest in the following terms:—

"I have received the despatch by which you inform me that the French government, desirous of putting an end to the situation in which the Roman populations have been placed for some months past, and of facilitating the establishment of an order of things free from the abuses and the anarchy of these last times, has resolved to send a body of troops to Civita Vecchia.

"As representative of the Roman republic, it is my duty to protest against the word 'anarchy,' which is not applicable to a people who, in accordance with their indisputable right, have established for themselves an orderly and moral government; and I can assure you that France is exceedingly ill-informed touching the events which have taken place, and the conduct which we have pursued.

"Force can effect much in this world; but *I cannot persuade myself that the French republic intends to employ its forces for the oppression of the rights of a republic born under the same auspices as herself. Europe, whose eyes are upon us, will judge your acts; and history will tell whether our political conduct is chargeable with anarchy.*

"I am certain that, when you shall have learned the truth, you will be convinced that *in this country the republic is supported by the immense majority of the people.*"

The tenor of this document shows that the notification sent by General Oudinot himself to the prefect was of a less guarded character than that by which his aide-de-camp had lulled the suspicions of the other civil and military authorities of Civita Vecchia. On the day following the landing, the general pub-

lished a proclamation sent with him from Paris, with instructions to publish it in the event of his not meeting with any serious resistance at Rome, but finding himself invited by the wishes of the population. He seems rightly to have judged that, if it was to be published at all, he had no time to lose, and he therefore promulgated it at Civita Vecchia on the 26th.

“Inhabitants of the Roman States! A body of French troops has landed on your territory. *Their object is not to exercise there an oppressive influence, nor to force upon you a government opposed to your own wishes.* On the contrary, they come to preserve you from the greatest calamities.

“The political events of Europe rendered the appearance of a foreign flag in the capital of the Christian world inevitable. The French republic, by conveying its flag thither before any other, gives a *striking testimony of its sympathies with the Roman people.*

“*Receive us as brothers; we shall justify that title.* We shall respect your persons and your property; we shall pay ready money for all our expenditure; *we shall make arrangements with the existing authorities, to prevent our momentary occupation from molesting you in any way; we shall save the military honour of your troops by associating them every where with our own for the maintenance of order and liberty.*

“Romans, my personal devotion is at your service. If you listen to my voice, if you trust my word, I shall consecrate myself unreservedly to the interests of your beautiful country.”

The deeds of the general, however, did not correspond with these fair and honeyed promises. As soon as he found that Rome was not prepared to open its gates to him, he took complete military possession of Civita Vecchia, disarmed the Roman garrison, sequestered a convoy of fire-arms destined for Rome, interdicted all political discussions in the municipality, and carried himself in all respects as an enemy in occupation of a hostile town. The prefect, Manucci, had the courage to remonstrate:—

“The government of Civita Vecchia, immensely surprised at the news of the disarming of the garrison, and the occupation of the fort by a body of French troops, seeks in vain to reconcile these warlike measures with the solemn assurance of friendship, put forth in writing and by proclamation by the commander-in-chief of the expedition, before the face of this city and of all Europe. It yields, but unwillingly, to superior force, and records its protest.”

A few days after it was discovered that the prefect, Manucci, continued to correspond with his own government at Rome; his letters were intercepted, and he himself placed under arrest.

While thus at Civita Vecchia the true character of the expedition rapidly developed itself, the triumvirs at Rome adopted measures for the defence of the city, which took the French commander and all Europe by surprise. The same day which brought intelligence of the landing of the French expedition, saw the walls of Rome covered with the following spirited proclamation:—

“ A foreign invasion menaces the territory of the Republic. A body of French troops has presented itself at Civita Vecchia.

“ Whatever may be their object, the honour of the principle to which the people have freely assented, the law of nations, and the honour of the Roman name, require that the Republic should resist, and the Republic will resist.

“ It is important that the people should prove to France, and to Europe, that they are a people not of children, but of men, and that of men who have dictated laws and imparted civilization to Europe. No one must have it in his power to say, ‘ The Romans would be free, and were not able.’ The French nation must, by our resistance, by our declarations, by our attitude, be convinced of our wishes, and of our unalterable determination not again to submit to the government which we have overthrown, and which we abhor.

“ This is what the people must prove; and he who should oppose such a determination, dishonours the people and betrays the country.

“ The Assembly sits *en permanence*. The triumvirate will do its duty, come what may.

“ Order, solemn calmness, concentrated energy! The government watches inexorably over all who should attempt to throw the country into anarchy, or to rise against the Republic.

“ Citizens, organize yourselves, group yourselves around us. God and the people, law and force will triumph.”

The result of the measures taken by the triumvirate was answerable to the energy displayed. Rome was put into an effective state of defence; and the French general, who expected to proceed upon the *veni, vidi, vici* principle, was repulsed from the walls of the city, with some loss of men and reputation, and with still greater loss of temper: which latter circumstance there is reason to believe had considerable influence upon all the subsequent transactions between himself and the Republic.

When the news of this unexpected blot upon the glory of the French arms, the just retribution for a signal breach of faith, arrived at Paris, the greatest sensation was created by it, both in the public at large and in the Assembly. The minister was severely cross-examined on the proceedings of the expedition; a commission of inquiry was appointed, which reported to the Assembly that,—

“ On comparing the facts disclosed by the despatches with all the announcements made in the Assembly, and with the declarations by

which its vote was determined, the majority of the commission arrived at the conclusion, that the directions given to the expedition were not in conformity with the idea with which it was conceived and accepted."

A resolution was accordingly proposed, and carried by a large majority, to the following effect :—

"The National Assembly invites the government to take without delay the necessary measures to prevent the Italian expedition from being any longer diverted from the purpose which had been assigned to it."

It was this vote of censure upon the acts of the government and of General Oudinot which led to the appointment of M. Lesseps as special envoy to Rome. His instructions were to ascertain the precise state of affairs at Rome, and to take care that the further progress of the expedition should be conducted in conformity with the views of the Assembly. Into the details of the shuffling conduct pursued by the French government towards its own agent we have no inclination to enter, even if our limits did not forbid it. The documents which he has since published for his own justification, are conclusive as to the real purpose with which he was sent by the French ministry. His mission was a mere make-believe, intended to keep matters quiet at Paris ; his very instructions seem to have been falsified, for it was proved, at the inquiry before the council of state, that between the copy which he produced, and that which was retained at Paris in the office of the minister, there was an important discrepancy, calculated greatly to mislead him ; and his request from Rome that the minister would let him know by a simple "*yes*," or "*no*," by telegraph whether he approved of the policy suggested by him, was left for three weeks unanswered. The ministry left him to negotiate in the dark, while the operations for the attack upon Rome were in progress, and while the state of affairs at Paris rendered delay desirable ; and as soon as they felt that they were strong enough to take Rome, and to keep the parties at home in check, they suddenly recalled their envoy, and instructed General Oudinot to force his way into Rome, without further reference to preceding negotiations. Their conduct was simply guided by their own domestic and party necessities, without any reference to the state of affairs at Rome, or any regard to the obligations imposed on them under existing circumstances by the law of nations.

But to return to the Roman republic. The testimony borne by M. Lesseps is highly important as to the attitude of the Roman population, and the character and position of the existing authorities. On his first visit to the city he thus writes to General Oudinot :—

"I find here, at the first blush, the aspect of a population determined to resist; and, setting aside exaggerated calculations, there are at least 25,000 serious combatants to be reckoned upon. If we were to enter Rome by force, we should not merely pass over the corpses of a few foreign adventurers; we should leave on the pavement citizens, shopkeepers, young men of good extraction,—in fact, *all the classes which defend order and society in Paris.*"

Referring to this statement, he says, in the sequel of his narrative:—

"I was acquainted with all the means of defence of the city, and I felt certain that, before we had received reinforcements and a complete siege apparatus, it was impossible for us to take it by storm; that the resistance would be energetic and general. My subsequent stay at Rome only served to confirm me in the opinion which I had expressed on the day of my arrival."

The following are extracts from his note-book on the same subject:—

"The whole city is in arms. Every where there are barricades and means of defence. The resistance will be general.

"The English consul, who has been resident at Rome for thirty years, shows me his despatches to Lord Palmerston. He confirms me in this opinion.

"The captain of an American man-of-war, who has inspected all the works, has declared that it would take at least from 30,000 to 40,000 men to take the city after a regular siege.

"Lord Napier and the captain of the *Bull-Dog* (English war steamer) has, I am told, expressed the same opinion."—*Notes from the 25th to the 29th of May.*

"There is no such thing as an intermediate, moderate, *juste-milieu*, or conservative party, whatever you choose to call it. Neither at present, nor in prospect, can I see a strong party of this kind. It is true that some few individuals, men of personal importance, officers without troops, pretend to represent it; but every policy which shall lean upon them exclusively, will fail. I freely told this to Count Mamiani, who was presented to me by M. de Forbin Fanson.

"I asked him in the first place whether he could be of any use to us, whether he had partisans sufficiently numerous or sufficiently brave to carry the system of conciliation which I had been sent to bring about. He answered in the negative; adding, that he and his party dared not to do any thing, and had no chance of carrying the point by themselves."—*Note of 20th of May.*

On the important question, as to the number of foreigners present at Rome during the siege, the testimony of M. Lesseps is to the following effect:—



“ During my time not a single foreigner came to take service at Rome ; those who were there before my arrival amounted to a score of Frenchmen, a few Germans, and from 150 to 200 Poles, who expressed to us their anxious wish to leave Rome in case of hostilities on the part of France, and their readiness to suffer themselves to be sent to any place to which we should furnish them the means of proceeding. As for Italians belonging to other states than the Romagna, are they to be considered as strangers to the cause which Rome sustains ? At all events, it would be difficult to attribute to 8000 combatants the most important part of the defence of a city which numbered from 25,000 to 30,000 regularly enrolled soldiers, and a whole population in arms, perfectly determined to offer to its aggressors the most energetic resistance.”

Another point on which the testimony of M. Lesseps is valuable, and calculated to remove erroneous and unjust impressions, is the character of Mazzini, with reference to whose views M. Lesseps transcribes from his own notes the following memorandum :—

“ I suspect Mazzini, a remarkable and highly influential man, of a wish to promote a religious schism ; his writings lead to such an apprehension. He has frequent conferences with English travellers, and sees Protestant missionaries of all nations. To endeavour to divert him from these influences, and to persuade him that France, which he mistrusts, must be the sole hope of Italian liberty ; to dissuade him from his notions of schism, and, if necessary, to denounce these tendencies to patriots in the Assembly, representing them as treason to the cause of Italian liberty, which must not be separated from Catholicism.”

“ I hesitate the less,” M. Lesseps adds, after transcribing the foregoing passage, “ to make known here the opinion which I entertained of Mazzini, with whom I was then in open conflict, as all through the sequel of our negotiations I have had no reason to be otherwise than gratified by his loyalty, and by the moderation of his character, by which he has gained my full esteem. I had at last greatly shaken, if not wholly dispelled, his prejudice against the French government ; and now that he has fallen from power, and no doubt seeks an asylum in a foreign land, I am bound to render homage to the nobleness of his sentiments, the sincerity of his principles, his great capacity, his integrity, and courage.”

After this testimony to the character of the writer, our readers may not be sorry to peruse a sketch of the situation of Rome in the middle of May last, from the pen of Mazzini himself, in a letter addressed, at his request, to M. Lesseps :—

“ You ask me for a few notes on the actual state of the Roman Republic. I will furnish them to you with that frankness which, during a political life of twenty years, has been with me an inviolable rule. We have nothing to hide, nothing to disguise. We have in these last times

been strangely calumniated in Europe ; but we have always said to those to whom we were calumniated, Come and see. You are now here, sir, to verify the correctness of the accusations : do so. Your mission may be accomplished with full and entire freedom. We have hailed it with joy, for it is to us a pledge of safety.

“ No doubt France does not dispute our right to govern ourselves as we think best, the right to draw forth, so to speak, from the heart of the country the idea which regulates its life, and to make that the basis of our institutions. France can only say to us, ‘ In recognising your independence, I mean to recognise the free and spontaneous wish of the majority. If it were true that with you a minority overruled the national tendencies, if it were true that the national form of your government was only the capricious notion of a faction substituted for the general opinion, I could not, linked as I am with the European powers, and desirous of peace, see with indifference the peace of Europe perpetually endangered by the outbreaks and the anarchy which must necessarily characterize the rule of a faction.’

“ We acknowledge such a right on the part of France, for we believe in the common responsibility of nations for good ; but we say, that, *if ever there was a government sprung from the wish of the majority, and sustained by it, ours is that government.*

“ The Republic has been planted among us by the will of an Assembly sprung from universal suffrage ; it has every where been received with enthusiasm ; it has no where met with any opposition ; and be pleased to observe, that opposition has never been as easy, as little dangerous, I might almost say as much provoked, not by acts, but by unfavourable circumstances of an exceptional character, in which from its origin it has been placed.

“ The country was emerging from a long anarchy of the powers inherent in the innermost organization of the government which has been deposed. The agitations which are inseparable from every great transformation, and which were fomented at the same time by the crises of the Italian question and by the efforts of the retrograde party, had thrown the country into a feverish excitement, which rendered it accessible to every bold attempt, and to every appeal either to feelings of interest or to the passions. We had no army, no coercive power. In consequence of previous dilapidations, our finances were impoverished, exhausted. The religious question was likely, in able and interested hands, to serve as a pretext, with a population endued with grand instincts and aspirations, but very unenlightened.

“ And yet, no sooner was the republican principle proclaimed, than order was established, as a first, indisputable fact. The history of the papal government consists of its revolts : under the republic there has not been a single riot. The assassination of M. Rossi, a deplorable but isolated fact, an individual crime, repudiated and condemned by every body, perhaps provoked by imprudent conduct, the source of which is to this day unknown, was followed by the most complete order.

“The financial crisis reached its height. There was a moment at which the paper of the republic was, through unworthy machinations, negotiable only at 41 or 42 per cent. The attitude of the Italian and European governments became daily more hostile. Both material difficulties and political isolation, all were endured by the people with calmness. They had faith in the future, expected to result from the new principle which had been proclaimed.

“In consequence of dark menaces, but above all through the want of political habits, a certain number of the electors had taken no part in the constitution of the Assembly. This fact appeared to weaken the expression of the general wish. A second characteristic and vital fact gave an unanswerable reply to any doubts which might have prevailed. Shortly before the installation of the Triumvirate, there was a re-election of the municipalities. Every body voted. Every where and at all times the municipal element represents the conservative element in the state. With us there was a momentary apprehension, lest it should represent a retrograde element. Well! the storm had burst; the intervention was commenced: it might have been thought that the republic had only a few more days to live; and that very moment was selected by the municipalities for giving in their spontaneous adhesion to the form of government which had been chosen. During the first fortnight of this month, the addresses of all the municipalities, with two or three exceptions, were added to those of the circles and of the divisions of the national guard. I had the honour of transmitting to you the list of them. They all proclaim an explicit devotion to the republic, and a profound conviction that the union of both the powers on one head is impracticable. This, I repeat, is a decisive fact. It is a second legal trial, which, in the most absolute manner, completes the first, and attests our right.

“At this moment, in spite of the French, Austrian, and Neapolitan invasions, our finances are improved, our credit is rising again, our paper is discounted at twelve per cent; our army increases greatly, and the whole of our population is ready to rise in its rear. You see Rome, and you know the heroic struggle sustained by Bologna. I write this in the night, amidst the most profound tranquillity. And before the arrival of new troops at midnight, our gates, our walls and barricades, were lined by the people in arms, by means of a simple password, without noise or display.

“At the heart's core of this people there is a deeply settled resolve: the abolition of the temporal power vested in the Pope; the hatred of priestly government, under whatever aspect, in however mitigated or indirect a form it may present itself,—hatred, I mean, not of the men, but of the government. Towards individuals our people have, thank Heaven! shown themselves generous ever since the inauguration of the republic; but the bare idea of clerical government, of the king-pontiff, made them shudder. They will struggle desperately against any project of restoration; they will throw themselves into the arms of schism rather than submit to it.

"When the two questions were brought before the Assembly, there were some timid members who thought the proclamation of the republic premature, and dangerous in the presence of the actual organization of Europe; but not a single vote was given against the act of deposition: the right and the left mingled together. There was but one cry, 'The temporal power of the Papacy is for ever abolished.'

"What is to be done with such a people? Can any free government arrogate to itself without crime and self-contradiction the right of forcing upon it a return to the past?

"Return to the past, please to remember, is organized disorder; it is the revival of the struggle of the secret societies; it is anarchy flung into the centre of Italy; it is reaction and vengeance engrafted upon the heart of a people which desires only to forget; it is a permanent torch of war thrown into the midst of Europe; it is the progress of extreme parties displacing the orderly republican government of which we are at present the organ.

"France cannot intend this, nor can her government, nor a nephew of Napoleon, especially not with the double invasion of Neapolitans and Austrians before their eyes. The pursuit of a hostile design at this time of day would have a tendency to remind people of the hideous combination of 1772 against Poland.

"At the same time, it would be impossible to carry it out with effect; for the flag which has fallen by the will of the people, could be raised again only over heaps of corpses, and over the ruins of our cities."

To these statements of M. Mazzini we cannot forbear adding the following memoranda of M. Lesseps himself, as to the probable result of a forcible occupation of Rome. It is dated May the 20th:—

"Every body at Rome is agreed to repel the clerical administration.

"If we mean to occupy Rome by force before we obtain from the Pope an explicit declaration on this subject, we shall only embarrass ourselves. That our soldiers will overcome the material obstacles is certain: but this is the least of our difficulties. *When we shall have entered Rome, after having overthrown the Republic, most assuredly the Holy Father will refuse to come back on such terms as we may see fit to impose upon him. On this side there is an absolute principle which knows of no compromise.* M. de Harcourt agreed with me in this opinion at our very first conference. He told us *he had given up all hope of obtaining any thing at Gaeta.* On the other side there is likewise an absolute principle of a contrary character. *It is only under the pressure of our forces that any ecclesiastical power, however temperate, will be submitted to.* We shall have to maintain a permanent occupation, in order not only to uphold the restoration which our arms will have planted, but to restrain the manifestations of public opinion which will become daily more hostile to the temporal power.

“We shall therefore in the end lose our influence over all parties, that is to say, we shall make for a result diametrically opposed to that which suggested the motive for our expedition. Our exertions and our expedition will only have served to unite against us all the passions of Italy.”

Six months have elapsed since the negotiations in which M. Lesseps took so active a part were abruptly broken off by the refusal of General Oudinot to recognise the convention agreed upon between him and the Triumvirate on the 31st of May. The sudden and unjustifiable attack made upon Rome, in consequence of this rupture, terminated, as M. Lesseps foresaw, in the fall of Rome before the superior power of the French forces. But the rest of his prognostication has likewise been fulfilled. The French army is still at Rome, and the Roman population is as determined as ever to resist the restoration of the ecclesiastical government in the Pontifical States. The Pope, on the contrary, refuses to be dictated to by France, and the Papacy continues—who shall tell for how long—in exile.

Before we close this article, we must not omit to notice a fact which concerns us more nearly than any of the events and circumstances which have hitherto occupied our attention. We have found fault with the French government, because as a republican government, professing no religion, it undertook the restoration of the Pope, whose sovereignty has, as we have seen, no political basis, but rests entirely upon a religious theory not recognised by the constitution of the French republic. But what shall we say to the conduct of the Government of Great Britain, which is pledged by the coronation oath of the Sovereign, and by the oath of supremacy of the servants of the Crown, to repudiate the religious theory whereon the sovereignty of the Papacy over the Roman State is founded, as diametrically opposed to the truth of God, and which nevertheless officially recognises that sovereignty, together with its untrue foundation? We abstain from all comment upon the following facts, which are disclosed in the “Correspondence respecting the affairs of Rome,” and which deserve to be generally known.

1. In the month of January last Her Majesty Queen Victoria *addressed to the Pope* a letter expressive of her interest and sympathy with his position. See the letter of the Pope’s nuncio addressed to Lord Normanby, in which Her Majesty’s letter is referred to. *Correspondence*, p. 8.

2. The British Secretary for Foreign Affairs *is in constant diplomatic communication with Rome*, not only indirectly through an English papist, who is the resident diplomatic agent at Rome, and forwards his despatches through the medium of the

British envoy at Florence, but directly by regular diplomatic communications between the British ambassador and the Pope's nuncio at Paris, between whom despatches are exchanged upon the same footing of mutual recognition as between any other diplomatic characters. The following documents clearly establish this fact :—

“ *Paris, March 8, 1849.*

“ My Lord,—I have the honour to transmit the copy of a note *I have received from the Apostolic Nuncio*, inclosing one which has been addressed by the Cardinal Antonelli to the Representatives of all friendly Powers, requesting them to co-operate for the purpose of re-establishing the papal authority at Rome.—*The Marquis of Normanby to Viscount Palmerston, with inclosure. Correspondence, pp. 7. 14.*

“ *Foreign Office, March 27, 1849.*

“ My Lord,—I have received your excellency's despatch of the 8th instant, transmitting to me the copy of a note which your excellency had received from the Apostolic Nuncio, inclosing the copy of the note which has been addressed by Cardinal Antonelli to the Representatives of all friendly Powers, requesting them to co-operate for the purpose of re-establishing the papal authority at Rome.

“ I have to instruct your excellency to say to the Nuncio that *Her Majesty's Government have received and have attentively considered the communication which he has made to them through your excellency*, and that you are instructed to express to him the deep regret with which Her Majesty's Government have witnessed the differences which have arisen between the Pope and his subjects, the assassination of Count Rossi, the departure of the Pope from his capital and states, and the proclamation of a republic at Rome.

“ The British Government is for many obvious reasons not desirous of taking an active part in any negotiations which may result from the application which the Pope has addressed to some of the Catholic powers of Europe, whose territories are nearer than Great Britain in geographical proximity to the Italian Peninsula. But *the British Government will be much gratified if the result of those negotiations should be such a reconciliation between the Pope and his subjects as might enable the former, with the free good-will and consent of the latter, to return to his capital, and there to resume his spiritual functions and his temporal authority.*” —*Viscount Palmerston to the Marquis of Normanby. Correspondence, p. 14.*

3. The British Secretary for Foreign Affairs distinctly recognises *the spiritual supremacy of the Pope*, and, as a necessary consequence of it, his temporal sovereignty over the Roman States, and in such recognition makes special reference to the Pope's authority over a large portion of Her Majesty's subjects. Of this, also, we have documentary evidence :—



*“ Foreign Office, January 5, 1849.*

*“ In regard to the present position of the Pope, I have to observe, that no doubt it is obviously desirable that a person who in his spiritual capacity has great and extensive influence over the internal affairs of most of the countries in Europe, should be in such a position of independence as not to be liable to be used by any one European power as a political instrument for the annoyance of any other power; and in this view it is much to be wished that the Pope should be sovereign of a territory of his own.”—Viscount Palmerston to the Marquis of Normanby. Correspondence, p. 3.*

*“ Foreign Office, March 9, 1849.*

*“ Although Great Britain has not so direct an interest as France has in the ecclesiastical and political questions which arise out of the present relations between the Pope and the people of the Roman States, the British Government, nevertheless, cannot view those matters with indifference. Great Britain is indeed a Protestant state, but Her Majesty has many millions of Catholic subjects; and the British Government must therefore be desirous, WITH A VIEW TO BRITISH INTERESTS, that the Pope should be placed in such a temporal position as to be able to act with entire independence in the exercise of his spiritual functions.”—Viscount Palmerston to the Marquis of Normanby. Correspondence, p. 6.*

Where are we ! and whither are we tending !



a favourable judgment, which may guide the opinions of the general public? In either case, we cannot but stand in some doubt as to whether Professor Maurice's literary or theological attainments have placed him on any such eminence as this. We know him as a misty, well-meaning, self-contradictory thinker, oppressed with a vague desire for *Liberty*, to be attained "à tout prix," by every sacrifice, if needful; and we cannot conceive that any portion of the public, beyond a certain knot of gaping "youngsters,"—very "good fellows" in their way perchance, but not singularly wise or sober, would be willing to accept Professor Maurice as an infallible exponent of the Faith. We suspect that the general body of readers would look on a poem with increased suspicion, rather than with more hearty confidence, in a religious point of view, if ushered into the world under the especial patronage of Professor Maurice. As for his literary and critical attainments, these are decidedly more than questionable: a vague thinker and talker, like our good Professor, was never fashioned for a critic. We give him all credit for kindness of heart and nobility of disposition; but, unfortunately, clearness of intellect is here the one thing needful, and *that* the Professor does not possess. Amusing instances of his "random flashes" may be discovered in this very preface, in which, for instance, he comments on the essentially-dramatic character of Milton's "Paradise Lost," which is no more dramatic, as we need scarcely say, than every epic needs must be, which sets forth some great conflict as its theme, and which, if any one character were to be appropriated to it, might, with equal justice, be designated "descriptive," or "narrative," or "didactic;" but, in truth, the calm dignity of Milton, whose individual idiosyncrasy is apparent throughout all his works, may be said to be essentially opposed to the genius of the drama, which is more or less demonstrative and passionate. Milton's greatness, indeed, enabled him to excel in every thing which he attempted, but he never did essay the portraiture of the passions, which is the drama's peculiar domain.

Of a like airy and unsubstantial hue with this eulogium of Milton's dramatic genius are almost all the utterances of this preface; words, very fine words indeed, but unhappily not much beside. Here is a characteristic sentence. "Whether poetry is again to *revive* among us" (Tennyson and Keble stand for nought, it should seem), "or whether the power is to be wholly stifled *by our accurate notions* about the laws and conditions under which it is to be exercised" ("*teste*," we presume, Carlyle, and Emerson, and Professor Maurice), "is a question upon which there is room for great differences of opinion." (As usual, a wholesome latitude of thought! On what is there *not* such room,

according to the Professor's judgment?) "Judging from the past, I should suppose, that till poetry becomes less self-conscious, less self-concentrated, more *dramatical* in spirit, if not in form, it will not have the qualities which can powerfully affect Englishmen." What does Professor Maurice say, then, to the intense popularity of Byron for so many years? Was not *he* self-conscious? On the contrary, we affirm, a poet who writes about self, will almost always be the most vulgarly popular: he is the most easily appreciable, and he will generally, for awhile at least, command far more attention than the *dramatic* bard, who does not incessantly harp upon one string, but is, like nature's self, impartial. One reason for this is, that the sympathetic reader often places himself in the position of a self-idolater like Byron, and feels his vanity flattered by supposing himself elevated above "the sordid mass" with the poet.

The truth is, that it is more difficult rightly to appreciate a great dramatic work than any other: most people look for fine speeches and fine thoughts in plays,—images, and so forth,—and think little or nothing of dramatic fitness, and the truth and reality of the passions exemplified. Not one man in a thousand reads "Shakspeare" for his real dramatic qualities, or understands them, though every body is prepared to admire and quote his so-called "beauties," things which belong to him rather as a poet, than as the greatest of dramatists. The mingled rage and love of "Lear," subsiding gradually into madness, and forming the most terribly affecting of all mere human portraitures, is far less celebrated than Hamlet's shallow "To be, or not to be,"—shallow, that is, in its morbid Germanism, yet equally admirable in a dramatic point of view, as an exponent of the characterless Teutonic "Hamlet." People understood so little about the drama, that this last sentence of ours must be to the majority "a mystery and the marvel:" they cannot comprehend how a thing can be good and bad at the same time, philosophically false, and yet dramatically admirable. They are so *real*, that they cannot look at any thing *objectively*, and "in the concrete;" and, therefore, the drama is to them a sealed book.

Believing this, we dispute Professor Maurice's dictum, that poetry must become more dramatic to gain any hold on the mind of the nation: it must become more real, and honest, and true: it must discard affectation and foreign "isms" of all sorts; it must come from the heart, and speak to the heart. And it is because Mr. Tennyson's poetry does this in no small degree, that it is so popular as it is: we allude more especially to his "Minor Poems," his "May-Queen," and "Miller's Daughter," and "Lord of Burleigh," and "Lady Clare," which, *when under-*

*stood*, must always awaken a sympathetic thrill of delight. But dramatic genius of the higher order is so far from commanding popularity, that it is rather a bar to it: it is too abrupt, too passionate, too apparently unsystematic: people don't know what to make of it. They feel frightened, and puzzled too. This accounts for the comparative unconsciousness of the rare gifts of a contemporary, "Browning," which still exists among us. If "Taylor" has achieved a real success with his "Philip van Artevelde," that is rather because it is so eminently *undramatic*, so void of passion, so "didactic." The fame of this production, one of the most prosaic (be it said in all charity) of all metrical contributions to literature, is a standing proof of the almost total absence of appreciation for the drama in the present English public. Readers do not seek for real dramatic utterances, for the inner life of characters in action, such as they would find in "Browning" for instance, but for set speeches, "striking thoughts," "fine ideas," and so forth: that is, for essays in a dramatic form, and not for dramatic poems.

And what holds good, we are sorry to say it, of the general reader (of course, with many exceptions), is still more strikingly exemplified in the judgments of the critics of the day, almost with no exceptions at all. Thus "Quarterly" and "Edinburgh" have striven which should lavish the most enthusiastic praises on such a still-born child, such a dead-alive "Mach-werk," (as the Germans say), as this same Mr. Taylor's "Edward the Fair;" while the organ of northern wisdom has lately devoted an article, of some fifty pages, to such an elaborate mistake (we can use no milder phrase) as Bulwer's "King Arthur." The mention of this poem, as it is not dramatic, might seem "out of keeping" with our theme; but the same love for the false and the artificial, the same preference of a metrical "Talkification" on any theme to a real living creation, is exemplified in this instance. Some day or other, we purpose to immolate both "Philip van Artevelde," that embodiment of pains-taking *laudable* mediocrity, and the unfortunately laborious, and tediously artificial "King Arthur," and the far more obnoxious "Festus," so audaciously magnificent in its *pretensions*, so small and so barbarous in its *performance*, with various other offenders, at the shrine of poetical justice. For the present, however, we must revert to our original theme; and, leaving Professor Maurice and his unlucky preface behind us (on which we are tempted to say much more respecting Germany's "having a right to claim the whole realm of the abstract,"—Query, *the Inane?* &c. &c.), we pass to Mr. Kingsley's poem, which has really merits of a high order, and must secure its author's fame. It is far from being free from faults;

the poet says, in his own definite and sensible preface, that he is painfully aware of them. These faults are exaggeration, overstrained boldness verging upon coarseness, a tendency to bitterness and apparent want of "love," and an occasional burst of "fine talk," strained and stilted, reminding us that the bard has not wholly soared above "the spirit of his age," and reached the sphere of reality and truth. But that Mr. Kingsley is a poet who can question, who reads the magnificent "Proem," which we shall transcribe for our readers' edification? There are two imaginary speakers, the man of feeling and the man of action, Epimetheus and Prometheus, the past and the present. First speaks "Epimetheus." (The italics are our own.)

- " Wake again, Teutonic Father-ages,  
     Speak again, beloved primæval creeds;  
 Flash ancestral spirit from your pages,  
     Wake the greedy age to noble deeds.
- " Tell us, how of old our saintly mothers  
     School'd themselves by vigil, fast, and prayer;  
 Learnt to love, as Jesus loved before them,  
     While they bore the cross which poor men bear.
- " Tell us, how our stout crusading fathers  
     Fought and died for God, and not for gold:  
 Let their love, their faith, their boyish daring,  
     Distance-mellow'd, gild the days of old.
- " Tell us, how the sexless workers, thronging,  
     Angel-tended, round the convent doors,  
 Wrought to Christian faith and holy order,  
     Savage hearts alike, and barren moors.
- " Ye who built the churches where we worship,  
     Ye who framed the laws by which we move,  
 Fathers, long belied, and long forsaken,  
     Oh! forgive the children of your love!"

How beautiful is the self-abandonment, the inspired worship, as it were, breathed in these lines! The very rhythm is most happily suggestive; and yet it is used with equal effect in the reply of Prometheus, the man of action, the spirit of the present. He says, then, also addressing our forefathers:—

- " Speak! but ask us not to be as *ye* were!  
     All but God is changing day by day.  
 He, who breathes on man the plastic spirit,  
     Bids us mould *ourselves* its robe of clay.



“ Old anarchic floods of revolution,  
Drowning ill and good alike in night,  
Sink, and bare the wrecks of ancient labour,  
Fossil-teeming, to the searching light.

“ There will *we* find laws, which shall interpret,  
Through the simpler past, existing life ;  
*Delving up from mines and fairy caverns,*  
*Charmed blades, to cut the ages' strife.*

“ What though fogs may steam from draining waters ?  
We will till your clays to mellow loam,  
*Till the graveyard of our father's spirits*  
*Sparkle round us into fruitful bloom.*

“ Old decays but foster new creations ;  
Bones and ashes feed the golden corn :  
Fresh elixirs wander every moment  
Down the veins through which the live past feeds  
its child, the live unborn.”

These very grand lines (despite the presence of some little Germanism,) must speak for themselves. They express the purpose of our author, which is to separate the good from the evil in the Middle Age World ; but more especially to stigmatize that false asceticism, which confounded the use and the abuse, and which still threatens to lead many good and noble hearts astray. In this undertaking we can only wish Mr. Kingsley God speed ; but then we must aver, that this is a work to be undertaken with all possible care, in a spirit of deep reverence and of love. We will not affirm that this has *not* been the case with the author of “ The Saint's Tragedy ;” but we do think that he has been injudicious in various respects ; that he has written, so as necessarily to repel many, whose sympathies and judgments he must be most anxious to gain,—that is, if he be the man for which we wish to take him, a real lover of his brethren, and a defender of “ the truth.” We refer more especially to those passages in which he has placed cold-blooded affirmations of horrors, which we regard rather as the extravagant aberrations of asceticism, than as its deliberate “ dicta,” on the lips of its most intellectual representative, “ Conrad,” the monk of Marpurg. He is made to speak to the youthful Lewis (see pp. 49 and 50), in a strain of morbid and blasphemous passion, which is positively frightful, which must shock the most favourable reader (we should say), and excite the bitterest indignation in very many. Be it admitted that Romish ascetics have used, are in the habit of using, such language

(though we think full proof of this should be provided, before it is attributed to them): surely, even in that case, such utterances can only be the brainsick wanderings of unhappy devotees in certain stages of religious madness. Such could not be the sober language of a man like Conrad of Marpurg, calm, self-contained, earnest, endeavouring to possess a princely youth with a sense of his order's holiness. Take, "*exempli gratia*:"—

" If world-wide lore  
Shall please thee, and the Cherub's glance of fire,  
Let *Catharine* lift thy rapt soul, and with her  
Question the mighty dead, until thou float  
*Tranced on the ethereal ocean of her spirit.*  
*If pity father passion in thee,—hang*  
*Above Eulalia's tortured loveliness !"* &c.

And "worse remains behind," anent "the Magdalen," and even "the Blessed Virgin!" Now this does seem to us too monstrous to be real. We have no doubt that some such language, and even worse (ay, respecting our adorable Lord and Saviour), *may* be discovered in Romish hagiologies, but always, surely, as the fervent aspirations, the outpourings in moments of the intensest enthusiasm, of these unhappy victims of a false asceticism. Can they be found stated in sober earnest, in philosophic talk, as *inducements* to a young man to become a member of an ascetic order? We know not how to believe it. And even if we did so, we should still consider our author *injudicious* in thus abruptly bringing these things before our eyes. His is not "a lady's book," we know; but it is written for Christians, and some regard should have been evidenced for their feelings. We are not "thin-skinned;" but there must be some limit to the reproduction of even actual monstrosities. Besides, we shall not combat false asceticism by confounding it with these excesses and holding up these to horror and contempt: rather must we seek for its most beautiful ideal, and show that even this is faulty. Mr. Kingsley will tell us that he has done this in his heroine "Elizabeth of Hungary," the margravine of Thuringia, as our readers, no doubt, know, a saint of the Roman calendar, dating from the thirteenth century; a happy wife and mother, whose existence was marred and blighted by her hapless confusion of the use with the abuse. Elizabeth, however, as Mr. Kingsley has depicted her, and as we believe she was, had too vehement and passionate a nature to assimilate with our conception of ideal asceticism, whether false or true. And here let us be permitted to state that we do recognise such a thing as true asceticism, rightly understood and guarded: that lifelong abstinence in some

things, though not intrinsically higher and holier than Use; (to affirm this were, in our opinion, gnostic and anti-scriptural,) may yet be more expedient under certain circumstances, as St. Paul tells us, and as our Saviour also intimates. He who ignores this altogether cannot satisfactorily refute the aberrations of asceticism. We should fear that Mr. Kingsley would rather despise, for instance, the keeping of the Church's fasts: but, perhaps, we may do him injustice on this head. Self-denial he, no doubt, nominally advocates; (who would not?) but self-denial without discipline is liable to become another form of selfishness. We admit that self-denial, on the other hand, in obedience to an iron external rule excluding from the lawful use of this world, may also be self-indulgence in a sense, and is distinctly anti-Christian. Mr. Kingsley's primary assumption is sound, that the use of this world in Christ is a holy thing, that old things have passed away, that all has become new, that family affections are now almost or quite a sacrament; but then, admitting all this, it may be still true of individuals, that they may *personally* be bound, to abstain from these holy joys, "to make themselves eunuchs for the kingdom of heaven's sake." Here conscience only can guide each man, and "no man intermeddleth with his brother." We need not say that those who have once entered the holy state of matrimony, would greatly sin, in our opinion, in desiring to quit it; that they would be fearfully erroneous in their notions, if they imagined celibacy to be necessarily "a higher state." All such distinctions we repudiate as uncatholic and unchristian; but still we do not see why a place should not be found for the ascetic life within the Christian Church. Whether it is desirable or no to have *orders* for that purpose is a most difficult question, on which very much can be urged on either side, and which we cannot profess to answer here. We only wish to intimate to Mr. Kingsley that, in our opinion, he has understated the ascetic argument, and overstated the ascetic aberrations, and has in so far injured his own good cause. Still we are ready to do battle with him in behalf of this thesis, that the use of this world is a holy thing in Christ; and thus it is only in a guarded sense and making various allowances, that we can fully sympathize with the religious philosophy of a "Thomas à Kempis:" yet there is a sense in which this world and its use are most dangerous to us; there is a sense in which, father, mother, wife, and children must be hated, *if needful*, for Christ's sake; that is, must be abandoned rather than that we should deny "the Lord who bought us."

But to the poem or play itself, on the bearings of which we may not further dilate. The perusal of a single scene convinced us that Mr. Kingsley has real dramatic genius. This is not the



fissures of the crags, and the wind wails musically from afar. But we are waxing too romantic. Back, then, to our immediate theme !

In Mr. Kingsley's *poetry* we sometimes fancy that we trace something of "Browning's" manner ; indeed, if we are not much mistaken, the former is well acquainted with that great poet's works. On the whole, however, our author must be allowed to possess a style of his own, trenchant, vigorous, manly, rather deficient in pathos and in softer qualities, and a little bizarre, given to "starts," and apt to be "in extremes."

All the principal characters, however, are definitely conceived and executed: though "Elizabeth's" nature is too vehemently passionate to answer *our* ideal of female loveliness. All her emotions are so strong from the beginning, that the extreme of her asceticism seems only a fitting pendant to the rest ; and does not excite that pity, which our author would desire it to do, if we comprehend him rightly. All her feelings and actions are *noble*, but there is a certain self-will, a certain secret pride, observable in them, which takes from the *amiability* of the portraiture, and prevents our ever sympathizing with her thoroughly. There is an amount of stubbornness in her very piety, natural, we admit, to "Romish sanctity," but also in itself displeasing, and sufficing to account in some degree for the general dislike felt for her by the retainers of the Court, and even, as it should seem, by the very poor whom she benefits. She never wins hearts, save those of her husband, her nurse, and perhaps "Walter of Varila." Indeed we should observe that all Mr. Kingsley's characters are too much given to complaining. Lewis, the husband, is very naturally depicted ; a kind and gentle, and in some respects even an heroic nature, dowered with a common-place intellect : thus, necessarily, a man of his own age, sharing all its favourite sentiments and opinions ; yet one, who under better auspices might have achieved great things, being the possessor of a noble heart. We thought, at first, he was made to talk too finely—too scholastically—expecting from Mr. Kingsley's preface, a rough-hewn knight of the Middle Ages ; but he is *self-consistent* throughout ; and precisely answers to what *we* mean in every-day life, when we say, "What a very *nice man* !" The nurse is a very happy portraiture, a little rough, and matter-of-fact, and vulgar, but none the less real for that, and redeemed by her affection for Elizabeth. "Walter of Varila," of whom the author tells us that he represents the healthy animalism of the Teutonic mind (of which we are sorry to say there is not much left,—"*experientia docet*"—), "with its mixture of deep earnestness and hearty merriment," is exceedingly graphically portrayed, and cannot but be a favourite with most readers, we should suppose, and yet he too has his good share of bitterness.

The most doubtful creation in the book, in our opinion, is that of "Conrad of Marpurg," a kind of "implicit apology," Mr. Kingsley says, "for the feelings of such truly great men as Dunstan, Becket, and Dominic," and certainly a far nearer approach to what is aimed at, than the shadowy and poverty-stricken "Dunstan" of Mr. Taylor's "Edwin the Fair." It is very difficult to enter into the real mind and heart of any one of these great founders and supporters of asceticism; and perhaps Mr. Kingsley has come as near the mark as any man before him; though we think he has given an unnecessary coarseness to his portraiture in various particulars. Indeed, to tell the truth, there is something like a tendency to coarseness in Mr. Kingsley. We do not quarrel with him for grappling with his theme manfully; for blurting out some truths which others might leave untold: this may be wise and proper: but he seems to us unable to divest himself of the notion, that asceticism *must be* sensual; and surely this is a gross error. It too often is, no doubt; but is it quite fair to profess to give us its ideal, as our author certainly does in the poem already quoted, and then yield us only its saddest realities, and these *alone*, with nothing to counterpoise them? Is not this proving too much, and must not such a course of action defeat its purpose? We confess that we think so.

But to proceed. The real dramatic power of Mr. Kingsley is shown in the individuality given by him to characters introduced only for a single scene or speech,—counts, pages, monks, peasants, &c. An admirable sketch is that of "The Bishop of Bamberg," Elizabeth's uncle, the matter-of-fact, materialist, warlike Churchman of the middle ages. The harsh and selfish, yet shrewd, "Margravine Sophia," "the gentle Guta," the hard-hearted "Count Hugo," are all successful portraitures. The business of the drama is conducted without any reference whatsoever to time. An act occupies whole months. Many weeks elapse between two scenes. Mr. Kingsley may tell us that this reckless licence will be found in "Shakspeare" also; but this is not quite so; that is, Shakspeare always avoids shocking us by any such abrupt transition, by interposing some little scene, if only one betwixt two messengers, which gives the mind a little pause, and serves the purpose of a fall of the curtain between the acts. Despite this extreme dramatic *irregularity*, there is dramatic *life* throughout "The Saint's Tragedy:" every where, or almost every where, there is character in action, and conflict of passions, not so much between two individuals, (*this very rarely*), as betwixt the will and the reason of *some one*. Our readers may ask for some samples, and we feel that we ought to supply them, though a drama is no more to be judged of



than a *house* by mere specimen-bricks. It is the unfortunate *specimen-system*, carried on for a long time, which has so deadened the nation's sense of real dramatic power or genius.

Mr. Kingsley's lyrics have great merit, as may be gathered from the extracts we have already made: he has a real command of rhythm, and has produced certain novel effects, though sometimes his characteristic boldness leads to harshness even in this particular. We like much the song of the old knights passing on their way to the Crusades (see p. 137):—

“ Our stormy sun is sinking,  
Our sands are running low;  
In one fair fight, before the night,  
Our hard-worn hearts shall glow.

“ We cannot pine in cloisters;  
We cannot fast and pray;  
*The sword which built our load of guilt  
Must wipe that guilt away.*

“ We know the doom before us;  
The dangers of the road;  
Have mercy, mercy, Jesu blest,  
When we lie low in blood!

“ When we lie gash'd and gory,  
The holy walls within,  
Sweet Jesu, think upon our end,  
And wipe away our sin!”

The song of the “ Boy-Crusaders,” which follows, is bold, but characteristic:—

“ The Christ-child sits on high—  
He looks through the merry blue sky—  
He holds in His hand, a bright lily-band,  
For the boys who for Him die.”

But we pause. These are not *dramatic* utterings, and it would be absurd to quote nothing but songs from a play. Let us bestow one word of praise on Elizabeth's charming song (p. 125), “ Oh, that we two were maying ! ” and then turn to the *speeches* in the work before us. And, first, a few similes to suit the taste of the day. Lewis speaks.

“ She loves me then !  
She, who to me, *was as a nightingale  
That sings in magic gardens, rock-beleaguered,  
To passing angels melancholy music.*”

Elizabeth says (p. 76) :

“ Oh ! contemplation palls upon the spirit,  
*Like the chill silence of an autumn sun.*”

A lady speaks, *converted* by Elizabeth (p. 91) :

“ I will test these sorrows  
 On mine own person : I have toy'd too long  
 In painted pinnace down the stream of life,  
 Witched with the landscape, while the weary rowers  
 Faint at the groaning oar.

Elizabeth says herself, far more finely (p. 154) :

“ 'Twill end, girl, end : *no cloud across the sun*  
*But passes at the last, and gives us back*  
*The face of God once more.*”

Guta, her favourite maiden, says of the widowed Elizabeth, at the period of her extreme anguish, when Isentrudis, her nurse, asks, why she had stopped so long to pray,—

“ Oh, prayer to her rapt soul  
*Is like the drunkenness of the autumn bee,*  
*Who, scent enchanted, on the latest flower,*  
*Heedless of cold, will linger listless on,*  
*And freeze in odorous dreams.*”

But these prettinesses are not fair samples of the really great work, with all its faults, before us, which we could only duly illustrate by going through it “*seriatim*” from first to last, a task that would occupy thrice the number of pages we can possibly devote to this theme. We must quote two longer speeches of Elizabeth, as samples of the dramatic power of our author. The first is of a happy character. She has long loved Lewis secretly and unconsciously : but he, regarding her as a saint, had not dared to approach her as a wooer. Walter of Varila, however, has just sought her as his envoy, to make her the offer of his hand and heart. The ancient chronicle tells us that in the wild excitement of the moment, and the reaction from despair, she burst into childish laughter. After a few confused words, she thus proceeds :—

“ He told me once—one night,—  
 When we did sit in the garden—What was I saying?  
*Walter.* My fairest princess, as ambassador,  
 What shall I answer?  
*Elizabeth.* Tell him—tell him—God !  
 Have I grown mad, or a child within the moment?—

The earth has lost her grey sad hue, and blazes  
 With her old life-light:—bark! *yon wind's a song,—*  
*Those clouds are angel's robes.—That fiery west*  
*Is paved with smiling faces.—I am a woman,*  
*And all things bid me love: my dignity*  
*Is thus to cast my virgin pride away,*  
*And find my strength in weakness.—*Busy brain!  
 Thou keep'st pace with my heart:—old lore, old fancies,  
 Buried for years leap from their tombs, and proffer  
 Their magic service to my new-born spirit:—  
 I'll go,—I am not mistress of myself,—  
 Send for him—bring him to me—he is mine! [Exit.]

It were vain to comment on this passage to those who do not feel its force and truth: incidentally, however, it illustrates our former remark respecting the *passionate* nature of Elizabeth. The other passage we purpose to extract is of a far more serious, indeed, of an awful character. It occurs in the first scene of the fourth act, in the church of a convent, where Elizabeth is about to take the vows, from which, after all, she shrinks back. Conrad scoffs at her weakness, and leaves her alone to decide on her final course. The soliloquy which follows is as grand as it is terrible; its alternations of horrid doubt and dark sad faith, the mental struggle depicted, the dread internal conflict, make it altogether one of the most remarkable dramatic efforts we are acquainted with. It should be premised that Elizabeth is expected to vow that she will never see her children again, (hers and Lewis's, who has died in the Crusades), that she will “give them up,” as far as this life is concerned. Thus then she speaks. (If our readers do not shudder at some of the ideas suggested, their nerves are firmer than our own. The italics, be it noted, are always ours.)

“*Eliz. (alone.)* Give up *his* children?—Why, I'd not give up  
 A lock of hair,—a glove, his hand had hallowed,—  
 And they are *his* gift, *his* pledge, *his* flesh and blood:  
 Tossed off for my ambition<sup>1</sup>! Ah, my husband!—  
 His ghost's sad eyes upbraid me.—Spare me! spare me!  
 I'd love thee still, if I dared: *but I fear God.—*  
 And shall I never more see loving eyes  
 Look into mine, until our dying day?—  
 That's this world's bondage: Christ would have me free,  
 And 'twere a pious deed to cut myself  
 The last, last strand, and fly:—but *whither? whither?*  
 What, if I cast away the bird i' the hand,  
 And found none in the bush? 'Tis possible—

<sup>1</sup> That is, saintship.

What right have I to arrogate Christ's bride-bed ?  
 Crushed, widowed, sold to traitors ? I, o'er whom  
 His billows and His storms are sweeping ?—God's not angry :  
 No, not so much, as *we* with buzzing fly ;  
 Or, in the moment of His wrath's awakening,  
 We should be nothing.—No, *there's worse than that :*  
*What if he but sat still, and let me be ?*  
 And these deep sorrows, which my vain conceit  
 Calls chastenings, meant for me, my ailment's cure,  
 Were lessons for some angels far away,  
 And I the corpus vile for the experiment ?  
 The grinding of the sharp and pitiless wheels  
 Of some high Providence, which had its mainspring  
 Ages ago, and ages hence its end ?  
 That were too horrible—  
 To have torn up all the roses from my garden  
 And planted thorns instead ; to have forged my griefs,  
 And hugged the griefs I dared not forge ; made earth  
 A hell, for hope of heaven ; and after all  
 Those homeless moors of life toil'd through, to wake,  
 And find blank nothing !—*Is that angel world*  
*A gaudy window, which we paint ourselves,*  
*To hide the dead void night beyond ?—The present ?*  
 Why, here's the present :—like this arched gloom,  
 It hems our blind souls in, and roofs them o'er  
 With adamant vault, *whose only voice*  
*Is our own wild prayer's echo :* and our Future ?  
*It rambles out in endless aisles of mist,*  
*The further still the darker,—Oh, my Saviour !*  
 My God ! where art thou ?—*That's* but a tale *about* Thee,  
 That crucifix above—it does but show Thee  
 As Thou wast once, but not as Thou art now—  
 Thy grief, but not Thy glory : where's *that* gone ?—  
 I see it not without me ; and within me  
 Hell reigns, not Thou ! ”

The grandeur and the horror of this have rarely, if ever, been surpassed. It is, no doubt, exquisitely painful, but this does not affect the high genius exhibited in the creation. We scruple not to own that we believe it literally truthful ; that is, an embodiment of what an ascetic, like “*Elizabeth*,” would be likely to feel at such an hour : yet it is most terrible. We seem to emerge from a cave of horror to God's sunshine, when we leave it behind us : we need to lift our hearts above and cry, “ O God, Thou art *my* God, early will I seek Thee ! ” The beyond the grave, the behind the veil, is *no blank*, but an Infinite Reality. Creation is not an empty soap bubble : the soul of man is not a shade. *That*

God, who created all things, has not fashioned one human spirit but to an end. It is fitting that we should rehearse these verities, however briefly, after having transcribed this mighty hypothesis of despair. The moral of such a passage is designed for those who would deny themselves the lawful use of this world, and who may here learn that, seeking to sever themselves from earth, they may lose heaven as well. "Every creature of God is good, and nothing to be refused, if it be received with thanksgiving."

A few words more on the powerful but very painful work before us: it is not to be ignored: sooner or later it must find its settled niche in our national literature. It would be wrong in us not to observe, that it is founded in almost all particulars on "the Original Biography of Elizabeth," by Dietrich of Appold, her contemporary, as given entire by Canisius, and that the filling up is generally in keeping with these actual details. Mr. Kingsley has it in his power to achieve great things, but we cannot but see that it is not impossible his natural gifts should be abused to evil uses. The fresh mountain breeze, breathing the breath of life, stirring the waters to a joyous dance, this, far, far out on the wide ocean, may become the storm, which shall wreck many a gallant vessel. We have heard it rumoured that our author is an extreme democrat, has been even mixed up with the chartists; but we can scarcely believe this. His scorn of the fashionable political economy of the day, so admirably and pointedly expressed in the dialogue betwixt the abbot and the count (pp. 111--118 of this work), and the sound sense exhibited in various other passages, make us hope that his eyes are quite as open to the vices of an unshackled democracy, to the direst of all tyrannies, that of one sole absolute majority, as to the practical short-comings of our titled classes, and the sins of those who hold dignity amongst us, whether in Church or State. We are willing to trust that he is no more a destructive, than an obstructive, but an earnest Christian thinker, reverencing all the ordinances by God appointed, and desiring that the world should reverence them as well; which they are only likely to do when a great and glorious reformation has been effected, for which all good and true men must labour now together. Mr. Kingsley, we see, thinks much of the condition of the poor, and truly he has need to think; for, unless we can succeed in raising them in the social scale, and, above all, in leavening them with Christianity, a fearful future is before us.

We cannot forbear to quote a passage from a soliloquy of Walter of Varila's (p. 129), which aptly illustrates our author's powers of sarcasm, as well as his earnest indignation, in behalf of the poor against the "economists" of the present day:—

"Of all cruelties, save me from your small pedant, your closet-philosopher, *who has just courage enough to bestride his theory, without wit to see whither it will carry him.* In experience, a child; in obstinacy, a woman; in nothing a man but in logic-chopping; *instead of God's grace, a few copy-book headings about benevolence, and industry, and independence;* there is his metal. If the world will be mended on his principles, well; if not, poor world! but principles must be carried out, though through blood and famine; for truly man was made for theories, not theories for man. *A doctrine is these men's God; touch but that shrine, and lo! your simpering philanthropist becomes as ruthless as a Dominican.*"

"Bitter truths, these, my masters!" He who wrote this can never be a follower of the "Brights" and the "Cobdens." But no more on these political topics, all of which are naturally suggested by the very singular work before us.

We implore Mr. Kingsley, in conclusion, not to be bound by any *party-chains*. His acceptance of Professor Maurice's patronage seems quite out of keeping with his genius, and cannot be accounted for save on the score of some fancied party-tie. Let him take heed, that he be not numbered among the "Arnold-school," or, indeed, any other limited school or sect. Looking at the work we are reviewing, we cannot but avow that he is a man of genius; and, as such, we claim him for his Church, and for his country.

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ART. VIII.—*Memoirs of the House of Brandenburg, and History of Prussia during the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries.* By LEOPOLD RANKE. Translated from the German by SIR ALEXANDER and LADY DUFF GORDON. In Three Volumes. London: Murray. 1849.

THE interest which we feel in the history of a nation or the life of an individual, is less in proportion to their intrinsic merits than to the result produced by their actions or exertions: a quiet and sensible man passes through the world unobserved, and though we may venerate his memory, we feel little inclination to write his life; while, on the other hand, he who raises himself from a cottage to a throne, or arrives at the highest distinctions of his own profession, will always be an object of curiosity. Kings while they live are always a sort of spectacle for the vulgar; their high station and supposed power create a sensation of awe in the breasts of those who gaze upon them. But, as history deals chiefly with kings, the monarchs of another century are often lost to our mind amidst the multitude who went before and who succeeded them; and, in a long dynasty, one or two only are found whose characters are remembered beyond their own country, and to whom distant nations accord the distinction of recollecting much more than their names.

As, however, in private life we read with intense interest the struggles of the rising barrister whom casual circumstances, as well as his own talents, afterwards placed upon the woolsack of England, so in history we look with admiration upon the prince who raises his State to a higher rank among kingdoms than it formerly possessed; his predecessors or his successors may be more worthy of our esteem, but the world is so constituted that results give prominence to character; and Alexander the Great, by extending his empire throughout Asia, has gained more celebrity than his father, whose exertions were confined to Greece. The earlier kings of Macedonia are scarcely known by name: Philip was the first who gave weight to his nation in the affairs of foreigners; we therefore feel an interest in him, on account of the effects produced by his reign.

Just so, in the history before us, Brandenburg is but a subordinate state of the German empire. A German electorate, with the pomp and ceremonial of royalty, the dependance of vassalage, and the cares and embarrassments of needy nobility,

often gives us a mere picture of poverty and pride. The grandfather of Frederick the Great was the first to raise the House of Brandenburg from this subordinate position, and to declare himself king of Prussia by the title of Frederick the First. This took place in July 1700; his coronation followed in January 1701. Much, however, still remained to be done; a royal crown gives only title without power; Austria held Silesia, to which Prussia had a prior claim; the army was small, the people uneducated, and little better than the serfs of the feudal system; and though neighbouring nations did not object to the royalty of King Frederick, they seemed little to respect or fear him in his new capacity. Till his death, in 1713, little progress seems to have been made; taxation and a new system of farming the crown lands were his principal objects. It was reserved for his son Frederick William I. and his grandson Frederick II., to give royal dignity to their newly-acquired crown, and to place Prussia in the rank of a powerful kingdom. Frederick William was a warrior, and had little else to recommend him; but a warrior was what Prussia required. Europe was in a state of great disorder, the wars of Louis XIV. had not yet subsided. To form an empire, then, it was necessary to raise a powerful army, and for this Frederick William had peculiar talents. He reigned till the year 1740; and then his celebrated son, with greater genius for war, and unrivalled versatility of talents, continued the aggrandizement of Prussia down to the time of the French revolution. To watch the gradual rise of empires and of men is, as we said before, the most interesting of all studies. Frederick William, therefore, and Frederick II. are characters on which history loves to dwell. Their minute actions and feelings are interesting to all; and as modern ingenuity now searches the archives of palaces, and brings to light letters and records long forgotten, we have ample materials for history and biography in the courts and times of these remarkable men. Nor is this interest without its moral use; successful exertion like theirs teaches mankind that they may rise to high stations by the diligent use of opportunities; and when we meet with the troubles, faults, and failings of kings and their children, we may learn contentment, in reading that the mightiest of the earth are, like ourselves, exposed to petty vexations, and not exempt from the weakness and trials to which ordinary mortals are liable.

Let us now, from the materials before us, consider a few of the characters presented on the scene.

Frederick William married the daughter of George I., and the unfortunate Sophia Dorothea; he was, therefore, brother-in-law of George II., whom he cordially disliked, and his son was cousin

to Frederick, prince of Wales, the father of George III. This relationship to England gives an additional interest to the Prussian family, as marriages between the royal families were frequently projected. As Frederick William's great object was his army, he became a thorough-going old soldier; the term 'good officer,' gives us too much the idea of a gentleman. Had we met him incognito, we should have supposed him to be a respectable coarse-minded adjutant, who had risen from the ranks. Continued drill, great anxiety about the appearance of his troops, minute knowledge of all the technicalities of mounting guard, manœuvring, and reviewing, great nicety as to the dress of officers and men; these were the great subjects that occupied the king's mind, and every thing else seemed worse than useless, as it only tended to distract attention from the study of his favourite science. He must have been the most disagreeable companion in private life that we can well imagine: his children actually trembled at his presence, and his wife seemed in continual danger of losing her life by his violence. We have the best account of the "old Corporal" from his eldest daughter, Wilhelmina, afterwards margravine of Bareith. Her private memoirs, published towards the end of the last century, were at one time supposed to be a forgery; we believe, however, that their authenticity has since been established. They certainly carry with them the internal evidence of truth; we can perceive all through the graphic descriptions of an eye-witness; and if not actually written by the princess herself, the author must have been well acquainted with her, and with the habits and feelings of the court. We give a few anecdotes of the king's domestic life, extracted at random from his daughter's memoirs. It appears, that the Prince Frederick and his sister had gone to their mother's room on some occasion, when their father was supposed to be absent: he returned suddenly, and both of them, fearing his displeasure, hid themselves, Wilhelmina in a closet, and Frederick under the bed. The old king continued for some hours in conversation with his wife, and the prince and princess remained in their undignified position till they were nearly smothered.

Sometimes, it appears, that Frederick William was seized with a fit of religious melancholy: he would then send for a clergyman named Franke, who lectured the family all the time of dinner, and made them feel as dull as the monks of La Trappe; he condemned all amusements, and would not allow any conversation in his presence, except upon the subject of religion. The king, at these times, used to preach a sermon to his family every afternoon; his valet acted as his clerk, and his children were obliged

to affect a contrite and penitent air, which only taught them hypocrisy. On these occasions, the king would talk of resigning his throne, and setting up for a country farmer: Wilhelmina was to be his washerwoman; Frederica, a younger daughter, being, as he said, the most avaricious of the family, was to be the storekeeper; Charlotte, a third daughter, was to attend the market and be his cook. If the king had really had any feeling of true religion, we might sympathize with his care of his family, and even if he were somewhat prolix in his sermons, we might commend his zeal rather than his discretion; but he seems to have had little idea on the subject of his duty towards God; and the course which he pursued shows that his sermons and advice proceeded rather from a determination to exact military obedience from his children, than from any sincere desire for their spiritual good. His daughter says of him,—

“We shortly after followed the king to Potsdam, where he had a violent fit of the gout in both feet. This illness, added to the vexation of seeing his hopes vanished, put him into an insupportable humour. The pains of purgatory could not equal those we endured. We were obliged to be in the king's room by nine o'clock in the morning, we dined there, and durst not leave it on any account. The king passed the whole day in abusing my brother and me. He called me the English baggage, and my brother the rascally Frederick. He forced us to eat and drink things which we disliked or which disagreed with our constitutions; this ill-judged severity sometimes made us throw up in his presence all we had in our stomachs. Every day was marked by some unlucky event: we could not lift up our eyes without beholding some ill-fated being tormented in one way or other. The impatience of the king would not suffer him to lie in bed. He was placed in an arm-chair, upon casters, and rolled about all over the palace. His arms rested on crutches. We followed this triumphal car every where, like unfortunate captives undergoing their punishment. The poor king was really suffering violent pains, and the overflowing of black bile caused his intolerable humour.”—*Memoirs of the Margravine of Bareith*, vol. i. p. 148. Edition of 1812.

The great grievance of the family appears to have been the concern which her parents took as to Wilhelmina's settlement in life. She does not venture to give us a description of herself in her own words, but she quotes the expressions of some of her friends, which are any thing but flattering to her beauty. She was low in stature, sharp-featured, exceedingly plain, and, we suspect, slightly marked with the small-pox: be this as it may, to provide her with a husband seemed to be the great object at which her parents zealously aimed, and which she herself as carefully avoided. Her cousin Frederick, prince of Wales, as

heir-apparent to the crown of England, presented a grand object for her father's ambition ; but the match was broken off by some offence given by George II. or his ambassador. Though she had never seen her cousin, she confesses considerable aversion to him ; and probably would have begun her matrimonial career, like Mrs. Malaprop, by hating him like a blackamoor. After the prince of Wales, the next on the list was Count Weissenfield, a distant relation and pensioner of the king of Poland : he seems to have been in no way an eligible match, as he is described as poor and dissipated ; but for some reason Frederick William had set his heart on having him for a son-in-law. Quarrels, faintings, beatings, and threats of imprisonment, produced little effect upon the princess ; at last the old king, who seems to have been more anxious for the removal of his daughter than for her domestic comfort, introduced a third suitor, the Margrave of Schwedt. Wilhelmina would now have been too glad to have fallen back upon her cousin the prince of Wales, as the least evil of the three ; but her uncle, George II., had other views for his son, and allowed his German cousins to settle their disputes without his interference. Then followed a most extraordinary series of domestic quarrels. Sometimes the king would lay hold of his daughter, and she would endeavour to escape. On one occasion her governess, Madame de Sonsfield, came to the rescue, and at the same moment the princess tripped over a screen ; she fell, she says, between the hammer and the anvil, receiving all the blows intended either for herself or her governess ; till, being near the hearth, she was only saved from her father's rage when her clothes began to catch fire. Wilhelmina, however, still held out against matrimony, till the 10th of May, 1731, which she says was the most memorable day of her life. On this occasion an emissary from the king visited her in the morning before she had left her bed ; he told her he had just seen her mother and the king ; the former in tears, the latter in a violent passion ; that he had received orders to make immediate preparations for the wedding ; and that the queen's entreaties were of no avail. "The king," said he, "finding himself thwarted, turned round to Madame de Sonsfield, and swore, with the most bitter imprecations, that he would drive her from the court, and, as an example of his severity, he will have her publicly whipped as the cause of your disobedience. 'I pity you,' said the king to the governess, 'to be condemned to such an infamous chastisement ; but it rests with the princess to rescue you from this disgrace. It must be confessed, however, that it will be a fine sight, and that the blood which will run down your white back will heighten its whiteness, and be delightful to look upon.' " (See *Memoirs*, vol. i. p. 299.)

The princess herself was to be confined in a fortress, and she was informed that the horses were ready to convey her thither. Women, however, generally manage to have their own way. Madame de Sonsfield was the first to advise Wilhelmina to persist in her purpose, and refuse the Polish count ; and the queen wrote to her that the solitude of a prison was preferable to an ill-assorted marriage. We fear she could speak from experience. The matter was at length compromised by Wilhelmina's accepting the eldest son of the margrave of Bareith, a distant relation of her own, and to whom she entertained less objection than to the others. She does not pretend to any romantic attachment to her new suitor ; indeed it seems, according to custom, she fainted when he was first mentioned ; but by her own account she made a good wife, except that she was sometimes jealous ; and her husband seems to have shown her as much kindness as could well be expected from a German prince of the eighteenth century.

To his son, Prince Frederick, the king was even more severe : "ce coquin Fritz" was his common designation. The prince was much attached to his sister, and they always took the part of each other ; he was, therefore, involved in her misdemeanours. But there was another insuperable reason for the old soldier's dislike of his son. Frederick studied other subjects than war ; and though his subsequent life proved his vast military genius, yet he could read classics, play on the flute, and take delight in the fine arts. All these accomplishments the king regarded as crimes : he believed that no man who wrote verses could drill a regiment. Frederick wrote poetry, and his father drew a logical conclusion that he never could make a soldier.

Musicians also were his detestation ; and once, when Frederick was sitting in his dressing-gown with a young man who gave lessons on the flute, he was obliged to hide his teacher on the approach of his father, who only vented his rage upon the dressing-gown, which he tore to pieces, and threw into the fire. The dislike, however, of the king to his son went to much greater lengths. Few young men ever endured such privations and annoyances as the prince of Prussia. His father, in one of his fits of passion, attempted to strangle him with the cord of a window-curtain, in which he became entangled. He pulled the string which was round his son's neck, and nearly lifted him off the ground. The prince declared to his sister that his life was only saved by the interference of the servants. Though Frederick held the commission of a general officer, his father struck him repeatedly with his cane ; and when his son received the insult in silence, he taunted him as a coward, telling him, that had his father treated him so, he would have fled from the country. The



patience of the prince was at length worn out, and he determined to take refuge in England. His flight was arranged for a time during one of the king's long marches, when the party had halted for the night at a farm-house; and the king and his suite occupied a barn, and the prince and his attendants slept in another at some little distance. Frederick's scheme, however, was betrayed, and he was arrested in the act of mounting his horse. His father had him and his friend, Lieutenant Katt, tried as deserters by a court-martial, and sentence of death was recorded against them both. The prince was closely imprisoned, without his books or his flute, or even a bed; he was allowed only sixpence a day for his food; and it seems as if his father intended either to put him to death, or to compel him to renounce his right of succession. The queen and the princesses actually believed at one time that Frederick had been executed. Whether his father really intended to have gone so far cannot now be proved; certain it is that the officers about the king declared that as an electoral prince Frederick was subject to the laws of the empire, and therefore could not be tried by his father's court; and old General Mosel, seeing the king greatly enraged, put a sword into his hand, and exclaimed, "Sire, slay me, but spare your son." But if the king did not intend to take away his son's life, he certainly determined to wound his feelings in every possible way. There was a young girl of low birth, named Doris Ritter, whose company Frederick had sought, as she was a good musician. The king accused her of being his son's mistress. Though he did not bring any proof of his assertion, he seized her, and without a trial sentenced her to be conducted through the streets by the common hangman, and then publicly whipped in presence of his son, whom he forced to attend. While Frederick was in prison, an officer of the court was sent to him on some message. He happened to be dressed in a scarlet cloak. As soon as Frederick saw this, he believed that his father had sent the executioner to put him to the torture. But what most deeply hurt the feelings of the unfortunate young prince was the tragic end of his friend and companion, Lieutenant Katt. Though the grandson of one of the most distinguished Prussian generals; though the greatest interest was exerted in his favour; and though Frederick professed his willingness to renounce his claim to the throne, in order to save his friend, the king was inexorable, and the sentence of the court-martial was carried out. A scaffold was erected under the window of the prince's prison. Katt was led forth between two clergymen, and with his last words addressed the prince, assuring him of his devoted attachment, and his willingness to suffer death for his

sake. The prince saw his friend's head roll on the scaffold, and fainted in the arms of his attendants.

These events happened in the year 1730, and the king did not receive his son till the next year. In the year 1740, Frederick William died. In the same year died also Charles VI., emperor of Austria, so the power of Germany passed into new hands. The emperor was succeeded in his hereditary dominions, Hungary and Silesia, by his daughter Maria Theresa, "The queen whose beauty set the world in arms." This had been arranged some years before by the act of settlement, commonly called the Pragmatic Sanction. The empire, being elective, passed after some delay into the hands of Charles Albert of Bavaria, who reigned by the title of Charles VII. till his death in January, 1745. The new choice fell upon the Grand Duke of Tuscany, the husband of Maria Theresa, known in history as Francis I.

We now come to consider the character of the queen of Prussia, Sophia Dorothea, the mother of Frederick the Great. From the daughter of George I., much delicacy or refinement could not be expected; and we find her at first in grievous terror of her husband, and endeavouring by all her arts to soften his unkindness towards his children; she does not, however, appear to have been much more worthy of their love. The Princess Wilhelmina confesses that the unkindness of her mother was her principal motive for accepting the addresses of the prince of Bareith. Like the king, she seemed to prefer the Polish count; and when the young margrave appeared, she did all in her power to break off the match, although she had at first given her consent. Wilhelmina now found that the other ladies of the court followed the queen's example, and treated her with contempt: her patience was severely tried by their insolence; they had sought her patronage while she was her mother's favourite, but they now despised her as a discarded courtier. She was, therefore, the more inclined to leave the court of Berlin, and seek an establishment with her husband. She tells us she only publishes an extract from one of her mother's letters, lest it should reflect upon her memory: we give the extract, but we confess we are at a loss to divine what the rest of the letter must have been:—

"You break my heart, by giving me the most violent pain I ever felt in my life. I had placed all my hopes in you; but I did not know you; you have artfully disguised the malice of your soul, and the meanness of your sentiments. I repent a thousand times over the kindness I have had for you, the cares I have taken of your education, and the torments I have endured for your sake. I no longer acknowledge you for my daughter, and shall henceforth consider you as my most cruel

enemy, since it is you that sacrifice me to my persecutors, who triumph over me. Rely on me no longer. I vow you eternal hatred, and shall never forgive you."—*Memoirs*, vol. i. 311.

The Princess Wilhelmina draws such strongly coloured pictures, that we begin to suspect some defect in her own powers of vision; but she seems to have been a person of great natural abilities. Her mother once, when she was a child, laid a wager that she could learn 150 verses in an hour. The lady who doubted her powers replied, "I will try her local memory;" she then wrote down 150 names of her own invention, to each of which a number was annexed, and read them twice over. The princess was then called upon to repeat them, which she did with little hesitation; the numbers were then called out of their order, and the princess again succeeded in giving the names. Her great talent seems to have been for description or sketching characters. We have, in a few lines, the appearance of the character and manners of some of the most remarkable personages of the day. Among others George I., Peter the Great, and the Empress Catherine. Of the first she says:—

"The king of England was a prince who valued himself on his sentiments; but, unfortunately, he had never applied to the enlightening of his mind. Many virtues, carried to an extreme, become vices; this was his case. He affected a firmness which degenerated into harshness, and a tranquillity which might be called indolence. His generosity extended only to his favourites and mistresses, by whom he suffered himself to be governed; the rest of mankind were excluded. Since his accession to the crown, his haughtiness had become insupportable. Two qualities, however, his equity and justice" (we should have thought these the same), "rendered him estimable. He was by no means an evil-disposed prince, but rather constant in his benevolence. His manners were cold; he spoke little, and listened only to puerilities."—*Memoirs*, vol. i. 70.

Of Catherine, the queen of Peter the Great, and her husband, we read:—

"The czarina was short and stout, very tawny, and her figure was altogether destitute of gracefulness. Its appearance sufficiently betrayed her low origin. To have judged by her attire, one would have taken her for a German stage actress. Her robe had been purchased at an old-clothes broker's; it was made in the antique fashion, and heavily laden with silver and grease. The front of her stays was adorned with jewels singularly placed—they represented a double eagle, badly set, the wings of which were of small stones; she wore a dozen orders, and as many portraits of saints, and relics fastened to the facing of her gown; so that when she walked, the jumbling of all these

orders and portraits, one against the other, made a tinkling noise like a mule in harness.

"The czar, on the contrary, was very tall and pretty well made: his face was handsome, but his countenance had something savage about it, which inspired fear. He was dressed as a navy officer, and wore a plain coat. The czarina, who spoke very bad German, and did not well understand what was spoken to her by the queen, beckoned to her fool, and conversed with her in Russian. This poor creature was a Princess Galitzen, who had been necessitated to fulfil that office in order to save her life; having been twice implicated in a conspiracy against the czar."—*Memoirs*, vol. i. 44.

The margravine is a thorough-going gossip, and the petty courts of Germany give a wonderful field for the exercise of her peculiar talent. As Englishmen, we all value royalty: the dignity of the king, the splendour of his court, the ceremony with which royal personages must be treated, have all their value. They give dignity to the executive government, and teach the world that laws must be enforced and power revered. If, however, every county in England were a separate principality; if every duke and marquis were to be treated as a sovereign prince, the good sense of England would soon consider such idle ceremony as a useless burden. The margravine gives us a continued history of petty sovereigns,—a long detail of pride, poverty, and etiquette,—amusing enough to the reader, but tiresome in the extreme to those engaged in the farce. Tables of precedence were multiplied till they had become inexplicable. The heir of the margrave brought home his bride, and she was, of course, to be received with all the honours of expectant sovereignty. But she finds her new palace cold and comfortless; numerous servants in tarnished liveries; great rooms surrounded with worm-eaten tapestry, and letting in the cold through broken doors and cracked wainscots. The dinners were served with the greatest pomp: trumpets sounded, cymbals played, and a guard attended. The meal sometimes lasted for three hours; but the food was so badly cooked that the princess could not eat it, and managed, with the help of her governess, to have her food dressed in her own room. These princes were in continual want of money. Wilhelmina and her husband proposed to visit the king of Prussia at Berlin: they entered into a long calculation as to the probable expense of the journey, and then tried to prevail on the old margrave to find the funds: he sent them about a third of what they required; and as they thought it too little, the journey was put off. About the same time, the governess of Wilhelmina complained that one of the ladies at Bareith took precedence of her in going into a carriage. The dispute went on to some height, but at

last it was settled on the principle, that Wilhelmina being of royal descent, her attendant had a right to a higher position than the wife of an officer of a prince who could not claim royal honours. Now, though it is not fair to despise a race of nobility merely on account of their poverty, yet we confess we think the pride of these German barons must have been a source of unmingled vexation to themselves and their dependants: to be obliged continually to claim respect which there is no power to enforce, to be constantly indebted for pecuniary assistance to those whom the debtor feels it a duty to despise,—all give us an idea of an unsound state of society; and while we look up with respect to the nobility of England, we congratulate them and ourselves that they are content with the titles and wealth of the peerage, without arrogating the state of royalty, or insisting upon the honours of sovereign princes.

But other misfortunes awaited the Princess Wilhelmina at Bareith. Her governess and chief friend, Madame de Sonsfield, proposed to bring with her to Bareith her sister, named Flora, and two nieces, named La Marwitz. The king of Prussia disapproved of their plan, as he had made a law that no Prussian heiress should marry out of his dominions; however, after many promises, the king consented. Flora, after some time, began to wish for a respectable settlement for herself; and the margrave, father-in-law to Wilhelmina, began to think of her as a second wife. Of this project La Marwitz informed Wilhelmina, who saw herself threatened with a step-mother in the person of her humble dependant. The margrave, though not fifty years of age, seems to have grown fat and stupid, and to have cared for little but wine and reading *Telemachus*. Flora, who had but little sense, thought only of her own advancement, and of the precedence which her marriage would give her above her patroness. Madame de Sonsfield feared the king of Prussia, and expected that the whole family would be imprisoned for life for disobedience to the laws; so the whole party were thrown into the most amusing confusion. The women, however, managed to persuade Flora to discard her princely suitor, and she wrote to him declining his offer of marriage, but in such terms, Wilhelmina tells us, that she might still be of use to her patroness, by holding her ascendancy over the old gentleman's affections. Flora de Sonsfield does not seem to have had much to recommend her, as she is described in the following terms:—

“She is only five feet high. She is exceedingly corpulent, and lame in the left foot; when young she was a perfect beauty, but her features had become so coarse from the small-pox, that she could no longer be considered as such: her countenance, however, is prepossessing, and

her eyes delusively sparkling and expressive ; her head, which is too big for her little body, gives her a dwarfish appearance ; her figure, however, is not remarkable : her manners are graceful, and such as prove her acquaintance with high life. Her heart is excellent ; she is gentle and accommodating ; and, in one word, her character is unblemished ; but Heaven has not blessed her with intellect : she possesses a certain fashionable routine that veils this deficiency, which can only be found out in private intercourse. She had been struck with the advantageous offers of the margrave, and overcome by her vanity and ambition ; and the narrowness of her understanding had prevented her from foreseeing the consequences."—*Memoirs*, ii. 177.

Having thus described the near relations of the hero of Prussia, we now come to the leading character of the history, Frederick the Great. He was certainly a great man in one sense of the word : he possessed a greater variety of talents than usually falls to the lot of a single individual ; he fully inherited his father's taste for war ; and during a long reign of nearly forty-six years, and during violent commotions, battles, and sieges, he proved himself a consummate master of the art. His literary talents are also very uncommon for a king and a soldier : like Cæsar, he has left us the history of his own campaigns ; but Cæsar only professed to be a warrior and historian, Frederick attempted nearly every species of literature. Fifteen volumes of his posthumous works, in French, contain poems, letters, history, essays on politics, morals, and infidelity. He made himself acquainted with the most distinguished literary men of his time ; and we have whole volumes of his correspondence with D'Alembert, Jordan, and Voltaire. He wrote an elaborate treatise in answer to Macchiavelli's Art of Governing by Deceit. In this he lays down as a first principle, that a king holds office for the benefit of his subjects. This is certainly a strong sentiment for an absolute monarch, and it is one on which Frederick did not always act. He certainly was capable of strong acts of tyrannical justice, and would sometimes hear a cause which had been decided, and if he did not approve of what had been done, he would reverse the decision and degrade the judge. He played the king through life ; he acted strenuously and on his own judgment, with little advice from his ministers, whose duty he believed it to be to obey orders, and not to question them. By this means he certainly founded a great empire ; he made the power of Prussia respected by foreigners ; and where the laws were defective, he made new ones to suit the exigency of the times. His people advanced under his care ; and if he were arbitrary, it was generally because he supposed he was acting for the public good. But with all these qualities, which mankind admire, and which stamp the greatness



of the king, Frederick, like his father, was, we fear, a very bad man in private life. He treated his wife ill. Constrained to marry, when, like his sister, he had no thoughts of marriage, he had no fancy for the princess of Brunswick Bevern, whom his father had selected for him ; he says himself, in a letter to his sister,—

“ Until this time my fate has been mild. I have lived pleasantly in my garrison : my flute, my books, and the company of some kind friends, have made my life tolerable ; and they would compel me to abandon this tranquillity, and to marry the Princess de Bevern, whom I do not know. They have extorted a consent from me which has occasioned me much uneasiness. Must one suffer for ever these tyrannies without the hope of a change ? ”

The queen, his mother, adds at the same time :—

“ The princess is handsome, but as vulgar as a basket-woman ; she has not the least education. I don't know how my son will reconcile himself to this young ape.”—*Memoirs*, ii. 28.

The consequence was, Frederick neglected his wife ; he passed his time at Sans Souci<sup>1</sup>, and the queen lived at a palace at some distance. He visited her occasionally, and dined at her table, but generally left the room without addressing a word to her. He seems to have been entirely absorbed in business. All letters or applications must be written on one side of a sheet of paper and addressed to himself ; he always read these himself, and wrote a few words on each, from which his secretaries gathered the answer they were to make. He kept four private secretaries : they were obliged to remain unmarried, and in a kind of honourable imprisonment, as they were never allowed to mix in society, lest they should divulge any of the royal secrets ; they were obliged to be in continual attendance, and probably an attempt at resignation would have led to the forfeiture of life or perpetual imprisonment. In religion Frederick was a blasphemous infidel ; his essays on religion contain the most determined and shocking infidelity that can well be imagined. In early life he had made some profession of religion. Katt declared that he had seen several essays on religious subjects by him, in which he maintained the doctrines of Calvin<sup>2</sup>. His father, who hated Calvinism, sent several theo-

<sup>1</sup> This palace derives its name from a tomb which Frederick had erected for himself near the entrance of one of the gardens. It was surmounted by a statue of Flora, and bore the inscription,—

Ici je serai  
SANS SOUCI.

The large letters caught the eyes of passengers, and gave a name to this celebrated palace, which conveys a meaning exactly opposite to that which the king intended.

<sup>2</sup> See Ranke, vol. i. p. 317.

logians to argue with his son, who was then in prison ; and after several disputations the prince declared that whichever were the true view of Scripture, neither one nor the other was worth a martyrdom. We suspect that he always disliked religion itself, as well as his father's sermons, and only wanted the tuition of his friend Voltaire to render him an unbeliever, if not an atheist. The tree is known by its fruits ; and if philosophy could render him a just judge, or a love of public applause could lead him to generous actions, we cannot expect that it could either change his heart or give him a motive for serving God, whose Word he slighted and whose religion he abhorred.

He is said to have had hereditary claims to Silesia : they had certainly lain dormant for a very long period. His first act was to seize upon this province, and he thus involved Europe in wars which lasted during the greater part of his life. How far such an act is justifiable, even on philosophic principles, is not for us to determine. We should think, on Christian principles, there can be no question upon the subject. As soon, however, as Silesia was in his possession, he justified his holding it on Protestant principles. He cannot, he says, cede the province to Maria Theresa, because it would be betraying his Protestant subjects into the hands of the Pope. Now, as God overrules evil for good, Frederick was certainly an instrument in his hands for promoting religious liberty. No prince ever more firmly held or more strenuously supported the principles of universal toleration. In his letters to Voltaire we have a long correspondence on the subject of a young man named Etallonde, who had been persecuted in Switzerland, and whom Voltaire sent into Prussia. Frederick calls him "*Divus Etallon dus*," and writes of him as a martyr. We believe, however, that this conduct did not proceed from any love of truth or religion ; he saw the frightful evils of Papal tyranny, and the inquisition, and these he was determined to oppose at all hazards. His religious liberality and his determination to overthrow every persecuting power reminds us of King Nebuchadnezzar, who passed the first act of toleration on record : "Therefore I make a decree, that every people, nation, and language, which speak any thing amiss against the God of Shadrach, Meshach, and Abednego, shall be cut in pieces, and their houses made a dunghill."

The sayings and sentiments of a great man are matter of interest to general readers ; we shall, therefore, give a few of these extracted from his writings. On the subject of Capital Punishment, which is now so much discussed, he says :—

"It is very wrong that judges should be in haste in pronouncing sentence ; and it is better to allow a guilty man to escape than to destroy

one who is innocent. However, I am quite convinced by experience, that it is not proper to neglect any of the restraints by which men are governed ; I mean, rewards or punishments : and there are cases where atrocity of crime calls down the severity of the law. Murderers and incendiaries, for example, deserve the punishment of death, because they have assumed a tyrannical power over the lives and property of others. I believe that perpetual imprisonment is in effect a more cruel punishment than death ; but it is not so striking as that which is done before the eyes of the multitude, because spectacles of this kind make more impression than any description of the miseries which those endure who languish in a dungeon."—*Oeuvres Post. de Fred.*, vol. xii. p. 344. Ed. Berlin, 1789.

He had evidently a great dislike to the English language :—

"As England was conquered by the Romans, the Saxons, the Danes, and the Normans, the language," he says, "is a jargon formed of a mixture of these ; and it is, at least, as coarse as any of its component parts. At the revival of literature England, being always jealous of France, aspired to the production of authors, and the improvement of her language ; and, in order to do this, she appropriated such terms from Latin, French, and Italian, as she judged necessary. She had her celebrated writers, but they could not soften her sharp sounds, which grate upon the ears of foreigners : other idioms lose by translation, but English idioms alone are gainers. I once heard the question proposed by some literary men, 'What language did the serpent speak in Paradise?' 'It must have been English,' was the reply, 'for the serpent hissed.' You may take this bad joke for what it is worth."—vol. xiii. p. 393.

Frederick honoured the memory of the Chevalier Bayard of Grenoble, one of the knights of Francis the First of France. His motto was, "Sans peur et sans reproche." Frederick instituted the order of knighthood called from his name, with the motto of his hero, and a sword surmounted by a crown of laurels. The knights were twelve in number, generally his own near relations or neighbouring princes : each knight assumed a particular title of virtue on his admission to the order. One was named the Chaste, another the Temperate, another the Stout-hearted ; Frederick assumed the surname of the Constant. Besides the ordinary duties of chivalry, the object of the order was to improve military science, to study the tactics and campaigns of ancient heroes, to lay up a store of brilliant points and military problems. It is, perhaps, to this institution we owe some of the treatises on military science, which Frederick has left behind him. (See *Post. Works*, vol. xiii. p. 367.)

It is extraordinary that Frederick, though despotic at home, should have been opposed to royal power in the government of

other nations. He thus writes of Lord Bute and the English political system of that day :—

“ It is the Scotchman Bute who governs the king and the kingdom. Like those evil spirits of whom we hear so much, but whom we never see, he envelopes his operations in the deepest darkness ; his emissaries and creatures are the springs by which he moves the political machine according to his own will. His system is that of the ancient Tories, who assert that the happiness of England requires that the king should enjoy despotic power ; and that, far from forming alliances with the continental powers, Great Britain ought to confine herself to the object of extending her commercial interests. He looks on Paris as Cato the censor did on Carthage ; and if he had all the French vessels together, he would crush them at one blow. Imperious and harsh in his government, unscrupulous in the use of his means, his mismanagement throws him back upon his obstinacy. To carry out his grand schemes, this minister has introduced corruption into the lower house. A million sterling which the nation pays annually to the king for the support of the civil list, is scarcely sufficient to satisfy the venality of members of parliament. This sum, which is intended to support the royal family, the court, and the ambassadors, is employed every year in depriving the nation of its energy. And George the Third has no means of supporting his royal dignity in London, except 500,000 crowns which he draws from his electorate of Hanover.”

This we do not believe ; but, with more truth and great sagacity, Frederick proceeds to show, that

“ Want of money had led Lord Bute to attempt the taxation of the American colonies ; and that the result would be the destruction of British power over the States.”—vol. iv. p. 148.

The admirers of Frederick the Second compare him with Philip of Macedon ; and there are, certainly, many points of similarity both in their characters and circumstances. Both were the means of raising a small kingdom to the rank of a powerful nation ; both were skilful masters of the art of war ; and both gave great attention to financial affairs ; both could combine the characters of the lion and the fox ; and both, while studiously endeavouring to amass wealth, were ready to spend it to the last, in order to carry out their objects. Philip was a generous enemy, and after the battle of Cheronæa, refused to destroy Athens, because, he said, that as he had fought for glory, and had obtained it from the Athenians, it would be ungrateful to destroy a city which had given him his object. Frederick could treat a treacherous enemy with equal magnanimity, as he proved in the case of Augustus the Third, king of Poland.

The two monarchs are remarkable for their appreciation of literature. Philip's letter to the Athenians is a masterpiece of powerful and concise argument ; and he congratulates himself

less on the birth of an heir to his dominions, than on the fact that Aristotle should be the tutor to his son. It is remarkable that both these great men should have come in contact with the most powerful intellects of their day ; and though the terms on which they met were exactly opposite, yet, in each case, the celebrity of the king is increased by his proximity to contemporary genius. Philip's great enemy was Demosthenes ; Frederick's chief friend was Voltaire. Philip would willingly have pursued his plans in secret, his object was personal and national aggrandizement ; and could Macedon have risen in the scale of nations, and Philip have gained over the Grecian colonies on his coast one by one, he would have allowed matters to remain very quiet, and would have felt satisfied in his own persevering improvement of his country. But the overwhelming genius of a single orator, while it marred many of his favourite schemes for the moment, has immortalized his actions, and involuntarily shed a lustre upon his whole history. Frederick had his flatterers, as all great men have ; but we doubt if any of them has given him so high a character for heroism as Demosthenes has given to Philip. He describes him as struggling against bad fortune, repairing his disasters in one place by his successes in another ; wintering in the open air amidst the snows of Thrace ; exposing his person in every encounter, bruised in his thigh, his eye transpierced with an arrow, yet eager to sacrifice whatever remained of his body, and of his life, provided he may accomplish his purpose and secure his renown. Philip at one time patronized Theopompus, the Chian, as his friend and historian ; but on some trifling cause of quarrel, the historian endeavoured to blacken the reputation of his patron, by accusing him of the most disgraceful crimes. Frederick, before his quarrel with Voltaire, has left us several volumes of his correspondence with him. Mutual flattery is the staple commodity of these. We give a few specimens. In a letter, dated the 4th of September, 1749, the king thus concludes an invitation to Prussia :—

“ Finally, you are like the white elephant, for which the king of Persia and the Great Mogul go to war, and with whose name they increase their titles when they are happy enough to possess him. If you come here, you shall see at the head of mine, Frederick, by the grace of God, king of Prussia, elector of Brandenburg, possessor of Voltaire,” &c. &c.

That Voltaire could repay his patron in kind we see from many of his letters. Thus, on the 1st of May, 1775, he writes :—

“ Your letter is a masterpiece of reason, wit, good taste, and kindness ; ”

then in verse he adds :—

“ It is the sage who instructs us, The hero who civilizes us. Nothing so fine has been produced upon Parnassus or in the Church, &c. &c.”  
—*Post. Works*, viii. 317.

In the same year he writes :—

“ You overwhelm me with kindness. Your majesty changes the last miseries of my life into brighter days.”

Then, after a few lines, he adds in verse :—

“ Who is this astonishing Proteus ? One would say that he held the lyre of Apollo. When I run to hear, and flatter myself with delight, I find that it is the bloody armour of Mars that he bears. Let us then examine the hero.—But, no : he is Plato, he is Lucian, he is Cicero ; and if he pleased, he could be Epicurus, &c. &c.”—*Post. Works*, viii. 296.

The friendship, however, of these literary allies ended in a grievous contention, and each had recourse to his natural weapons,—Frederick to his power, Voltaire to his wit. Frederick ordered Voltaire's *Akakia* to be burnt by the hangman in presence of its author, and Voltaire revenged himself by a series of lampoons.

In all that we have read or quoted on the subject of King Frederick and his family, we cannot help remarking the great want of any thing like religion. From the great patron of Protestantism something might have been expected ; and though Ranke intimates that the king was opposed to priestcraft, and not to religion, we cannot help coming to the conclusion, that he was neither more nor less than a disciple of Voltaire. His own writings contain the best key to his sentiments ; and these are melancholy proofs, that when man sets up his own reason as his idol, he goes more and more astray from the knowledge of God and his ways. In his father, Frederick William, we might have expected to find some serious thought ; though sadly mistaken as to the government of his family, yet he certainly endeavoured to bring religious truth before their minds : his long sermons, his tedious chaplains, his acknowledgment of the vanity of the world, might have led us to suppose, that he had some right feeling as to his state before God ; and that at the hour of his extremity, his hopes for eternity might have been found placed on the true foundation of the sinner's confidence. But, alas ! this is not the case ; his daughter Wilhelmina, who is so fond of minute details, gives us a lamentable account of his death-bed scene, which she describes as melancholy and heroic.



“He had been very ill the whole night through. At seven in the morning, he caused himself to be drawn in his rolling chair to the apartment of the queen, who was still asleep, not believing him so dangerously ill. ‘Rise,’ said he to her; ‘I have but a few hours to live: I wish to have, at least, the satisfaction of dying in your arms.’ . . . . He said to the prince of Anholt, ‘You are the oldest of my generals, and you deserve to have my best horse.’ He ordered it immediately to be brought. And seeing the prince-royal affected, ‘It is the lot of man,’ said he; ‘we must all pay the tribute to nature.’ But, apprehensive lest his firmness might be shaken by the tears and lamentations of those who were present, he signified to them to withdraw, and gave orders to all his servants to wear a new livery which he had caused to be made for them, and that his regiment should wear a new uniform.” (The ruling passion here was strong in death.) “The queen then entered; she had scarcely been a quarter of an hour in the room, when the king fainted away: he was immediately put to bed, when, by means of the efforts employed, he was restored to his senses. Looking around him, and seeing the servants in their new dresses, he said, ‘Vanity of vanities, all is vanity.’ Then addressing his first physician, he asked him if his end was near: the physician having informed him that he had still half an hour to live, he asked for a looking-glass; and having looked at himself in it, he smiled and said, ‘I am very much changed; I shall cut a very ugly appearance when dying.’ He reiterated his question to the physicians; and on their telling him that a quarter of an hour had elapsed, and that his pulse was ascending, ‘So much the better,’ he answered; ‘I shall soon return to nothing.’ They then wished that two clergymen might enter to pray with him, but he told them that he knew all they had to say, and that they might therefore withdraw. He became weaker and weaker, and at last expired at midday.” —*Memoirs*, vol. ii. 341.

When Wilhelmina describes the death-bed of her father-in-law, the margrave of Bareith, she gives us an equally unhappy picture of the low state of religion among the German Protestants of that day:—

“One day, when we were at table, a message was brought us from the margrave’s, that he was in the last agony. We found him stretched on a sofa: he had been seized with a suffocation which brought him to the verge of the grave, and his pulse was like that of a person at the point of death. He looked at us without saying a word. An ecclesiastic was sent for, but he appeared displeased at this. The priest delivered a very fine exhortation to him on the state in which he was; told him he was on the point of appearing before God to render an account of his actions; and advised him to humble himself to his holy will, and he would receive courage to look on death with fortitude. ‘I have administered justice,’ said he to the priest; ‘I have been charitable to the

prince; I have never been guilty of debauchery with women; I have discharged the duty of a just and equitable prince; I have nothing to reproach myself with; and I can appear before the tribunal of God with confidence.' 'We are all sinners,' replied the almoner; 'and the most righteous of us all sins seven times a day.' 'When we have done all that is commanded us, we are still unprofitable servants.' We all remarked that he was displeased with this discourse: he repeated more vehemently still: 'No; I have to reproach myself with nothing; my people may weep for me as their father.' He preserved silence for some moments, after which he begged us to withdraw. The privy councillors came next; he made them a long harangue, in which he detailed all the obligations which the country was under to him, and repeated nearly what he had said to the clergyman. He recommended them strongly to have the good of their country always at heart, and to be attached to their new master; after which he took his last leave of them. He had sufficient strength of mind to take leave of his whole court, from the prime minister to the lowest of his domestics. I was very much affected: but it cannot be denied that there was a good deal of ostentation in his proceedings; for he carefully pointed out to all of them the care which he had always taken for the good of his country. It will be afterwards seen that he did not think himself dying, and that all this was merely theatrical. At the end of this melancholy ceremony, however, he became extremely weak: when it was over, he begged us to withdraw."—*Memoirs* ii. 246.

The poor old margrave died in a few days, apparently much in the same state.

As our object is rather to delineate the religion and morals of mankind than to describe their wars or enter into their political intrigues, we have been led away from the subject more immediately before us, to which we now return. Professor Ranke is a true German: he is indefatigable in research; he gives us his authorities from the times of which he writes; and as we have no means of consulting them, we must assume that he quotes correctly. His object is to lay before his readers the rise and progress of the House of Brandenburg. After a short sketch of the early electors he begins with the grandfather of Frederick the Great, and continues his history through the first ten years of Frederick's reign, concluding with a few chapters on the character of the king, and the improvements introduced in his reign. The laws of Prussia were one great object of his care, and Professor Ranke's account of the legal reforms is highly interesting. In the sixth year of his reign he undertook to draw up a code of civil laws; and in this task he was assisted by his legal adviser, Samuel Voegelé: this code, however, was soon superseded. Frederick's chief success as a reformer was in the administration of justice,

and to this he always gave the greatest attention. He preferred corporal punishment to fines, as more summary and less injurious to the revenue, as fines tended to impoverish the tax-payers.

He ordered a new scale of fees for legal certificates and bills of sale, which ignorant or corrupt magistrates had raised to an exorbitant price, and which they enforced with the stick. He appointed Cocceji controller-general of the courts, with power to revise all proceedings, and if he thought a cause unjustly decided, to bring it before the king in council. He abolished appeals to the imperial tribunal, and references to foreign lawyers, whom it had been usual for the judges to consult in difficult cases. By Cocceji's advice the office of attorneys was abolished, and the number of barristers limited, and they were obliged to confine their practice to one court. Every precaution was used to prevent delay, as Cocceji declared it was better that the debtor should suffer, than that he should be allowed to ruin his creditor on pretence of protecting himself. (Our law courts might take a hint from this maxim.) An ordinance was also issued calling upon judges and lawyers to make a return of the suits then pending, the length of time they had been before the court, and the reasons which prevented their being decided. The result was as follows:—

“ In May, 1747, Cocceji announced with no little satisfaction that a lawsuit between the court of exchequer and certain nobles touching certain boundaries, that had lasted more than 200 years, and filled above seventy volumes of manuscript, had been brought to a conclusion satisfactory to the parties mainly by the industry of Jarriges and Fürst. In this manner they worked during the whole year. In January, 1748, Cocceji reckoned that, during the past year, 1600 old, and 684 new suits had been before the court in Stettin; and 800 old, and 310 new, in Cöslin. All the old cases had been decided; and of the new ones, only 183 remained outstanding in Stettin, and 169 in Cöslin. ‘Your Majesty perceives,’ exclaimed Cocceji, ‘what can be done by courts of justice presided over by learned and upright men.’ ”—*Ranke*, vol. iii. 371.

In Frederick's arrangements there was one element of the feudal system which he left unchanged, and which has led to half the revolutions of Europe: while he gave distinct privileges to peasants and nobles, he left the impassable barrier between them unbroken. The nobleman must be a land-owner, the peasant a farmer, and the burgher a merchant. The burgher was not allowed to invest his capital in land, for fear of withdrawing it from trade; and the peasant could not become a landed proprietor, because his birth disqualified him from holding the commission of an officer. These distinctions, like those of the patricians and plebeians at Rome, must always give rise to jealousies and dis-

turbances. Mankind have in themselves quite sufficient tendency to split into factions, without legal distinctions to facilitate their doing so. If a law were passed in England that every native of the counties north of the Trent must wear a white hat, and every man to the south a black one, two new factions would be at once created, and the streets of London would be an arena for their trial of strength. Though England possesses an aristocracy, yet the poorest man in the kingdom may rise to become a member of it; and there is no law to prevent a man, whose father was in trade, from rising to be a general officer or a bishop.

To prevent the revival of old disputes, Frederick declared that no nobleman should be called upon to prove his title to his estate further back than 1740; and he endeavoured to give each of his new provinces a government according to the habits and genius of the people. Frederick William had long ago projected improvements in agriculture and commerce, which his son continued with the greatest zeal. Vast tracts of land were drained by his orders, and families who understood spinning were encouraged to settle. He considered it a fortunate discovery, that where his predecessors imported yarn, he imported the men to make it. To his manufacturing families he allotted a house and garden, and the grass of two cows; and reckoned that he could thus settle a thousand families in the year. He encouraged bricklayers who came to Berlin to remain in his dominions, and found employment for them. When he found his colonists troublesome (as a transplanted race usually are), he comforted himself that though the first generation are not worth much, their descendants would improve. The local governments were allowed to reserve to themselves the right of regulating the number of artisans in each branch; and if they increased too much in any given locality, they were sent without appeal into the next province. Thus we have an instance of the singular combination of improvement and despotism which characterizes all the acts of Frederick the Great.

All this, and much more, will be read with interest; it is to us by far the most agreeable portion of the book. We have little knowledge of tactics; and the dry details of skirmishes and engagements, in which the Prussians are one day victorious, and defeated the next, is matter of little curiosity to us. We confess ourselves, therefore, little able to appreciate either the professor's details or the king's narrative of his own exploits; and we feel rather inclined to sympathize with Gil Blas, when he was valet to the old colonel, and thought himself safe, if, in undressing his master and taking off his leg, he could escape with two battles and a siege. Again, political manœuvring is as little interesting

to the generality of readers as military tactics ; and it has this disadvantage, that the accounts are less likely to be properly authenticated. What George II. or his advisers desired to do ; what Charles VI. or Maria Theresa would have done if they could, and what they pretended to do in order to conceal their real intentions, are to us matters extremely apocryphal, and for this obvious reason,—diplomacy is the art of concealment ; the politician has always reversed the principle of the philosopher, and instead of wishing that others should know what he knows, his maxim is,

“ Si sciat hoc alter, scire tuum nihil est.”

We do not suppose that Sir Robert Walpole or Lord Bute could penetrate the schemes of their German contemporaries, much less is it possible to do so accurately at this day. This must plead our excuse with our readers for departing from our immediate subject, and rather leading them to join us in gossiping with the Princess Wilhelmina, than following the hero through the toils of the camp, or the politician through the mazes of diplomacy. Our professor does both, and to those who prefer such studies as more solid, he will doubtless be more acceptable than lighter reading. We have given but a short sketch ; but, as much has been written and published lately, if we have awakened curiosity, our readers will find ample means of gratifying it. The proper study for mankind is man ; and he who reads for his own improvement will always turn with pleasure to the history of genius, and the gradual development of the powers of nations and men. Frederick, however, presents another instance of the vanity of all earthly ambition ; he lived long, and gained much, but he did so at the expense of almost incredible labour ; and he seems to have forgotten that true happiness consists in the knowledge and service of God, and that,

“ Give all he can, without Him we are poor,  
And with Him rich, take what He will away.”

ART. IX.—*The History of the Church of England.* By J. B. S. CARWITHEK. B.D., late of St. Mary Hall, Oxford, &c. Parts I. and II. In 2 vols. Oxford: J. H. Parker.

THE real value and importance of Church history consists in its bearing upon the actual state of things in the present day. We find ourselves in the midst of a certain system, amidst institutions, creeds, customs, forms, opinions, and beliefs; and to be enabled to comprehend what we see around us, or to enter into its spirit, we are compelled to inquire how this state of things has arisen. In this point of view there is no part of ecclesiastical history which is valueless to the student. He should be more or less acquainted with the progress of events from the very beginning to the present day. The Reformation was an event of the highest importance, but it was preceded and followed by other events not less important in the history of Christianity, and which deserve equal attention. But how to bring this to bear on the actual composition of an ecclesiastical history is a difficult question. A history should not be a library in itself; and yet there are materials enough to make it equal to a large library: neither should it be a mere sketch, conveying no distinct notions on the most important points. But between these extreme limits a wide field remains for the exercise of the judgment of the ecclesiastical historian in the selection of his materials, and the mode of treating them. In truth, it is impossible to conceive one history adapted to general use. A learned divine will require one kind of book; a student of divinity another; an intelligent layman a third; and an ignorant person a fourth. One requires a book of reference, another an interesting narrative, another a compendious survey of the chief facts, another an instructive series of religious examples. In our literature there are examples enough of works adapted for the use of students, or of general readers; but there are comparatively few works which rise to any thing of a higher character and position—few, we mean, that can properly be called histories. We do not refer to the ancient ecclesiastical writers of England, but to more modern writers, and amongst them we are unable to point out any writer of a general Church history; the efforts of Fox, Burnet, Strype, and Collier—our principal writers—having been restricted to English Church history. Each of the writers we have mentioned has his defects, and Collier alone has attempted



a history of the English Church on a large scale. The value of Collier's work is, however, very great, though its dimensions preclude its general perusal.

Of the lesser works on this subject, which have made their appearance, we are inclined to give the preference, on the whole, to that which we have mentioned at the head of these pages, and which has been carefully edited by the Rev. W. Browell. It consists, it is true, almost wholly of the history of the Reformation, and of subsequent events till the Revolution of 1688; and dismisses the earlier history of the Church with a comparatively brief notice; but there is so much care in the selection of materials, and so cordial an attachment to the Church of England throughout, that we peruse it with satisfaction, even while we sometimes trace an occasional inaccuracy of expression on points connected with the Reformation and the regal supremacy, which would probably have been avoided had the work been written some years later. Such as it is, however, it supplies evidence of much patient and honest research, and, on the whole, may be commended as a faithful guide through the maze of earthly and of higher influences which surround the history of our Church.

And if in former times it has been desirable for Churchmen to be familiar with the fortunes of the Church of God in England, it becomes in the present times more necessary each day we live. It is increasingly incumbent on Churchmen to know the ground on which they stand, and to be prepared to maintain it stedfastly. We have fallen on evil days. We have seen the old hereditary principles of loyalty to Church and Constitution gradually perishing from their abode in high places, and finding their refuge only amongst those whom the world regards as bigoted and narrow-minded partizans. Those principles which have now fallen from their ascendancy in the State, may have been in some respects imperfect, or narrowed by prejudices arising from peculiar circumstances. But they were the relics, at least, of higher principles—the traditions of times when religion was the great actuating motive of statesmen, sovereigns, nations—when Christian truth was the ensign around which men gathered themselves, ready to sacrifice life and possessions in its cause. But we have fallen on a mercantile age, in which the rulers of this world, and large portions of the communities they rule, are indifferent to moral and religious considerations, except so far as they may be made subservient to the convenience of the world that now is.

The Church is in the midst of the world. It may be corrupted by the world, or persecuted by the world; but it can never be identified with the world. Christ's kingdom upon earth was instituted for specific spiritual purposes, and with a certain

organization and ordinances which render her essentially independent of the rise or fall of earthly kingdoms, and which she is bound to maintain and uphold, whether she be favoured by the "powers that be," or persecuted by them. Be she subject to a Diocletian, or to a Constantine, her duties are still simply and stedfastly to maintain the doctrine which has been delivered to her, without alteration, diminution, or addition, and to act on the plain rules of duty prescribed to her by God Himself.

Now, it is plain that a society like this, guided by a law higher than any human law, and held together by the force of conscience, and by spiritual sanctions only, is a body which has, and always must have, an independent existence; and cannot be, by any possibility, identified with the State, so as to form one of its functions, or aspects, or faculties, or parts. It may influence the State, may pervade every part of the State, may convert the State into a Christian State, so that the State shall be in all its actings under the guidance of the Church's principles; but still the State and the Church, however allied, or however mutually influential on each other, remain distinct in their existences, and one is never absorbed in the other. Even in the Papacy the union of spiritual and temporal powers in one person does not destroy the essential distinctness of the power, as we have recently seen in the separation of the temporal power from the Papacy. It may be a matter of convenience to statesmen to encourage a view such as that of Dr. Arnold, which virtually absorbs the Church in the State, and gives to temporal governors the power of regulating all Church affairs as they please; but a wider and more philosophical view would teach them, that such views never have prevailed widely in any Christian Communion; and, above all, *when the interests of that Communion are injured or assailed by the State.* It might be very convenient for English Statesmen now, if the Bishops, Clergy, and Laity of the Church,—all such, at least, as possess activity and influence, were as subservient to the policy of the minister of the day, in all matters bearing on religion, as Dr. Arnold and his disciples would make them; but it is a *fact*, which is undeniable, that the members of the Church of England have a will of their own on many points, and that it has been found impossible to reduce this body into such a state of pliancy, that it will shape its tenets and doctrines on practical subjects in accordance with those of the State Government. Notwithstanding the union of Church and State in England, it is a fact that the successive Governments of England, for the last twenty years, have been more continually in collision with the Church of England than with any other religious community in the empire. The opposition to such measures as the Emancipation Act of

1829, the attempt to abolish Church rates, the commencement of a latitudinarian or irreligious system of education, the endowment of Romish seminaries, and payment of the Romish priesthood, the admission of Jews to Parliament, has arisen from the Church of England. Now, the Church may have been very wrong and mistaken in all this: we are not saying that she was so—but it is clear, at least, that she is not a mere instrument of the State, deprived of the will or the power to uphold her peculiar principles and objects. She may be defeated in the struggle, or she may succeed in the struggle, but she has an independent existence, and a purpose which is not necessarily accordant with that of the State. And it appears that there is every prospect of increasing collision between these two powers, notwithstanding the efforts of the State to obtain more hold over the Church, by the exercise of its ecclesiastical patronage. That policy will only stimulate the energies of the Church, and if it advance the time-serving or the pliant, will only nerve the resolutions of those who are actuated by higher principles, and more self-denying attachment to the Church as a religious system. It may gain the hollow-hearted: it will never reduce to silence and compliance the earnest and the true-hearted,—and this will be discovered eventually by the State.

It is useless for the State to attempt to tie down the Church into absolute subserviency to whatever State policy may require—even if that policy be injurious to the Church's spiritual and temporal interests. Dissenters in England, Presbyterians in Scotland, Romanists in Ireland, Protestantism in Germany, Romanism in France, are all in frequent collision with the temporal powers,—though in some cases in alliance with those powers, and, in Germany and France, entirely dependent upon them. Nothing can be more completely dependent on the State than the Roman Catholic communion in France, and yet nothing can well exceed its obstinacy in resisting the will of the State on educational questions. In Russia alone is there a perfect alliance of Church and State, without any collisions that we ever hear of. But why is this? It is because the State is most rigidly orthodox, and most careful never to offend the religious principles of the Clergy and people. The Russian emperor is able to rule the Russian Church, because he is its most attached follower, and because he promotes its interests on all occasions. Were he to take a different course, his absolute power in Church and State would be shivered to atoms;—he would be dethroned.

The Reformation gave to the State in England powers in relation to the Church which it did not previously possess; and while these powers were exercised in a spirit of fidelity—while the State *acted* on the principle which alone gives it authority

over the Church, that Christian sovereigns are supreme in religious matters over *all classes* of their subjects—all went on peaceably. But the State, having *abdicated and denied its own supremacy* in spiritual matters by permitting, and even encouraging Dissent and Romanism, its position is altered; and the powers which it possesses over the Church by mere law or force, will not suffice to preserve its moral influence, or to ensure harmony of action. Where the State is surrounded by various religious communions, and acts on the avowed principle of impartiality and abstinence from interference with the internal arrangements of sects, it can only effectually maintain its influence, by either acting in all cases on the principle of impartiality, and permitting the most numerous denomination of its subjects not to feel itself the most unjustly dealt with, or else it should act firmly, vigorously, and avowedly, in connexion with some one religious communion. It should either give to the Church of England her Convocation with all its powers, secure the nomination of efficient bishops, and leave the Church at liberty to complete and carry out her organization,—or else it should take its stand by the side of the Church of England, and withhold all encouragement to Romanism and Dissent. Give the Church her constitutional rights which are now withheld, and she will not feel the same jealousy at encouragement being held out to others, who have been emancipated from State control in their religious concerns.

The present relations of the Church of England to the State are in a most unsatisfactory state. The feeling is increasing and growing amongst all earnest-minded men, that a re-adjustment of these relations must be attempted. It is felt that the highest interests of the Church are most seriously compromised by the alterations which have taken place in our ecclesiastical constitution, and in our temporal constitution,—the combined effect of which is to give to alien, and even hostile principles, an influence over the Church of England, which is in direct violation of all the conditions on which the Reformation was commenced, and from which the royal or State supremacy derives its origin.

If we seek the foundation of the supremacy claimed by states or princes over the Christian Church, it is altogether founded, as a matter of *Christian* principle, on *examples* derived from the history of the Old Testament; but then, in all these examples, the sovereign power or State was itself *religious*. It made profession of belief in the one true God; its actions were intended for the promotion of his honour and glory. It was only on this assumption that Henry VIII. and Queen Elizabeth claimed the supremacy over the Church. That supremacy was a right claimed, in virtue of *Christian government*, to exercise supreme

control over the Christian Church, for its own good. The supposition that sovereigns or states can have any divine right to hold spiritual rule over the Church, except for the purpose of promoting its spiritual good, is absurd. The authority of the State in religious matters is one which involves a distinct positive duty to God,—a direct *spiritual* duty. In proportion as a State claims authority in spiritual matters, so does it become charged with *spiritual* responsibilities. If it exercises spiritual authority for *mere temporal ends*, its dominion is altogether without religious right: it is an unhallowed profaner of God's temple: it is placing "the abomination of desolation" in the midst of the holy place.

Such *was* not—*could not* have been—the intention of any one of those godly men who rescued this land from papal usurpation and mediæval superstition. Nothing could be more sophistical, or more unjust, than to quote the opinions of Cranmer, of Parker, of Laud, or of any other eminent divines, since the Reformation, in favour of the regal supremacy, without, at the same time, stating that, if they held the State to have authority in religious matters, they invariably held that there was a correlative *religious duty*; that the State possessed authority in religious matters *for the very purpose of maintaining religion, of repressing false religion, of promoting the spiritual welfare of the Church*. The Church of England has never recognized a supremacy in any other sense. The sovereigns of England, from the Reformation onwards, for a century and a half, never claimed a supremacy of a different kind: they invariably acted on the principle of their supremacy involving necessarily certain *duties*. They may, or may not, have acted wisely in the discharge of those duties; but they practically exercised their supremacy till the time of King William III., in suppressing errors and schisms, in nominating the most fitting persons to ecclesiastical preferments, and in giving encouragement to the Convocations of the Church of England, on all important occasions, to correct and reform all that was amiss.

Here was a *bonâ fide* exercise of the supremacy, exactly consistent with the principles of the Reformation, and with the grounds and examples on which the supremacy was claimed. This was precisely the course taken by the Christian emperors in the early Church; this was the course of the religious kings mentioned in the Old Testament, as far as the general principle was concerned.

But then, since that period, the State has altogether changed its view and its position. The State now not merely tolerates, but in every way encourages, errors, and schisms, and heresies. It has *abdicated* its claim to supreme authority in religious

matters as far as the Romanists, the Wesleyans, Independents, Baptists, and all other sectarian bodies are concerned. Over this part of the population it claims no religious supremacy, though it tolerates, and, as far as possible, encourages them. So that the State, while claiming supremacy in religious matters, in the same style as Henry VIII. or Elizabeth, affirms, on the other hand, that it has no divine right of the kind, or else refuses to fulfil the *duties* which are involved necessarily in any such right.

If then it be objected to any member of the Church of England that he is bound by the principles of the Church to admit the supremacy of the State or sovereign in religious matters, we DENY that he is bound by the principles of the Church of England to admit the doctrine of a *supremacy involving no duty to maintain the truth, and none to discountenance and repress error*. We deny that any such doctrine has ever been taught by the Church of England. We are quite ready to acknowledge a supremacy involving high religious duties to God, and to the Church of God; but we reject, as contrary to the Church of England, and to Christianity itself, the doctrine of a supremacy exercised *without reference to Christian duties*,—duties to God, duties to pure religion, duties to holiness, duties to all the high spiritual ends and purposes for which Christianity exists. Therefore, we reject and abhor the doctrine of the State supremacy as it is now regarded and acted on by statesmen, lawyers, and politicians; while we receive it with the fullest approbation in the sense in which it is understood by the Church of England, was claimed by the sovereigns of England of former times, and was acknowledged by our divines.

To statesmen and politicians, too generally, the Church is a mere State machinery for the preservation of habits, of morality, and decency. They are wholly unconscious of any higher object and end: the Church is merely for *this* world. On these grounds it is sometimes supported by men who are absolutely without belief. In other cases it is regarded as a mere creature of the State for certain purposes of a moral kind.—This is the statesman's view.

But the Church of England takes altogether a different view; it knows nothing of its State incorporation for promoting ends of State polity; it only recognizes its Christian responsibilities; it derives its graces and gifts from God; it believes itself to be founded by God, and solely and singly for the purpose of doing God's work on earth, and promoting *his* kingdom in the world. Every member of the Church of England feels this, and acknowledges it, to a greater or less extent.



Here, then, is a wide contrast between the principles of the ruling powers of these days, and the principles of the Church of England, and of their own predecessors in former times.

On looking at the present aspect of things, and comparing it with that which existed when the Reformation took place, we must acknowledge that the supremacy which is acknowledged to exist in the State has become *a theory*: it is no longer in existence as a fact. We acknowledge the sovereign to be supreme in all causes, and over all persons; but we know that he has long ceased to be so: that he has relinquished his rights at the passing of the Toleration Act, of the Emancipation Act, of the Test and Corporation Acts; and on twenty occasions since. Therefore, all we can say is, that the Church recognizes in the State a hypothetical supremacy which the State has abdicated; and hypothetical duties, which the State has long ceased to fulfil. Under these circumstances, the supremacy only exists in books, and in language. As a real operating principle it is gone; its adjuncts, institutions, and consequences remain to us; but the principle from which they originated, and which can alone give them a reasonable foundation, has expired. It is true that statesmen, whenever it may suit their convenience, appeal to the supremacy of the Crown, acknowledged by the Church of England, as justifying their acts; but such appeals do not prove that the supremacy, in the Christian sense—the sense of the Church of England—is still in existence, or that it is recognized by those who appeal to it. The kind of supremacy claimed by mere politicians is a counterfeit supremacy,—a mere substitute of their own,—of which the Church of England knows nothing.

And having advanced thus far, the question arises, What are we to do? What is the Church of England to do under this altered state of things? Are we to sit still, and, contenting ourselves with the discharge each of our own duties within our private spheres, to leave it to the Providence of God to carry on the course of events as seemeth Him best? We should say so, under ordinary circumstances; but there are critical and important times in the world's history, when general interests are so deeply involved or imperilled, that it is impossible, consistently with a sense of responsibility to God, and of charity to our neighbour, to remain thus passive. Extraordinary dangers in themselves are a call to private individuals to step out of their ordinary course of action; extraordinary evils justify such measures. It was thus that the Reformation arose. Had men then remained always in their private sphere of action, there would have been no Reformation. We do not pretend to compare the present state of things to that which existed at the period of

the Reformation ; but, assuredly, there is much to oppress the Christian heart with a sense of peril to the best interests of the Church.

Is the Church to be made in fact what unbelieving politicians represent it—a mere engine of State policy ? Or is it, as we ourselves wish, to be the faithful minister of God, in training up men in habits of obedience to God in the first place, and to the king as God's minister in the next place ? Is it to be reduced as much as possible into the state of a mere machine, dependent on Government ? or is it to exercise the healthful freedom which it possesses by God's institution, by immemorial inheritance, and by the law of the land ? Is it to be guided by holy, devoted, heavenly-minded pastors ; or is it to be given up to the sway of worldly, self-seeking, luxurious, and time-serving men, whose first object is themselves ; their second, their political party ; and their third, their duty to God and his Church ?

Such are the questions which are forced upon us by the present state of things, in which the prerogatives of the State claimed and conceded on the assumption of that State's being religious, and having religious objects principally in view, have devolved into the hands of those who are led by the circumstances in which they find themselves placed, to use those prerogatives without any religious principle whatever, but with merely worldly and political objects. Now this, we say, is a state of things that no conscientious and thoughtful churchman can remain satisfied with, or under which he can remain quiescent. He may be subjected to blame as “an agitator,” or a needless disturber of what is working well enough. But he should remember, that such imputations are sure to arise whenever any high and generous work is undertaken ; and he should learn to disregard all such discouragements, from whatever quarter they may arise. In this case we may surely say with David, “Is there not a cause ?”

In the first place, when we look to the suppression of our Synods and Convocations, surely we must say, that a great injury has been done to the Church, by their total suppression for so long a time. One great injury has been, the transferring of all ecclesiastical reform and regulation from the regular representative body of the Church of England to the House of Commons, which was never a good legislature on such subjects, and which has for the last twenty years become obviously and notoriously unfit, from its including religionists of all kinds. Here is an immense evil. Legislation on the most important subjects is virtually at an end. The Church has no power of adaptation to the circumstances of the times. The fact of her being thus deprived of her rights, is made an unceasing argument against her by her ene-

mies. Romanists and dissenters are always arguing against her on this ground amongst others, as a mere State institution. This suppression of synods is, therefore, in all ways injurious to the Church. And, if there be objections on the part of statesmen, or of the Hierarchy to convocation in its present form, why, we would ask, has no attempt been made to improve the system? We can understand this, of course, in the case of the temporal government, which is unwilling to give any liberty to the Church as a general rule. But why have not the Bishops of our Church ever sought to restore the convocation in an improved form, if they have not been satisfied with its present composition? We fear that we cannot acquit the Hierarchy in times past, of a very great and serious mistake in this respect. We know that timidity is the besetting sin of many men in high places in the Church—a timidity which has checked and chilled what was good, while it may have prevented also what was evil.

However this may be, it is evident that the time is come in which, on no account or pretext whatever, or in deference to no authority whatever, should churchmen refrain from seeking fairly, temperately, and perseveringly for the restoration of their rights of assembling together in synod, which the law of God, the usage of seventeen hundred years, and the law of the land give them. Whatever be the cause of the impediment, it ought to be well and vigilantly sifted, and the Church should respectfully but most earnestly call on the authorities in Church and State, to remedy the abuse under which we are suffering, and to give to our spiritual and legal rights their full, and fair, and unshackled exercise.

It should be to us a matter of indifference *who* may be opposed to the assertion of these claims. They are claims which we ought not to put aside for any fear or favour of man, or shrink from asserting in the face of any amount of discouragement. They are claims so obviously founded in right, in common sense, and even in the sense of justice and fairness which all Englishmen cherish, that we feel assured of success, if there be a sufficient amount of perseverance and of energy.

We must now pass on to another great and growing evil. We allude to the absolute power possessed by statesmen, who may be wholly irreligious, in the appointment of the Bishops of the Church of England. The Prime Minister of the day, whoever he may be, whether he be Whig, or Tory, or Radical, or Protectionist, or Free-trader—be he a believer in Christianity or a disbeliever, a scoffer or a mere worldling, a heretic or schismatic, a latitudinarian or virtual dissenter—is invested now with absolute power in the appointment of Bishops. It is true that the theory, and doctrine,

and law of the Church reclaims against such a monstrous position. It is true that the Church supposes the nominations of Bishops to be made by an orthodox sovereign; and the persons nominated, to be liable to examination at their confirmation by the Metropolitan. But though this shows that the Church is right in her principles and her laws, it does not afford any real protection to her, against the intrusion of men of unsound opinions into her episcopate—men of principles adverse to her own. According to the present system, a minister might appoint men inclined to Romanism, if he were disposed to promote the Romanizing of the Church. He might appoint men of latitudinarian or rationalistic principles, if he were inclined to liberalize the Church, and to promote the alteration and liberalizing of our doctrines. He might appoint time-serving, and worldly, and complaisant men, if he wished to deprive the Church of influence, and reduce it to a mere tool of the State. He might appoint men without merit of any kind; men without experience in parochial duty; men unqualified in every way; and thus, looking only to the votes which he may command in the House of Lords or Commons, might utterly neglect the interests of the Church and of Religion. He might appoint leaders of religious parties, in order to promote divisions in the Church, or to ingratiate himself with certain parties. All this he might do; and there is no practical remedy at present. The most unfit men may be appointed. The best qualified may be wholly set aside. There is no obligation to appoint well-qualified persons, or even to seek for qualifications. An unfit or incompetent general or admiral will never be appointed to command an army or fleet; but the minister may appoint whom he pleases to be a Bishop; and then, if his nomination be opposed, may complain of an interference with the royal prerogative!

Now this is not a state of things in which the Church of England can acquiesce. It is not a position in which any Church ought to be placed. When Henry VIII. received, by Act of Parliament, that right which his predecessors had *not always and in all cases* possessed, of appointing Bishops—it was never supposed that the power thus given, would pass from the crown into the hands of the minister of the crown, nominated by a parliament, including all sects of sectarians and infidels amongst its members. It was yielded by the Parliament and conceded by the Church, on the assumption that the Crown was to be *bonâ fide* sovereign, and *bonâ fide* of the same religion as the Church. The sovereign power is now swayed by *ministers* who are not necessarily of the same religion as the Church. The conditions on which the Church assented to the arrangements in the time of Henry VIII.,

have been lost sight of. It is, therefore, necessary that new arrangements should be sought for.

It may be said in reply to this, that the present system of ministerial appointment has *worked well*; that much practical good has resulted. We deny that it has worked well. It is not necessary to state particulars; but we do say that the Church has had reason, in too many ways, to feel that it *has not worked well*; and that we have many reasons to complain of the operation of the existing order of things. It is needless for us to state particulars: they are too widely felt and known. Therefore, without dwelling on an invidious branch of the subject, let us say here, as we do without doubt or hesitation, that no true Churchman can any longer acquiesce in the present state of things as regards the *absolute* power claimed by statesmen to appoint bishops, without reference to their qualifications; and that it behoves Churchmen to adopt such steps as are in their power, for the firm, but temperate, and persevering agitation of the moderate and just claims of the Church, for protection of her highest and most sacred interests in this respect. The contest ought to be pressed on the ground of common justice, of reason, of equity, and of religion; and this, without any appeals to principles beyond the understanding of the mass of the people, will, we trust, eventually lead to an alteration in the law on this subject, and, in the mean time, may, at least, lead to some alteration in the practice.

Another subject on which the Church of England has had reason to complain that her highest interests have been either neglected or made subservient to merely political considerations, is the due increase of her ministry—not merely of the second, but of the *first* order of the ministry. The Church has for a long series of years been unanimous in the opinion, that some considerable increase in the number of Bishops is necessary; and yet that increase has been withheld, under one plea or another. What is it that now prevents the increase of the Episcopate? It is simply this,—that there is a certain small party in the House of Commons, who are bent on opposing vigorously every increase of the Episcopate, on the same basis as the present Episcopate. That is, they will not have any more Bishops appointed with large incomes, and temporal dignities. Whether this party might not be divided by a proposal to appoint suffragan Bishops with smaller incomes, is a question which might fairly be asked, if there were any party amongst men in high station that was in earnest on the subject. But, as it does not seem that amongst politicians there is any strong feeling in favour of the measure, we have only to say, that if the Church of England wishes to see her Episcopate properly enlarged, so that Bishops shall be brought

in contact with the Clergy and laity in their pastoral capacity ; the Church must not depend upon any set of men, any political party, or even on its own heads in the House of Lords, who abstain habitually from bringing forward any measures on behalf of the Church ; she must look to herself, her own energies, her own perseverance, her own firm, and persevering, and temperate expressions of opinion, to win for her those benefits which ought to have been granted without importunity, but which importunity *alone* will win.

In the Session of Parliament which is before us, we trust that the members of the Church of England will make their voices heard, and will not refrain from the fullest and most open expression of their objects and their wishes. We shall require to keep a vigilant eye on the proceedings of various parties, and to resist those measures which we deem injurious to religion in general, and to those of the Church of England. In all probability the proposal will again be made to go a step further in the course of unprincipled concession to religious error, by granting political power to the Jews. We are bound, as members of the Church of England, and, therefore, as holding the duty of the State to uphold the truth and to discourage error—we are bound, we say, as members of the Church of England, to oppose and resist this, or any other similar measure of encouragement to what is evil.

We shall again have to confront the odious and disgusting agitation which seeks to dissolve the obligations of the table of prohibited degrees, and to throw all principles on that most important subject into confusion. We have to bestir ourselves, so that petitions shall issue from every parish in the land against this detestably impure and most audacious attempt. We have to require that, at least, the Church of England may not be subject to the gross tyranny implied in preventing her from punishing those of her ministers who should presume to celebrate marriages which she in her canons denounces as INCEST.

We shall, perhaps, further have to watch over measures introduced for the reform or alteration of the Cathedral system. We shall have to defend the rights of the Cathedral bodies, but without defending the abuses which have arisen in them. We shall have to resist the needless appropriation of their revenues to objects altogether alien to the intention of their founders—to point out the injustice of extinguishing the Cathedral offices instead of giving to those offices that care of souls, and those other important and onerous duties which were originally connected with them—to urge the propriety of bringing the members of chapter into permanent residence, and annexing to those offices the poorly-endowed parishes of the Cathedral cities, and other im-



portant functions. In such efforts we have no doubt that we shall have the concurrence and aid of a considerable part of the Hierarchy.

It will be our duty to watch over the insidious advances of the temporal government to gain possession of the whole education of the land—to take from the Clergy the control they now exercise—and, finally, to impress its own latitudinarian bias on the whole.

Such are the objects now before the Church of England, and which, we trust, the faithful, zealous, and resolute sons and servants of that Church are prepared vigorously and perseveringly to press, without regard to persons, or parties—and alike through evil report and good report. Their way is plain before their face: they have objects before them incontestably good and right—claims founded in plain and palpable justice, and which only need to be known in order to secure general acceptance.

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## NOTICES OF RECENT PUBLICATIONS, ETC.

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1. *A Sunset Reverie.* 2. Mangin's Outline of the Constitution and History of the Church. 3. The Order for Prime. 4. Peile's Annotations on St. Paul's First Epistle to the Corinthians; The Second Epistle to the Corinthians; and the Epistles to the Galatians, Ephesians, Philippians, and Colossians. 5. Copy of a Correspondence between the Lord Bishop of Sydney and the Governor of New South Wales; and Copy of a Correspondence between Dr. M'Hale and the Poor-Law Commissioners of Ireland. Sessional Papers. 6. Alford's Greek Testament. 7. Jackson's Sinfulness of Little Sins. 8. Cotterill's Seven Ages of the Church. 9. Letters to a Lady: from the German of Baron Humboldt. 10. Gray's Earth's Antiquity. 11. Evans' First Revelations of God to Man. 12. Houghton's Examination of Calvinism. 13. Wilde's Closing Years of Dean Swift's Life. 14. Soyer's Modern Housewife. 15. Developments of Protestantism; and other Fragments. 16. Evans' Leicestershire Words, Phrases, and Proverbs. 17. Ewart's Lessons for Writing from Dictation. 18. Judith. A Romance from the Apocrypha. 19. Francis' Chronicles and Characters from the Stock Exchange. 20. Ramsay's Life and Literary Remains of Barbara Hofland. 21. Best, On Catechising. 22. Garratt's Scripture Symbolism. 23. H. Sherlock's edition of Sherlock's Practical Christian, with Life by Bishop Wilson. 24. Reflections, Meditations, and Prayers on the Life and Passion of our Lord. 25. Thorpe's Plain Truths on Important Subjects. 26. Kelly's Fourth Series of Lectures on Subjects connected with Prophecy. 27. Trevilian's Letter on the Antichristian Character of Free-Masonry. 28. Williams' Seven Sermons on Various Occasions. 29. Report to the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland, with Notes of Returns, &c., on the Suppression of Intemperance. 30. Moral Tales. 31. The Last Sleep of the Christian Child. 32. Sharpe's London Magazine. 33. John's History of Spain for Young Persons. 34. Froude's Nemesis of Faith. 35. Magnay's Rest. An Episode. 36. The Pastor of Welbourn and his Flock. 37. Poole's History of Ecclesiastical Architecture in England. 38. Bernays' Life of Christians during the first three Centuries of the Church. 39. Smith's Devout Christian. 40. Bowdler's Few Words of Family Instruction. 41. Forbes' Danger of Superficial Knowledge. 42. Harrison's Prophetic Outlines of the Christian Church and the Antichristian Power. 43. Davidson's Introduction to the New Testament. 44. Short Conclusions from the Light of Nature. 45. Newton's Antichrist; and The Flight of the Apostate. Poems. 46. Chapters on Deacons. 47. The Theologian and Ecclesiastic; and The Churchman's Companion. 48. The Ten Commandments. 49. Michell's Ruins of Many Lands. A Poem. 50. Cutts' Manual for the Study of the Sepulchral Slabs and Crosses of the Middle Ages; and Buotell's Christian Monuments of England and Wales. 51. Percy's Romanism as it exists at Rome. 52. Harvey's Two Sermons on the Duty and Manner of Keeping the Lord's Day. 53. Sewell's Two Sermons; The Nation, the Church, and the University of Oxford.—Miscellaneous.
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### 1.—*A Sunset Reverie. An Allegory.* London: Masters.

ONE of those pretty little religious fictions, if the term be held to involve no self-contradiction, which have issued in numbers from the various so-called "schools" within the English Church during the last ten or fifteen years, and of which the one before us, if the last, is certainly not the least. The design of this "*Sunset Reverie*" is very simple, but it is unambitiously, and, mainly on that account, poetically executed. The "two children Mirth and Earnest," types of the ordinary Christian, and the more devoted child of God, are well contrasted. The

incident of the pursuit of "the king-moth" by Mirth reminds us rather too forcibly of a certain passage in Byron's "Bride of Abydos;" but perhaps the resemblance was unavoidable. The happiest idea, in the whole allegory, we think, is that of "the diamond" fastened on each child's breast by "the Stranger," (our Lord,) the type of the presence of the Holy Spirit. The sun calls forth brilliant colours on these diamonds, giving them the semblance of various precious gems in turn, which are thus happily described:—

"First of all I marked the dark red carbuncle, emblem of the glowing zeal, which was so necessary to sustain their spirits through the weary and toilsome hours that must elapse before the Stranger's return; next, the golden-tinted topaz, whose light, like the gleaming of steel, recalls the sword of the spirit, with which the good fight is fought; then the dark green emerald, suggesting not the least of the Christian graces, hope; the sapphire, type of love; the turquoise, blue as the sky that spreads above them, full of thoughts of heaven; and the amethyst, typical of the calm yet resolute bearing of the soldier's cross."

After this corollary of graces we will not seek to display our critical acumen. It were brushing the butterfly's wing, indeed, or crushing the first spring violet beneath tempest rains, to assume our rod of office here.

II.—*An Outline of the Constitution and History of the Church. In Question and Answer. By the Rev. S. W. MANGIN.*  
London: Masters.

WE like this little work much; very much indeed. It was greatly needed, and we thank Mr. Mangin for his very sensible and conscientious performance of his humble task. This catechism is strictly Anglican, and at the same time Catholic, in the best sense. It is thoroughly and unobtrusively orthodox, on all points in dispute, whether betwixt Rome, or Geneva, and ourselves. We only object to the unqualified statement (page 23) that the Church of England is *not* in communion with the Greek Church. Not in communion outwardly, or in a strict and legal sense, we admit; but the two Churches have mutually recognized each other more than once, and, surely, we are spiritually in communion with those with whom and for whom we pray.

The whole arrangement of this little catechism is very happy. The ordering of Church government is rightly traced back to Scripture evidence, in opposition to all, who would teach us, that we must rely merely on tradition for the fundamentals of our Church's discipline, or government. Thus, after apostolical succession has been rightly vindicated as proceeding, not primarily

or strictly, from the Apostles, but from our Blessed Lord Himself, and after the distinct offices of bishops, priests, and deacons, have been explained, we find this question and answer :—

“ Q. Why are we obliged to believe thus of the Church ?

A. Because all this may be proved from Holy Scripture.”

The history of the Church is then treated catechetically and with no little felicity. The truth, with regard to the limited effects of Augustine’s mission, (which has been so exceedingly overvalued, and which staunch Anglicans, even, too often suffer themselves to dwell on as the virtual origin of our Church,) is resolutely and well maintained in the following simple “ Questions and Answers” which must make our last quotation :—

“ Q. What was the condition of the western Church in the sixth and seventh centuries ?

“ A. It was greatly troubled by the barbarous heathen nations from the north of Europe.

“ Q. What had been the condition of the British Church ?

“ A. The Saxons had overrun a great part of the country, and, being heathens, had driven the Christians into the mountains and wild parts of Wales, Devonshire, and Cornwall, *where, as well as in Scotland, the Church continued to flourish.*

“ Q. What was the chief bishopric of Britain at that time ?

“ A. Caerleon, on the river Usk, in South Wales.

“ Q. Who came to convert to Christianity the Saxons who had settled in England ?

“ A. St. Augustine was sent from Rome by Pope Gregory the First.

“ Q. When was this ?

“ A. In the year 596.

“ Q. What did he afterwards become ?

“ A. The first Archbishop of Canterbury.

“ Q. *Did the preaching of St. Augustine spread far ?*

“ A. No. *The conversion of the Saxons by him and his missionaries was confined chiefly to Kent and the south-eastern parts of the country.*

“ Q. How was the Church restored in the north-western and mid-land parts of England ?

“ A. *Chiefly by British and Saxon missionaries from Iona, an island on the coast of Scotland, and from Lindisfarne, on the coast of North-umberland.*

“ Q. Why is it of consequence for us to know this ?

“ A. Because it shows that we do not owe the truth of Christianity, or the constitution and rites of our Church, to missionaries from Rome.”

We observe that Mr. Mangin refers to Dr. Wordsworth’s “ Theophilus Anglicanus,” and the works of Mr. Palmer and Mr. Churton, together with a short history on the list of the Christian Knowledge Society, as his chief authorities. He has discharged

his task both modestly and courageously, and has furnished the Church with a valuable little manual, which she will do well to employ both in private teaching and in her schools.

Since we have named schools, we shall here take occasion to observe, that the present unjustifiable insolence of certain State-authorities in attempting to subject our Church schools to far more stringent and offensive regulations than they would venture to impose on heretics and schismatics, only inflicts the due punishment on us, for having ever submitted, for a moment, to be placed on the same level with teachers of falsehood. We hold, that if the Church is a State Church (as in a certain sense we admit it to be) the State must be a Church State also, and has therefore no right to countenance, far less promote, the dissemination of error and heresy. If men are to be paid by the nation to teach Romanism and every other form of dissent to children, why should they not be paid for teaching adults as well? A great principle, almost the greatest of principles, was thus weakly abandoned, for the sake of an apparent, now too obviously only apparent, gain. Let dissenters learn, if they will, in the Church and State schools, being exempted from attendance during the hours of religious instruction,—that is, if their parents so desire it! This is the only really feasible plan of national education at all consistent with sound principle; and sooner or later it must be adopted, if we are not to follow in the wake of foreign nations, and become subject to the despotism of an infidel democracy. Whilst we say this, we are far from denying, that the State, being still ostensibly a Church State, which recognizes the Church as spiritual Mother of the land, adopts her forms of prayer, and virtually elects her bishops, should have some influence in our Church schools, and that the existence of her commissioners, whether lay or clerical, might prove of no little service to both Church and State: but, there is a canker at the very root of the present arrangement which must needs corrupt the tree. It is this,—that by the very construction of our scheme of national education, in the most manifest and even absurd inconsistency with other facts, the Church is only treated as one sect among many, and is yet apparently expected to reap this *advantage* from her alliance with the State, that that State shall not give her a farthing for her schools without controlling and shackling her, while it fees Romanists and other schismatics without preferring any claim whatsoever to supremacy. Surely this state of things cannot be expected to last. The Church will make a strong move sooner or later, and when she does so, it will be towards a far nobler goal than her adversaries at present anticipate,—a goal, if we mistake not, which she is destined to attain.

III.—*The Order for Prime.* London: Masters.

THIS is a rather mysterious publication. No explanation whatsoever is prefixed, so that we only surmise, it may be intended for use in a sisterhood. Even there we should object to "the lesson for the day" consisting ordinarily of a single verse, unless the sisterhood were expected to assemble also at their parish church. The presence of a priest is, we see, assumed in this "Order for Prime," which consists of the Lord's Prayer, the Creed, certain ejaculations and responses, certain Psalms, the hymn "*Jam lucis orto sidere*" in an English version, "a lesson" (as above described), and two or three collects. In all this there is nothing objectionable; but we do not quite like the absence of explanatory matter.

IV.—1. *Annotations on St. Paul's First Epistle to the Corinthians, designed chiefly for the use of Students of the Greek Text.* By THOMAS WILLIAMSON PEILE, D.D., &c. &c. London: 1848.

2. *Ditto, 2 Corinthians.* 1848.

3. *Ditto, Galatians—Colossians.*

THE first instalment of the author's promised body of annotations on the Apostolical Epistles, namely, those on the Epistle to the Romans, was reviewed in this journal at the time of its appearance; and we now have before us three portions in continuation named at the head of the article, completing the second volume.

Among the various matters of reflection and disquisition connected with the New Testament, how scanty a share of consideration has probably been bestowed on the particular forms, under which divine wisdom has therein provided documents for the perpetual edification of the Church! An announcement of the existence of a collection of writings, forming a sole and authoritative depository of a new religion, divinely communicated to man, would hardly call forth an anticipation of its not embracing a single document primarily and simply didactic; yet such is the case with the New Testament. When we have set aside one prophetic and five historical books, the remaining writings are epistolary; that is to say, not merely missives, but in general marked by all the proper features of epistolary communication. Let us glance for a moment at some of these. The pen of the writer of an epistle may be called into action by circumstances which he need not describe, or be influenced by the knowledge of particulars respecting those whom he addresses, of which others possess no direct information; he may borrow terms from previous communications, oral or written; he may employ insinuation, irony, or sarcasm, which find their proper response only in the consciousness of those to whom they are immediately



directed. In respect of these, and other kindred characteristics, the apostolic epistles present the true epistolary type, though in different degrees. In some the epistolary traits are comparatively slight, as in that to the Ephesians, which was probably circular; while the first of St. John scarcely belongs to this class of writings at all, but offers a peculiar difficulty of its own in the way of clear and certain apprehension, namely, in being essentially polemical, without stating explicitly the errors which it opposes, or descending to argument and formal refutation.

The operation of writings thus characterized, when forming so considerable a portion of the depositary of a professed revelation, is sufficiently clear in one respect, in the palpable and stubborn evidence of authenticity which they present. May we not venture a step further, and recognize in documents of this particular form an instrument for keeping alive continual scrutiny in the pursuit of a more complete and exact apprehension of their various parts; so that even the literal student should not be left to the necessity of simply resting upon the results of exhaustive labour on the part of his predecessors, but should have opportunity at least for the wholesome exercise of searching, sifting, and pondering, with the prospect of some solid repayment for his toil.

From this very nature, then, the text of the Apostolic Epistles, as respects accurate exposition, still invites, rather than repudiates, an accession of labourers: it is not yet a soil reduced by fair exhaustion to a perpetual fallow; not a mine which denies to fresh adventurers even the hope of some vein undetected or worked but partially. Herein do undertakings like the present find abundant justification, and establish a claim for high approval and encouragement when successfully executed.

Strictly to review a body of annotations, by an actual process of criticizing, is, at the best, an awkward feat, being, in fact, a writing of notes upon notes: we shall therefore endeavour, instead, to select such specimens as will enable our readers, without our aid, to form an opinion of the whole.

The author does not disdain the aid of others. Interwoven with his own matter will be found, as occasion offers, a scholium from Chrysostom or Theophylact, a vigorous comment of Calvin, or the note of some recent interpreter: but it is to that portion which is due to his own self-relying originality, justified, of course, by due learning and ability, that we rather invite attention; and our extracts have been made accordingly:—

“1 Cor. ii. 7—9. ‘*We publish wisdom*, he had said, *yet a wisdom not of this world*—and now he adds, still careful (see ch. iv. 22) to convey his instruction in such terms as best might engage the attention of his Grecian converts; *but what we publish is a recondite scheme of*

*Divine wisdom up to this time kept back from mankind—God's esoteric teaching, as it were; and, as such, to be distinguished from that wisdom of God, referred to in ch. i. 21, which (see Rom. i. 19) the Creator has manifested to all his creatures—which God fore-ordained, before all time, unto our glory: καίτοιγε ἀλλαχοῦ φησὶν—observes Chrysostom on this verse—εἰς δόξαν ἑαυτοῦ· ἑαυτοῦ γὰρ ἡγεῖται δόξαν τὴν ἡμετέραν σωτηρίαν.'*

"1 Cor. iii. 14, 15. '*If a man's work, which he hath built thereon, shall endure (read μενεῖ) the fiery trial which is to try it, he will receive a reward (ch. ix. 17. Matt. x. 41, 42. Dan. xii. 3). If a man's work shall be burnt down, he will have lost his labour; and say that he shall himself escape, yet will it be, as it were, out of the midst of (by going through) fire.*'

"1 Cor. vii. 21. '*Art thou a slave, and hast been called to be a Christian? then (comp. James i. 9) care not for thy servitude—yet, if thou hast it in thy power to become free, by all means prefer to use that power; comp. ch. ix. 12. 15.—for that slave who has been called to be (ver. 15) in the Lord, is the Lord's freedman: in like manner as the free, from the time when he was called (ἐπεὶ ἐκλήθη), has been Christ's bondman. Bondman, I say! for such, in truth, ye are.—At a costly price have ye been purchased (1 Pet. i. 18, 19); cease now to regard yourselves as bound unto men (comp. ch. iii. 23. vi. 20. Matt. xxiii. 8—11). In short—every one, under what outward designation (ver. 20) he has been called, Brethren, in that let him be well content to abide with God.*'

"Gal. iii. 5. '*He, then, that is liberally giving you of his Spirit (Luke xi. 13. 2 Cor. ix. 10. 1 Pet. iv. 11), and for the further confirmation of your faith is working miracles among you, is it in consideration of prescribed duty done (Law reduced to Practice) that He so dealeth with you? or is it not in consideration of faith shown in hearing? (1 Sam. iii. 9) even as Abraham, we know from Gen. xv. 6, believed God, and had it credited unto him for righteousness. Ye perceive, therefore, that men of faith, they are in the truest sense sons of Abraham; and that it was in the foresight of the fact of God's absolving the nations on the plea of faith (Rom. iii. 26), that the Scripture, IN THEE SHALL ALL NATIONS BE BLESSED, did long before now preach the Gospel unto Abraham: so that (or, and so) it is they which be of faith, that are blessed with (even as, like sons, they walk in the steps of) faithful Abraham; Rom. iv. 12.*'

"Eph. iv. 16. '*In dependence upon whom all the Body, closely and compactly held together by every ministering joint and ligament, with each separate part at work in its due measure, is making its increase (of body =) as a Body, in such form as to be continually building up itself in love. Διὰ πάσης ἀφῆς τῆς ἐπιχορηγίας cannot, without inversion of the order in which Greek nouns are commonly placed in regimen, be rendered (as our translators have understood it) by the contribution of every joint—not to say that, in this sense, the clause would not connect so well with the preceding participles, to which it of right belongs.*'

“Eph. vi. 24. ‘*Incorruptibly, immortally, and so unendingly, eternally—*’ εἰς ἀνάστασιν ζωῆς αἰωνίου, ψυχῆς τε καὶ σώματος, ἐν ἀφθαρσίᾳ πνεύματος ἁγίου:’ *Polyc. Mart.* 14. ap. Grinf. Scholl. *Hellen. in l.*—would seem to have been the terms in which the holy Apostle conceived of that grace of Christian charity or love, which is to survive the tomb, and on which the imperishable crown of the Christian’s final acceptance with God is suspended: compare 2 Tim. iv. 8; James i. 12; 1 Pet. v. 4; Rev. ii. 10. But, till ‘this corruptible shall have put on incorruption, and this mortal shall have put on immortality,’ not even of the most spiritually-minded Christian, not even (Phil. iii. 12) of the holy Apostle himself, can it be said that they ‘*love our Lord Jesus Christ,*’ ἐν ἀφθαρσίᾳ.—Translate therefore: *Grace be with all that love our Lord Jesus Christ, and abide with them imperishably! Amen:* and by ἡ χάρις, to be distinguished in this valedictory blessing from χάρις, as found in the customary form of salutation which the Apostles prefix to their Epistles—understand *the grace of salvation* (Tit. ii. 11), or in other words, *their present state of favourable acceptance with Him* (compare Luke i. 28. 30. 66; ii. 40. Acts ii. 47; iv. 33); and that of this the Apostle says, *esto perpetua!*’

“Col. ii. 23. ‘For these are things which have a show indeed of wisdom, displaying itself in *fondness for ritual observances, and self-abasement, and afflicting of one’s body*; but are not things to be made of any great account against (*i. e.* as in themselves opposed to, and incompatible with) *indulgence of the flesh*—which even under the most rigorous asceticism, and under the fairest semblance of devotional piety, has many times in the history of the Church been found to be lurking unmortified and unsubdued.’”

To the annotations on the Second Epistle to the Corinthians is appended an elaborate supplementary note or excursus on Rom. i. 5, and the subject is resumed in another appendix to the second volume. A due consideration and discussion of their contents would furnish matter for a separate article, and one of more than ordinary length. We shall, accordingly, at present attempt no more than a statement of the positions therein maintained, as briefly and clearly as we can.

The author sets out from the words ἐλάβομεν χάριν καὶ ἀποστολήν, maintaining the recipients of whom St. Paul here speaks, to be not the holders of the Apostolic commission properly so called, but the entire congregation of believers; and that the graciously vouchsafed commission, signified in these words, is ever resident in that undying incorporation. A practical development of the prerogative thus ascribed to the entire body he sees in the transactions of the original churches of Jerusalem and Antioch, recorded in the Acts of the Apostles.

By these positions the author is inevitably committed to the whole question of Apostolical succession. He thereupon contends, that “the Apostles of Christ ordained none that should succeed

them in their peculiar regency of the Gospel kingdom, which was to expire with them ;” and, accordingly, that the creation of a diocesan episcopate was a generative act of the various portions of the Church itself; which was possessed, indeed, of a distinctly defined and duly constituted ministry, but had become, or was becoming, fatherless and headless by the demise of the Apostolic college; or, to borrow the author’s own illustration, that there was an interposing of the adult Church between her Apostolic fathers and episcopal sons. According to this theory, episcopacy was not a devolution of Apostolic station and function by Apostolic hands, but the Church’s self-generated supplement of an inevitable deficiency. The author cites as sharers in this view of the subject, among the ancients, Augustine and Firmilian, and, among moderns, Arnold; the last in the following words: ‘Bishops ordaining, *as the organs of the Church* constitute, as I believe, a Church government most true in theory and most excellent in practice. Bishops ordaining *in right of their Apostolical descent*, without reference to the authority of the Church, constitute a lame and inconsistent Popery, false in theory, and in practice inefficient.’

To this theory, in his own elaborate exposition of it, the author invites dispassionate consideration; and on the ground of this challenge, we have given a statement of opinions on ecclesiastical polity, which, however, cannot have our assent. By his own disquisition he could scarcely fail to be led on to another subject of vast practical importance to the well-being of the Church, and inclusively to a question to which attention seems to be daily more and more directed, namely, the restoration or reconstruction of synods in the Church of England.

If there be really resident in the entire body of the faithful such prerogatives as are here assigned to it, it is a most palpable anomaly, that organization for corporate action should in any integral portion be non-existent or effete. Such is the preliminary argument, and the scheme proposed is not simply one of revival, but of reconstruction, and is in several points original. It is professedly modelled after the synod described in Acts xv.

“Would he then adopt this Convocation-model for Christian England? Would we wish to arrest the progressive dismemberment and decay of Church-membership, and to ‘stablish, strengthen, settle’ the *subjective* revival of ‘the spirit of the Church’ in our people, by preparing for it a body in which it shall exhibit itself in its *objective* character also—would we be seen, in short, to be ‘as a city that is at unity in itself,’ a *Church-State*, and not, as the enemy (alas! that we should have given him so much occasion to blaspheme) would invert it, ‘a *State-Church*’—then what was wont to be (and still, though effete and spiritless, survives) as the sole outward form of our meeting as *the*

*Church of Christ* in this nation, must *die away* from among us; and into our 'Upper House of Convocation' we must admit the ministers, judges, and other great officers of the Crown, into the Lower an adequate representation of elders and lay-brethren in the Lord. Better still, and closer to our pattern would it be, if these two chambers thus enlarged, could be formed into one ecclesiastical synod—one supreme court of spiritual legislature at once, and judicature—the centre of our whole ecclesiastical system, the seat of our Anglo-Catholic ἐπισκοπής, in which the 'Patriarch and Primate of all England' should, *ex officio*, preside as 'Pater patrum et episcopus episcoporum, et alter sæculi sui Jacobus' . . . . Can we doubt that, as its day, so would its strength be? that, its work being 'begun, continued, and ended in God,' His Presence would be with it, His Spirit and His blessing would rest upon it? that the many rills of divine grace, which of late years have been irrigating and invigorating the *individual* Church-life, and activity of our people, being thus collected and concentrated, would be in the heart of this great empire as 'a well of water springing up unto everlasting life.'"

The general question to which this extract relates, is one which, in all probability, must at no very distant period be fairly met, notwithstanding practical difficulties; and every earnest and honest contributor of argument and suggestion has a claim for an open welcome and a candid hearing.

- v.—1. *Copy of a Correspondence between the Lord Bishop of Sydney and the Governor of New South Wales.* (Sir Robert Harry Inglis. Mr. Hawes.) *Ordered by the House of Commons to be printed, 26th July, 1849. Sessional Paper, No. 562.*
2. *Copy of a Correspondence between the Most Reverend Dr. M'Hale and the Poor-law Commissioners of Ireland, on the subject of the Chaplaincy of the Tuam Workhouse.* (Sir William Somerville.) *Ordered by the House of Commons to be printed, 17th July, 1849. Sessional Paper, No. 515.*

WE commend these papers to the perusal of our readers, if only for the curiosity of the thing. For, certainly, since the accession of King William the Third, nothing "*Simile aut secundum*," has been presented to the British public in the guise of *official documents*.

Nor will they be found barren of entertainment (the *second* series of letters, especially, is equal to a chapter of Miss Edgeworth's or Charles Lever's Irish novels); still less, devoid of instruction. Nay, the lesson they teach is one of very grave import; and to this we desire especially to direct the attention of our parliamentary readers.

For realizing this lesson it will be well to read the two sets of

letters in connexion with each other; and, if possible, also in connexion with a pamphlet to which we drew attention some months ago, entitled "Earl Grey's Circular. A memento." (Rivingtons.) The reader will then be in a position to appreciate the real importance of a seemingly trivial favour neatly conferred, not by the Crown, at least in any manner known to law or usage, but by two great officers of State—the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, and the Secretary of the Colonies—upon the Roman Catholic prelates within their respective spheres of administration. He will also be able to judge of the *wisdom* of that concession, by its *fruits*.

We allude of course to the *official* allowance of those prelates' claim to rank, style, and titles, parallel with the respective orders of prelacy within the Established Church. The most important (though not the most edifying or amusing) part of the *fasciculus* No. 1 consists of a becoming and dignified remonstrance from the Lord Bishop of Sydney against the principle, and against, also, the specific operation of this novel creation of dignities within the province of Australia. There, be it known, a certain John Bede Polding, D.D., rejoices, "by the grace of God and of the Holy Apostolic See," to style himself "*Archbishop* of Sydney." By the *obvious* sense of Earl Grey's rescript, this personage would seem entitled (if that rescript were to be taken as law) to take rank of his lordship, the plain *bishop*, at the court of Her Majesty's colonial representation. The bishop, having learnt from the governor that "*there could not be a doubt* in his excellency's mind that such was the regulation intended to be established by Earl Grey, felt constrained to intimate that until he should learn that "*such an arrangement had been ratified by Her Most Gracious Majesty*," in *which* case he should feel bound to "*presume* that such order of precedence involves nothing of illegality or departure from the constitution as by law established," his lordship must "*abstain from presenting himself at government-house on public occasions*." But he trusted that "*his absence on such occasions would be candidly construed, as arising only from a sense of the indignity which would be cast upon the Church of England*" in his person, should he consent "*to assume in his excellency's presence a station different from that which had been heretofore conceded to him*." His lordship's impression of that indignity "*being so much the stronger, as such alteration in his position would not be the effect of Her Majesty's pleasure directly signified, but would be attributable to the act of a foreign authority, which would thus be entitled, at its own discretion, and as often as it should think proper, to supersede every colonial bishop from the rank assigned to him by our only legitimate sovereign*."



Sir Charles Fitzroy very promptly referred this knotty protest to the decision of the Wronghead in Downing-street, praying for a reply before the birth-day levee of this year's May should be disgraced by the *absence* of Her Majesty's best and most dignified subject in all Australia. Earl Grey took from the 13th of December to the 9th of January before he could make up his mind for an answer. Yet nothing was easier than to find one. He had only to tell the governor what he himself had told the House of Lords, and what Lord John Russell had told the House of Commons<sup>1</sup>; viz., that the circular despatch made *no* new regulation as to the rank and precedence of colonial Romish prelates; neither did it so, *in terms*, but only by inference, from a false statement of such precedence having been *statutably* conferred upon the Romish prelates in Ireland. He had only to rest in *that* quibble, and let the governor gently down for his *blunder*, and so the whole affair would blow over. But a certain class of characters have, proverbially, short memories. Lord Grey thought he saw a preferable dodge this time. So, forgetting his own and Lord J. Russell's former asseveration, he gravely tells the governor that "according to the *true* (!) construction of the *directions respecting the precedence of Roman Catholic prelates conveyed in his despatch of the 20th Nov., 1847; the bishop (sic)* of the Church of England in New South Wales (as if there were not *four* of them) ought to have precedence of the Roman Catholic Archbishop." This discovery, lest it should puzzle poor Sir Charles Fitzroy too much, is thus elucidated: *The title of Archbishop conveys in itself no necessary precedence over that of bishop.* So his lordship "apprehends (!)."

"It is a title given by way of distinction to *metropolitan* bishops . . . But the Bishop of Sydney is, in substance, a metropolitan, *as much* (!) as the Roman Catholic Archbishop, being so constituted by the terms of the instruments in which his office and those of the other Australian bishops are conferred. His rank, therefore, in his own Church answers to that of the latter *dignitary*, although his title be not the same: and he *would* rank, *consequently*, above the latter, *according to the rules laid down* (by Lords Grey and Clarendon, to wit) respecting prelates of the same order in the two Churches."

We give this precious conundrum *in extenso*; because it contains the whole pith of Lord Clarendon's and Lord Grey's theory and practice. Their object is to establish, as they foolishly term it, "*social equality*," between the "two Churches." But this involves "*ecclesiastical equality*" also; and not only ecclesiastical, but *legal* equality besides. The pope's "instrument" conferring

<sup>1</sup> Vide Earl Grey's Circular, &c.

metropolitan functions upon Dr. Polding, is thus declared by the queen's minister just as valid as Her Majesty's letters patent. The "*pas*" hereon is to be just saved to the Established Church—as "the most favoured sect," we suppose—but the "*pas*," only. The suffragan bishops of Australia must yield precedence to the pope's *metropolitans*, as many as he may please to constitute!

This utter confusion of all ecclesiastical and all legal principle and practice will, we trust, at length, be brought before the notice of Her Majesty. The Bishop of Sydney will hardly, we think, fall into the trap set for him, and, by accepting this tricky compromise, confirm Lord Grey's reciprocating scale of "social equality" between the Church and the "Anti-Church" in Australia. Happily, as will be seen by our Colonial Intelligence, Lord Grey's rescript *came too late for the birth-day*—and not only from the clergy, but from the laity of the Church, a protest in word and deed worthy of the occasion has been thereby elicited. It is scarcely possible that Lord Grey's assumption of the royal prerogative—a point so wisely and temperately raised by the Bishop of Sydney, and so palpably eluded in the Secretary of State's reply, can meet with the approbation of any section in parliament beyond the less reflecting of the Roman Catholic members; whilst the material product of such unprincipled favours—increased arrogance and assumption on the part of those who receive them—so abundantly manifested in either series of the papers we are now noticing, must go far, we think, to convince our liberal government itself of the absurdity, if not the danger, of the course they are rashly and ignorantly pursuing towards the most subtle and far-reaching hierarchy the world has ever seen.

VI.—*The Greek Testament: with a critically revised Text: a Digest of various Readings: Marginal References to Verbal and Idiomatic Usage: Prolegomena: and a Critical and Exegetical Commentary. For the use of Theological Students and Ministers. By HENRY ALFORD, M.A., Vicar of Wymeswold, Leicestershire, and late Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge. In 2 vols. London: Rivingtons.*

It is with some anxiety that we are now compelled to look on works relating to the criticism of the Holy Scripture. Our critics in the present day are so frequently students of a theology which is tainted with rationalism throughout, and which rarely fails to communicate some of its influences to students, that the believer is obliged to look with some degree of jealousy on all new claimants to the title of Biblical critics. We cannot pretend to have

perused the whole of Mr. Alford's first volume now before us, and comprising his Prolegomena, and his text of the Four Evangelists, with annotations; but we have seen enough to be satisfied of his qualifications for the task he has undertaken,—if learning, research, and piety, are to be considered as qualifications.

The Prolegomena comprise remarks on the general characteristics of the four Gospels, their independence, the origin of the three first Gospels, their discrepancies, fragmentary nature, inspiration, and the impracticability of constructing a formal harmony out of them. Then follow special remarks on each Gospel in particular; and this is succeeded by the more strictly critical part, including an account of the means taken to secure a correct text, by the aid of manuscripts, and versions, and ancient writers. It appears, that in the formation of his text, Mr. Alford has followed a recent German critic, Lachmann, combining with him another German, Scholz. Lachmann professes to derive his text entirely from the oldest manuscripts in uncial characters, and he is depended on for readings derived from them. Scholz is the authority for the later MSS, versions, &c.

The annotations, which are clearly printed in small type at the foot of the page, are replete with well-digested learning, and present the fruits of much patient thought. They evince a familiarity with all the modern German commentators, as well as with the writings of older critics, and other writers.

It can hardly be expected that on a subject on which so much variety of criticism exists, Mr. Alford's views will meet with concurrence in all points. We must notice some parts of his Prolegomena, in which a difference of opinion will doubtless be found to exist between him and other learned men of the present day.

Mr. Alford maintains the distinctness of the Gospels from each other, that is, that no one of them was borrowed from the other. He observes, that in the absence of any direct historical testimony, we can only determine this question by a careful examination of the contents of the Gospels. After a survey of the various theories which suppose one or other of the Gospels as written before the other Gospels, and exercising some kind of influence on their composition, he proceeds to state his own view, which is, that the three Gospels of Matthew, Mark, and Luke, arose “independently of one another.”

The origin of the matter common to all these Gospels, is thus traced:—

“I believe then that the Apostles, in virtue not merely of their having been eye and ear witnesses of the Evangelic history, but especially of *their office*, gave to the various Churches their testimony in a *narrative of facts*: such narrative being modified in each case by the

individual mind of the Apostle himself, and his sense of what was requisite for the particular community to which he was ministering. While they were principally together, and instructing the converts at Jerusalem, such narrative would naturally be *for the most part the same*, and expressed in the same, or nearly the same words: coincident however *not from design or rule*, but because *the things themselves were the same*, and the teaching naturally fell for the most part into one form. It would be easy and interesting to follow the probable origin and growth of such a cycle of narratives of the words and deeds of our Lord in the Church at Jerusalem,—for both the Jews and the Hellenists, the latter under such teachers as Philip and Stephen, commissioned and authenticated by the Apostles. In the course of such a process, some portions would naturally be written down by private believers, for their own use or that of friends. And as the Church spread to Samaria, Cæsarea, and Antioch, the want would be felt in each of these places of similar cycles of oral teaching, which when supplied would thenceforward belong to and be current in those respective Churches. And these portions of the Evangelic history, oral or partially documentary, would be adopted under the sanction of the Apostles, who were, as in all things, so especially in this, the appointed and divinely-guided overseers of the whole Church. This *common substratum of Apostolic teaching*,—never formally adopted by all, but subject to all the varieties of diction and arrangement, addition and omission, incident to transmission through many individual minds, and into many different localities,—*I believe to have been the original source of the common part of our three Gospels.*" —pp. 7, 8.

It will be seen from the above that Mr. Alford rejects the theory on which harmonists of the Gospels have usually proceeded, in assuming the supplementary character of three out of the four. In fact he proceeds subsequently to argue against all attempts to construct a regular harmony. Here Mr. Alford will be met by many and able opponents, whom we must leave him to contend against as best he may. Undoubtedly there is a great amount of authority in favour of the possibility of constructing a regular harmony. From the second century such attempts have been made. The multiplicity of these attempts would, however, seem to bear out Mr. Alford's theory. No harmony has ever commanded general assent. Yet, on the other hand, it would be too much to say, we think, that it cannot be done, or that the right mode has not yet been discovered. The supplemental character of either of the Gospels however, or their precise date, are matters of conjecture more or less probable. It may be that Mr. Alford is right in supposing the Gospels to be perfectly distinct in their origin, and not borrowed from each other, or written in reference to each other. We see nothing to prevent a Churchman from receiving such a notion, and it appears to present a fair amount of

probability, and to have certain advantages over any other theory or view. There seems no improbability that the Gospels may have been local in their origin, as much as the Epistles; and that they represent the apostolic teaching in four localities, written down independently. We may attribute the different early creeds, and the varieties in the ancient liturgies, perhaps, to the same cause—distinct apostolic teaching, maintaining the same substratum of doctrine. We do not presume, however, to offer any decided opinion on these points, which must after all be more or less matter of conjecture.

We must now proceed to some other points in which we feel less satisfied with the conclusions to which Mr. Alford has arrived, or the theories which he puts forward. He asserts the Hebrew original of St. Matthew's Gospel, and in this is supported by high authorities; but we confess we do not like his opinion that the present Gospel we possess is a mere compilation from the original, and one *not even made under the Apostle's superintendence*. We think that statements of this kind are unfortunate, and that they should not be made without some stronger reasons than Mr. Alford has advanced for his conjecture. Mr. Alford rests the whole inspiration of the Gospels on the testimony of the primitive Church to them as authentic monuments of the teaching of the Apostles. By this testimony we may safely hold, and if those who recognize the testimony of the early Church to the genuineness of the Gospel History are content to abide by their principles in reference to the inspiration of the Scriptures as the Word of God, we shall have all that can be desired. The primitive Church clearly looked upon the Scriptures of the New Testament as possessing the same Divine authority as the Jews ascribed to the Old Testament only. We must now take our leave for the present of Mr. Alford, expressing our sense of his research and labour, and of the value of much that he has brought together in his volume, while we see here and there certain points on which we are compelled to withhold our assent,—though in no unfriendly spirit.

VII.—*The Sinfulness of Little Sins. A Course of Sermons preached in Lent. By JOHN JACKSON, M.A., Rector of St. James's, Westminster, and Chaplain in Ordinary to the Queen.* London: Skeffington.

THE author of this little volume of discourses could not have selected a more useful subject than that which he has here so ably treated. He has not shrunk from the greatest and most necessary duty of the Christian preacher,—that of warning his

hearers against "the sin that doth so easily beset them." The great mass of the attendants on Divine service are not gross sinners. Their sins are just "the little sins" which form the subject of these discourses—sins not indeed little in themselves, but little in comparison with other offences, and little in the opinion of men. Sins of temper—sins of pride and vanity—sins of the thoughts—sins of the tongue—and sins of omission—all of which are here treated of—are just those sins which are apt to be too much overlooked, both by preachers and hearers; and Mr. Jackson has done good service in bringing these prominently forward, and dwelling upon them.

The characteristics of Mr. Jackson's discourses are plain, vigorous common sense, grave, and distinct enunciation of Christian duties, enforced on Christian principles. The following passage will convey a notion of the style:—

"To falsehood, too, belongs the sin of flattery; by which I do not mean here the praising others falsely with a view to profit by them, which is the worst kind of dishonesty; but that flattery which takes the name of courtesy, and which men are apt to imagine is demanded of them by good breeding, and even by Christian charity. Now, we certainly are not obliged to upbraid our neighbours with their faults, nor even to notice them, excepting when to do so may lead to their amendment, or tend to God's honour. But then nothing whatever can make it right in us by undeserved praise or undue complaisance to strengthen another in too good an opinion of his own merits, nor to darken the mist of vanity which conceals his real character from himself."—p. 121.

The volume is written throughout in this plain, searching, practical way; and we may congratulate its author for having thus added to the stock of sound pulpit divinity, which forms so important a branch of our theological literature.

VIII.—*The Seven Ages of the Church; or, the Seven Apocalyptic Epistles interpreted by Church History.* By the Rev. HENRY COTTERILL, M.A., Vice-Principal and Theological Tutor of Brighton College, &c. London: Bell.

THE author of the volume before us conceives the addresses to the Churches, at the commencement of the Book of Revelation, to have a prophetical character—a position by no means peculiar to Mr. Cotterill—and he employs ecclesiastical history with much care and ingenuity in the elucidation of these supposed prophecies. Mr. Cotterill's view is, as he informs us, the Protestant view; and his great authority is Mr. Elliott. He accordingly introduces much of the usual criticism of superstitious and ido-



latrous practices, and winds up, by comparing the spirit of the present age to that of the church of Laodicea. His volume is, on the whole, clearly and thoughtfully written.

IX.—*Letters to a Lady.* By the Baron WILHELM VON HUMBOLDT. *From the German.* London: Hall, Virtue, and Co.

THE letters of Baron Humboldt have long called for a translation into English; our countrywomen had a right to be acquainted with what they could so fully appreciate. Singular though they are in their origin and execution, they are still more valuable in the lessons they convey,—inculcating an integrity of mind and strength of purpose, combined with the tenderness of an amiable heart, and presenting a pleasing idea of both the teacher and his friend.

The circumstances of the correspondence throw much peculiarity into their composition: an acquaintance made in youth—continuing but a few days—then broken—but not forgotten—is suddenly renewed, after the lapse of six-and-twenty years had brought many and painful changes to each. When assistance, sympathy, and consolation became necessary to her with whom time had dealt most hardly, she sought the friend whose image she had preserved in faithful simplicity—and was not disappointed. It would be impossible to suppose Humboldt capable of repulsing any one in distress of mind; but he found a real charm in the talents and thoughtfulness of his correspondent's letters, and set himself, *con amore*, to the task of guiding, supporting, and occupying her mind, with the noble and delicate kindness of the purest friendship, and the skilfulness of one intimately acquainted with the strength and the weakness of a woman's heart.

One cannot help regretting the absence of her share of the correspondence: it would surely afford us a picture of the life of a gentle but high-minded woman, struggling through many trials and difficulties: but she gave her friend's letters to the public, only in the hope of their benefiting others, and from no self-gratulatory pride. Nor ought they to be read without leaving traces of permanent good on all who thus put themselves under the guidance of Baron Humboldt; his letters breathe such a spirit of calm contentment, cheerfulness, and charity to all around him—a spirit of endurance without hardness—an example of victorious self-control under all circumstances—and withal earnestness in his convictions of the truth of all he teaches and acts upon.

There is, besides this, an enjoyment of nature, which can only

proceed from a serene and pure soul, and which Humboldt cultivated as one of the chief sources of inward strength—a perfect connexion of the external world with the workings of the inner life of man, which cannot fail to increase the calm vigour of a thankful and contented spirit. Humboldt was a believer in Christianity, and no *rationalistic* views offend us in this volume.

We cannot attempt in our limited space to give extracts, or we might quote many beautiful passages in which the vigorous but well-governed soul is seen borrowing from nature the harmony with which she was created, and learning the peaceful satisfaction of the courage and firmness which accepts the struggles of life, as a burthen to be lovingly and cheerfully borne.

We must say a few words on the translation before us, regretting that we have not the German original at hand. The inelegant English into which it has been rendered is of less importance than the omissions and compressions we observe in many places, and which ought, at least, to be acknowledged to the reader, who has also a right to ask why such a small portion of these letters are thus published, without any apparent reason for their fragmentary appearance, or promise of a future portion. We believe a *complete* translation by a lady has been published, together with the *whole* of the preface prefixed to the original—not the least interesting part of the work.

x.—*The Earth's Antiquity, in Harmony with the Mosaic Record of the Creation.* By JAMES GRAY, M.A., Rector of Dibden, Hants. London: Parker.

THIS is a very pleasingly written little work, occasioned, as the author tells us, by some statements made at a meeting of the British Association, respecting the earth's vast antiquity. Such statements having created uneasy feelings in the author's mind, he set to work to investigate the subject, and the result is the present volume, in which the Mosaic Record is brought into harmony with the largest possible speculations of geologists. We have not seen much in the mode of effecting this object, whether desirable or no, which strikes us as very new; but every one must do justice to the good intentions of the author, and to the respectability of his attainments.

xI.—*The First Revelations of God to Man, considered in a Series of Sermons on the First Chapters of Genesis.* By the Rev. W. E. EVANS, Prebendary and Prelector of Hereford Cathedral. London: Rivingtons.

HERE we have another geologico-theological work—the author

addressing himself in his preface and his sermons to meet the difficulties presented by the researches and views of geologists on the earth's antiquity. The author is of opinion that we should do very wrongly in attempting to deny evident facts,—in which we agree with him; and he is of opinion that truth will not be endangered by inquiry, fairly and honestly conducted,—in which we also have the pleasure to agree with him. We think that no apologies are needed for those who endeavour to harmonize the theories of philosophers with the word of God; but, at the same time, we think it indicates rather a weak faith to be disturbed by such speculations, or to attach much weight to them.—Christianity is far more certain than all the speculations of philosophy.

XII.—*An Examination of Calvinism; and especially of its Present Modified Forms, by the Text of Holy Scripture, and the Unanimous Teaching of the Church, together with a View of the Rise of the Predestinarian Doctrines. By the Rev. W. HOUGHTON, Curate of the Parishes of Sennen and St. Levan, in the Deanery of St. Buryan, Cornwall. Second Edition, revised and greatly enlarged. London: Cleaver.*

THIS manual of the Calvinistic Controversy possesses the advantage of being a systematic treatise on the subject to which it refers, composed without reference to any special controversy; and the author is thus enabled to apply himself to the elucidation of his difficult theme with the temper, consideration, and care which its importance demands. The result is one of the most useful works we have seen, comprising a great mass of argument in a very condensed shape, furnished with abundant references to the principal works on both sides of the question, and exhibiting a clearness of view, and an amount of research, which are most creditable to the author. We commend it to the especial attention of the younger Clergy, and candidates for orders.

XIII.—*The closing Years of Dean Swift's Life; with Remarks on Stella, and on some of his writings, hitherto unnoticed. By W. R. WILDE, M.R.I.A., F.R.C.S., &c. Second Edition. Dublin: Hodges and Smith.*

THIS is not a very promising title, we must confess, and yet the book itself is decidedly a curious and even amusing one. The author, who is a surgeon, enters into the medical peculiarities of Dean Swift's case, and argues, with apparent probability, that Swift did not become insane, but experienced a kind of congestion of the brain, which gradually deprived him of his faculties, in the

same way as Sir Walter Scott. The volume contains engravings of the skull and bust of Swift, and also of the skull of Stella, about whom there is much curious information, as well as about many of the minor anonymous poems and other writings of Swift, which exhibit the characteristic grossness, humour, good sense, bitterness, and indelicacy of that writer. Many of these are curious as memorials of Ireland and Irish society in the days of Swift. The interest of the volume is, to a considerable extent, local; but the author is a keen observer, and a diligent collector of anecdotes and facts.

xiv.—*The Modern Housewife or Ménagère; comprising nearly One Thousand Receipts for the economic and judicious Preparation of every Meal of the day, &c. &c.* By ALEXIS SOYER, Author of the '*Gastronomic Regenerator*' (Reform Club). London: Simpkin, Marshall, and Co.

THE name of the illustrious *chef* who figures as the author of this work, will elicit for his volume the appetite which, we have no doubt, it richly deserves, and of which the *piquant* nature of its contents must be irresistibly provocative. The author is a caterer for the mind as well as the body, and we contemplate with gusto the picture of this eminent individual which meets us in the title-page, and which in our stupidity we at first took for that of one of the very respectable animals who supply the materials of the author's literary and culinary discussion. We must confess, with a sense of humiliation, that we are unable to do justice to this noble subject. We throw down the pen with a sigh. Our gastronomic vigour is unable to bear us up amidst the tide of condiments, force-meat, jellies, fish, soups, savouries, pastry, &c. &c. &c., which meets us at each step. We are overwhelmed by the grandeur of the whole conception, and by the exhaustless resources of the magician who is each moment engaged before us in transmuting the ordinary materials of animal and vegetable existence into delicacies qualified to meet the highest demands of critical tastes,—while at the same time his universal benevolence prompts him to place within the reach of every housewife the means of approximating, in her degree, to the enjoyments reserved for the favoured visitants of the "Reform Club."

xv.—*Developments of Protestantism, and other Fragments; reprinted from the "Dublin Review," and "Tablet."* London: Richardson.

THIS is a controversial tract against the Church of England,

extracted from a work of Mr. T. W. Marshall, late a clergyman of the Church of England, and who on his apostasy from the Church, was rewarded by the Government by being appointed one of Her Majesty's Inspectors of Schools. This tract comprises the substance of Mr. Marshall's work, (we forget the title,) in which the state of Protestantism is described in the most unfavourable terms, and in which it was easy to see principles and feelings, leading by a natural development to the secession which subsequently took place. In this tract, which is put forward with the initials of Mr. Marshall, *one of the Government Inspectors of Schools*, the Reformation and the Church of England are assailed in every way, and the utmost possible pains are taken to induce men to leave our communion. We think this is a subject that ought to be inquired into, and that the position of inspectors of schools should be more distinctly understood.

XVI.—*Leicestershire Words, Phrases, and Proverbs. Collected by* ARTHUR B. EVANS, D.D., &c. London: Pickering.

WORKS of this kind are not without their value, independently of any local interest, in preserving fragments of the older language and customs of the country, and are thus of use to the philologist and antiquarian. Dr. Evans appears, as far as we can judge, to have executed his task carefully and well.

XVII.—*Lessons for Writing from Dictation, adapted to the Use of Children in Village Schools. By* WILLIAM EWART, M.A., *Curate of Pimperne, Dorset.* London: Robinson.

THIS is without exception the best book for dictation in schools that we have ever seen. It is progressive, and it is throughout amusing and instructive.

XVIII.—*Judith: or, the Prophetess of Bethulia. A Romance from the Apocrypha.* London: Hatchards.

THIS work is adapted to the use of that not inconsiderable class of persons who are unwilling to place in the hands of young persons a novel or a romance, and who yet may feel it desirable to indulge them with some reading of a nature calculated to interest their imagination and their feelings. The tale before us meets these conditions. Founded on Jewish history, it has the seriousness which they would wish to preserve, while it is not without its descriptions and its scenery, and its array and concatenation of incidents, and its catastrophe. There is enough of love, too, in the tale to meet the requisitions of some minds; but it is just

what it ought to be—very much under the influence of conscientious feeling. In short, there is nothing that can be considered too light or gay in the whole affair, and we should, therefore, think it likely to obtain an extensive circulation amongst seriously-minded persons.

XIX.—*Chronicles and Characters of the Stock Exchange.* By JOHN FRANCIS. London: Willoughby and Co.

THIS is really a curious volume in its revelations of the inner-workings of the moneyed world. It is for the most part, as might be anticipated, a record of speculations, frauds, and cheating, of every description. It records the failure of some schemes, and the success of others; the sudden creation of some large fortunes, and the as sudden loss of others. The Stock Exchange, it appears, is reserved exclusively for the use of its members, who are extremely jealous of any intrusion in their haunts, and are not particularly polite in their mode of dealing with any unlucky person who may visit them. The following anecdote is curious enough, as illustrating the manners which prevail amongst these people:—

“Not long ago, a friend of my own, ignorant of the rule so rigidly enforced for the expulsion of strangers, chanced to drop in, as he phrased it, at the Stock Exchange. He walked about for nearly a minute without being discovered to be an intruder, indulging in surprise at finding that the greatest uproar and frolic prevailed in a place in which he expected there would be nothing but order and decorum. All at once, a person who had just concluded a hasty but severe scrutiny of his features, sent out at the full stretch of his voice—‘Fourteen hundred.’ Then a bevy of gentlemen of the house surrounded him—‘Will you purchase my new navy five per cent., sir?’ said one, eagerly, looking him in the face. ‘I am not’—the stranger was about to say, he was not going to purchase stock of any kind, but was prevented finishing his sentence by his hat being, through a powerful application of some one’s hand to its crown, not only forced over his eyes, but over his mouth also. Before he had time to recover from the stupefaction into which the suddenness and violence of the eclipse threw him, he was seized by the shoulders and wheeled about as if he had been a revolving machine. He was then pushed about from one person to another, as if he had been only the effigy of some human being, instead of a human being himself. After tossing and hustling him about in the roughest possible manner, denuding his coat of one of its tails, and tearing into fragments other parts of his wardrobe, they carried him to the door, where, after depositing him on his feet, they left him to recover his lost senses at his leisure.”—pp. 332, 333.

Some of our readers will probably be glad to know the meaning



of terms which are familiar to us in the public journals—we mean “Bulls” and “Bears.”

“‘Bull’ is a term applied to those who contract to buy any quantity of government securities without the intention or ability to pay for it; and who are, therefore, obliged to sell it again, either at a profit or loss, before the time at which they have contracted to take it.

“‘Bear’ is a term applied to a person who has agreed to sell any quantity of the public funds, of which he is not possessed, being, however, obliged to deliver it against a certain time.”—p. 339.

Our opinion of the Stock Exchange and its doings, is, we confess, not improved by the perusal of this volume.

xx.—*The Life and Literary Remains of Barbara Hofland, Author of “The Son of a Genius,” “Tales of the Manor,” &c. By THOMAS RAMSAY, Author of “A Glance of Belgium and the Rhine.”* London: Cleaver.

A WRITER like Mrs. Hofland certainly deserves some memorial, and the author of the Life before us has executed a work which is calculated to preserve some recollection of Mrs. Hofland’s labours in the field of literature. The number of her works was very large; in fact, her pen furnished the chief means of her support; and she appears to have passed through a course of adverse fortune with a cheerful and a Christian spirit. The work before us will be interesting to the literary circles in which Mrs. Hofland moved; we cannot suppose it will have much interest for the general reader.

xxi.—*On Catechising. By the Hon. and Rev. SAMUEL BEST, Rector of Abbot’s Ann, &c.* London: Darling.

IN the very useful publication before us, Mr. Best urges the necessity of Catechising, from the examples of ancient times, and the directions of the Church; and further lends his aid to the carrying out of this important branch of ministerial duty, by supplying a series of questions on the Collects, Epistles, and Gospels for each Sunday in the year.

xxii.—*Scripture Symbolism; or, Tabernacle Architecture. By the Rev. SAMUEL GARRATT, &c.* London: Seeleys.

A SERIES of essays, in which the various parts of the tabernacle are treated as symbolizing various portions of the Christian scheme. The author is chiefly engaged in protesting against the doctrines of Tractarianism and of Popery. His language and tone appear to us to be pretty much those of a Dissenter.

XXIII.—*The Practical Christian, or the Devout Penitent.* By R. SHERLOCK, D.D., sometime Rector of Winwick. With a Life of the Author. By THOMAS WILSON, D.D., sometime Lord Bishop of Sodor and Man. Edited by the Rev. HAROLD SHERLOCK, M.A., &c. Oxford: Parker.

THE author of the admirable book, of which we have copied the title, was maternal uncle of the good Bishop Wilson, and his life, written by that venerable man, is prefixed. There cannot be a better manual of devotion than this, which is also in good measure taken from ancient sources, and breathes the spirit of ancient devotion. It is just such a book as may be well supposed to have formed the opinions and influenced the feelings of the excellent Bishop Wilson.

XXIV.—*Reflections, Meditations, and Prayers, (with Gospel Harmony,) on the most Holy Life and Sacred Passion of our Lord Jesus Christ.* London: Masters.

WE have been edified by all we have read of this collection of devotional exercises. The meditations, as the author states, are taken partly from Bishop Hall's contemplations, partly from the homilies of Thomas à Kempis, and partly from well-known Latin and French writers. It is dedicated to Archdeacon Manning and the Rev. Isaac Williams.

XXV.—*Plain Truths on Important Subjects.* By the Rev. W. THORPE, D.D., Minister of Belgrave Chapel. London: Seeleys.

THIS little volume, which comprises elementary instruction on the principal branches of Christian belief, according to the author's views, has very favourably impressed us, as far as we have been able to peruse it. The tone is particularly pleasing; and the delineation of the broad principles of the Gospel, though strongly marked with the doctrines of imputed righteousness, and of those views of justification which will not even tolerate St. James's language, or permit that it can be used in an innocent sense, is simple and in many respects excellent. We have been gratified with many parts of this work, even while we are unable to concur in all its views.

XXVI.—*Fourth Series of Lectures on Subjects connected with Prophecy.* Preached by the Rev. JAMES KELLY, M.A., Incumbent of Stillorgan, Dublin, &c. Published by Request. Second Edition. London: Nisbet and Co.

THE subjects of this series of lectures are—"the ultimate object

of the redemption by Christ—the object and character of the present dispensation between the Ascension and the second Advent—the general subject of the second Advent.” Into the depths of the subjects here entered on by the writer, we cannot pretend to follow him. We have no doubt that his style is greatly admired by many of his hearers: it is at one moment colloquial, at another vehement, and at a third your feet are carried from under you by a torrent of imagery and Scripture quotation. We have no doubt that this style of sermon, set off with appropriate action, is vastly impressive to those who have the privilege to “sit under” the ministry of such a “Boanerges” as this. We cite the following specimen of his oratorical powers:—

“It is no barren speculation, my brethren, but glorious ‘truth’ which tends to deepen the soul’s communion with God, yea, to enwrap it into very ecstasy. And, allow me to add, to see the ultimate end of God, ‘his eternal purpose in Christ Jesus,’ to which all things are verging, and *our* interest in it; for ‘all things,’ says the Apostle, ‘are for your sakes;’ and yet to be diverted and engrossed with the vanishing scene which is around us! oh, how utterly incongruous! It is like the silly child using the alphabet given to it, whereby he learns to read, and ascend into communion with its parent’s mind, as a mere toy to play with . . . . But, beloved, let us remember, that if we are Christ’s we are *of God*. We are in the diving-bell, as it were, of the Church, through which, although surrounded by the heavy elements of earth, we inhale another atmosphere, even that of the kingdom of God’s dear Son.

‘There is our house and portion fair,  
Our treasure and our hearts are there,  
And our abiding home:  
For us our elder brethren stay,  
And angels beckon us away,  
And Jesus bids us come.’

“This, in short, is not our rest. And *present* things—all that constitutes the ‘world’ in its commercial, political, and literary greatness,—should be to us, but the temporary scaffolding which is to be taken down, and we know not how soon. As to those who, amidst the loud sounding testimony of the Gospel of Christ, still cleave to the earth, and walk after ‘the course of this world,’ let them know that . . . . none will fall so deep into the pit of perdition as they who stumble over a rejected Christ. In contrast with the saved—the echoes of God’s own harmony of character, they will be eternally at jar with God. They will constitute the bass, the discord, to set off the melody. In them the exuviae—the slough, the dross of creation—will be preserved a memorial of what the *staple* of all saved creaturehood is,” &c. &c.

This is most sublime!

xxvii.—*A Letter on the Antichristian Character of Free-Masonry, to the Rev. W. Carwithen, D.D., &c. By M. C. TREVILIAN, Esq., a voluntary Seceder from the Society.* Bath: Binns and Goodwin. London: Whittaker and Co.

THE work before us contains a strong denunciation of free-masonry as an Unchristian system, substituting itself for the Gospel, and essentially latitudinarian and infidel, though it may sometimes connect itself for convenience with religion.

The author seems a religious and earnest man; but we cannot quite share his feelings in relation to free-masonry, which appears from his paper to be a piece of folly and absurdity from beginning to end.

xxviii.—*Seven Sermons preached on Various Occasions before the University of Oxford. By the Rev. H. B. WILLIAMS, M.A., New College, Fellow of Winchester College, &c.* Oxford: Vincent. London: Rivingtons.

A SOUND and excellent volume of discourses, perfectly orthodox in its doctrine, and written in a manly and vigorous tone, without the puritanism of one school, or the speculativeness of another.

xxix.—*Report to the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland by their Committee for the Suppression of Intemperance, given in and read by Rev. Robert H. Muir, Convener, 31st May, 1849. With Notes of Returns made to a Circular issued by that Committee by Four Hundred and Seventy-eight Kirk-Sessions.* Edinburgh: Picton and Ritchie.

IN perusing this interesting volume, we have been reminded of the contrast which exists between the position of the Presbyterian Establishment in Scotland, and the Church of England, as regards their present position. We here see the Presbyterian Kirk exercising its full legal power of meeting, and proposing, and discussing measures in relation to its own spiritual welfare; while the Church of England remains without the exercise of those rights which the law and constitution of England give to her. The General Assembly is in active operation, while the Convocation is virtually suppressed by the indirect, unconstitutional interference of the Executive; for we must ascribe to this the reluctance of our Archbishops to permit the Convocation to act at all.

Let us turn to the Report before us. Although we cannot regard the Presbyterian as the true Church in Scotland, yet we rejoice in the evidence which this Report affords us of the laudable

anxiety and zeal of its members to remove one of the greatest moral evils from which a nation can suffer,—that of excess in the use of spirituous liquors. Cordially do we sympathize with these valuable men in their truly Christian anxieties on this subject, and cordially do we hope that they may be successful in the noble undertaking which they have put before them. The resolution of the synod contains the following passages:—

“ The General Assembly approve of the Report, and of the diligence of the Committee in the inquiry in which they have been engaged, for obtaining information on the important subject of their appointment, and request the Moderator to convey to Mr. Muir, and, through him, to the Committee, their thanks for the great and laudable attention which they have paid to the subject of their Report. The General Assembly view with the utmost alarm the prevalence of intemperance in many parts of the country, earnestly recommend to the Presbyteries and Kirk-sessions of the Church, to take active steps to discourage that vice within their bounds, and to adopt whatever plans a wise Christian expediency may approve as best suited to their neighbourhood, for diminishing the occasions, and checking the practice of intemperance. The General Assembly further resolve to use every possible means, in co-operation with members of the Church, for diminishing the number of licensed places for the use of ardent spirits; if necessary, to send Petitions to Parliament to get power for Licensing Courts to regulate the number and position of such places better than at present; and to do what can be done to secure the closing of them throughout the whole of the Lord’s-day.”

And now, having given the above quotation, we must revert to the subject of our former remarks, and inquire, How is it that we do not see our own Convocation similarly engaged? Are not we ourselves suffering from the prevalence of habits of intemperance, of fornication, and other moral evils? What multitudes of beer-shops corrupt the morals of our people! How many evils of this kind demand reformation and correction! And, assuming that we have such practical moral evils to grapple with, why do not our ecclesiastical rulers make, at least, the *attempt* to bring the power of the representative Church of England to bear on this question, by summoning Convocation together for the dispatch of business, and proceeding to appoint committees, receive reports, and make recommendations which would not have the legal force of canons, and yet would answer perhaps just as well. The Church of England, if it ever dies, will, we believe, die of caution, timidity, and sitting still. We are glad to see Presbyterians applying themselves vigorously and unitedly to the suppression of social evils. We should be glad to see the Church of England joining them in this effort;—but that may not be.

The General Synod of the Presbyterian Kirk appointed some time since a Committee to examine into the question of drunkenness—certainly a most right and fitting subject of inquiry; and this committee addressed circulars of inquiries to all the Kirk-sessions in Scotland, which have been replied to in nearly 500 cases, and furnish an important body of moral statistics. We are deeply grieved to find from these returns, and from statements in the public journals, that the consumption of ardent spirits in Scotland has become so very large in proportion to the population. This is not the kind of alteration that is wanted in Scotland, whose inhabitants have been so long celebrated for thrift, intelligence, and good conduct. The following passage from the Report of the Committee is very painful:—

“It is, no doubt, very gratifying to your Committee to be able to report, from the information they have received, that there are parishes in Scotland where the vice of intemperance may be said to be unknown,—that, in very many there has, of late years, been a decided change for the better—and that, perhaps, even where the evil may have, on the whole, increased, there are *certain classes* of the population—among whom the vice was at one time very common—where it is now altogether relinquished. Yet, still, your Committee grieve to say, that the parishes are very few indeed where the direful consequences of intemperance, in some shape or other, are not painfully apparent. They have had to deeply sympathise with many of their brethren, whose faithful ministry is pursued amidst the most trying difficulties—where Sabbath profanation and neglect of ordinances, blasphemy, and crime, poverty, wretchedness, and disease, as the immediate consequences of intemperance, combine to prove that vice to be one of the very greatest external obstacles to the success of the Gospel. While, even where the prevalence of the vice is not apparent in its most revolting shape of *habitual* intoxication, your Committee have had to sympathise with others of their brethren, who find the practice among their people, of *occasional* intemperance, at least as great, if not a greater evil; an evil which (to quote the words of one of their returns) ‘eats into the heart of the congregation, and sears the soul against the truth.’ Even in places, therefore, where the vice of intemperance assumes a less revolting shape than in others, there may be equal cause for alarm, and just as urgent need for the anxious care of the Church in the use of means for its suppression.

“Your Committee feel, that the bad pre-eminence which intemperance holds among the national sins, is due, in great part, to the influence of *national customs*; and that there is cause for anxiety and alarm, and urgent need for measures to suppress intemperance—not only in the evil *nature* of the vice—in its wide *extent* and woeful *fruits*—but mainly in the appalling force of the many outward circumstances which lead to the formation and indulgence of intemperate habits. For a detail of such circumstances, your Committee must refer to the Notes in the



**Appendix to this Report.** They can here but glance at a general view of some of the most prominent.

“ Among these circumstances, the Committee are especially grieved to find the practice of *drinking at private baptisms and funerals*. It is reported to them (and justly complained of as a circumstance, the force of which is very great for encouraging intemperance), that, in some parts of the country, still, occasions for indulging to excess are found in the supply of intoxicating liquors at these solemn meetings. The instances of excess on such occasions, your Committee believe, are rare. It is matter of congratulation, that, in the mode of conducting baptisms and funerals, throughout the greater number of the parishes reported on to your Committee, there is marked improvement; and that, in many instances, the practice of using intoxicating liquors at all, on such occasions, is nearly, if not altogether, abandoned. Yet, rare though it be, your Committee report the circumstance complained of to them, in order to bring under the condemnatory notice of the Assembly all drinking usages in connexion with the administration of holy ordinances,—usages which, while they can but *deseccate* a solemn religious service, do tend to gain, for sinful habits of excess, the *consecration* of being associated with what is serious and holy.

“ But, passing out from meetings for religious worship, which national customs have made the occasions for the abuse of intoxicating liquors, your Committee find that, in the returns made to their inquiries, almost every other kind of meeting is complained of as connected with customs which have proved the snare to intemperance. Meetings at marriages (especially, as was to be expected, when these are celebrated in public-houses), meetings at markets and fairs—meetings to settle any matter of business, or at the close of any piece of work—are all reported to your Committee as so inwrought with drinking customs, as to sadly tend to the formation and practice of intemperate habits. Then, from many quarters, the strongest language is employed in reporting the demoralizing influence of the customs at feeing-markets, where farm-servants are gathered to be hired. While in towns, especially, the worst effects are produced by drinking usages in many of the trades, by which the workmen are systematically trained to habits of intoxication.

“ But, in addition to all these outward circumstances tending to promote such habits, your Committee have had their attention loudly called to the monstrous evil of multiplying licensed places for the sale of intoxicating liquors, and, especially, the licensing of shops and toll-bars. The returns made to your Committee's inquiries clearly prove, that the intemperance of any neighbourhood is uniformly proportioned to the number of its spirit licenses. So that, wherever there are no public-houses, nor any shops for selling spirits, there ceases to be any intoxication. The recklessly multiplying of what are thus evidently so many centres of a vicious influence, cannot but be regarded as a public calamity. It forces temptations upon the people at every step, and actually brings to bear upon them all the active efforts of an excessive competition in a lucrative trade, for stimulating their practice of a ruinous vice.

xxx.—*Moral Tales. By the Author of "Hymns for Little Children."* London: Masters.

THIS little book precisely meets the wish which we formed on perusing the "*Hymns for Little Children.*" It is impossible to speak too highly of its execution. It is exactly what it ought to be. And heartily do we wish that both volumes, comprising so much of Church principle, conveyed with so much affectionate simplicity, were read in every school and nursery throughout the kingdom. We give the following specimen:—

THE SWALLOW.

Where are you going, faithless swallow,  
 Fast drifting down the autumn sky?  
 Along the path I cannot follow  
 Not even with my dizzy eye.  
 Why should you fly away so fast,  
 Because the summer day is past?  
 How oft when rosy morning gilded  
 Our roof, I heard you through the leaves,  
 Soft twittering round the nest you builded  
 Close underneath our cottage eaves!  
 Watch'd your quick wings to and fro  
 Before my window come and go.  
 While yet the early dew was drying  
 Upon the roses on the wall;  
 And in their clay-built shelter lying,  
 I heard your hungry children's call,  
 That pretty nest I never stirr'd;  
 Why should you go, ungrateful bird?  
 You stay'd there all the summer season,  
 Till we like two old friends had grown,  
 And now you're going, for no reason,  
 But that its pleasant days are flown.  
 Ah swallow! it would never do,  
 If all my friends should prove like you.  
 For friends should be as true in sorrow  
 As when our hearts are light and gay,  
 They should not run away to-morrow,  
 Because 'tis sadder than to-day,  
 But stay and cheer, and soothe us still,  
 In times of darkness, want, or ill.  
 But you would stay beside me only  
 When summer skies are bright and clear,  
 And leave me now all sad, and lonely,  
 To wear away the closing year.  
 I see your little cloven tail,  
 A speck before the northern gale.

Go summer and false friend, together,  
And welcome, pure unselfish hearts,  
The love that's true in any weather,  
The friend that no misfortune parts.  
I have no heart for him to share,  
Who only loves when skies are fair.

XXXI.—*The Last Sleep of the Christian Child.* London: Masters.

A LITTLE poem intended to teach children what a Christian death is—and very touchingly written. It tells just enough, and not too much.

XXXII.—*Sharpe's London Magazine.* 1849. Hall: Paternoster-row.

WE take the opportunity of commencing another year, to express our approbation of the above publication. It is more interesting than most of the periodicals of the kind, combining as it does the useful with the agreeable, conveying much valuable information, pleasant fictions, and compilations from the passing literature of the day. There are occasionally excellent sketches from history, with short essays on subjects of reflection, and carefully written papers on natural history and the sciences of every-day things. Besides this, we have two, generally speaking, very good engravings: the illustrations of the old English and Scottish ballads being very successful.

On the other hand, we must regret the arrangement of some of the articles; there being usually such a crowd of subjects as to leave too little room for each individually. In the stories this is provoking, and tends much to lessen the interest and to obscure the moral; since, by only receiving a couple of pages or so at a time, the cause and effect of each person's actions are forgotten, and their characteristics destroyed: we allude in particular to the "Story of a Family"—a story in itself of somewhat an intricate nature, and which would be rendered wholly unintelligible by this dribbling mode of publication, were it not for its singular interest and power.

We trust the magazine will enjoy the large circulation which it deserves.

XXXIII.—*The History of Spain, for Young Persons.* By the Rev. B. G. JOHNS, M.A., Master of the Dulwich Grammar School, &c. London: Masters.

A VERY clear and succinct account of the history of Spain, from the earliest date to the present day. It appears to be well adapted to the use of children and young persons.

xxxiv.—*The Nemesis of Faith.* By J. A. FROUDE, M.A., late Fellow of Exeter College, Oxford. Second Edition. London: Chapman.

THE author of this rationalistic book was one of the disciples and admirers of Newman, previously to the secession of the latter from the Church; and this volume shows plainly, what many persons foresaw, that the overstrained speculations of the leading minds would, in the end, unsettle the faith of some of their followers. The truth is, that the ultra-tractarian system was throughout sapping the foundation of objective religion, and resolving faith into that very individual exercise of private judgment, fancy, or feeling, against which it was the loudest in its protest. It ridiculed and set aside the old evidences of religion, and thus, when its moral and personal influence failed, it left its more ardent adherents without a rational foundation for faith. We have elsewhere referred more at large to Mr. Froude's opinions, and traced their analogy in principle to those of Coleridge.

xxxv.—*The Rest. An Episode of the Village of Ross Cray.* By the Rev. CLAUDE MAGNAY. London: Cleaver

A VERY pretty tale, intended to illustrate the duties of the squire of a parish in relation to the religious and moral well-being of its inhabitants, and pointing out the beneficial influence which he can bring to bear in aid of the minister of the parish, and his power of counteracting the exertions of the most faithful pastor.

xxxvi.—*The Pastor of Welbourn and his Flock.* London: J. W. Parker.

THIS little work comprises a series of instructive and useful conversations between a Clergyman and his parishioners, and seems to be intended to show the mode in which a parish priest is to address his people. We can only say, that if the priest is to discourse so fully with all his people as he here does with some, his flock ought to be a small one in point of numbers.

xxxvii.—*A History of Ecclesiastical Architecture in England.* By GEORGE AYLIFFE POOLE, M.A., Vicar of Welford. London: Masters.

THE work before us is one of general interest to the architect, the churchman, and the antiquarian. It traces the history of church architecture, and all its accessories, from the Christian era to the

extinction of Gothic architecture in the seventeenth century. As a record of the foundation and erection of all our cathedrals and principal churches, and the changes they have undergone, it is peculiarly interesting, and we can bear testimony to the accuracy of detail, and the extent of knowledge, with which the work has been executed. Attention is particularly directed to all the architects of our principal churches.

XXXVIII.—*The Life of Christians during the first three Centuries of the Church; a Series of Sermons on Church History.* By Dr. CHR. LUDW. CONRAD. Translated from the German, by the Rev. LEOPOLD J. BERNAYS. Edinburgh: Clark.

THIS series of discourses is written on the views of Neander, and represents the opinions on Church subjects which are rife among the more religious Germans. It cannot, of course, be recommended to any English Churchman. There is much to approve in the book, as far as it touches on practical subjects; but we cannot approve it on the whole.

XXXIX.—*The Devout Christian. Thoughts on his Vocation, and a Manual of Devotions for his use.* By THOMAS FREDERICK SMITH, M.A., Fellow of Magdalen College, Oxford, &c. London: Masters.

AN excellent Manual, to which we cordially wish an extensive circulation.

XL.—*A few Words of Family Instruction, Introductory to Prayers for a Christian Household.* By the Rev. T. BOWDLER, M.A. London: Pickering.

THIS little volume is, as its title informs us, Introductory to the excellent Manual of Prayers for a Christian Household, lately published by the respected author. In the calm and sober-minded, but elevated piety of both publications, there is a fund of edification and of instruction for the Christian reader. We hope that this truly excellent author may have the gratification of finding that his labours for the good of souls may be as extensively appreciated as they deserve to be.

XLI.—*The Danger of Superficial Knowledge. An Introductory Lecture to the Course of Natural Philosophy in the University of Edinburgh.* By JAMES D. FORBES, Esq., F.R.S., &c. London: J. W. Parker.

WE are much indebted to Mr. Forbes for the able refutation which he has given in this essay to the arguments of Macaulay, who, at Edinburgh, denied the truth of the well-known verse,

“a little knowledge is a dangerous thing,” and maintained the benefit of superficial knowledge. Mr. Forbes has ably and powerfully shown the errors of such views; and we thank him for his seasonable essay.

XLII.—*Prophetic Outlines of the Christian Church and the Anti-Christian Power, as traced in the Visions of Daniel and St. John. In Twelve Lectures preached in the Chapel of Lincoln's Inn on the foundation of Bishop Warburton. By BENJAMIN HARRISON, M.A., Archdeacon of Maidstone, &c. London: Rivingtons.*

THE design of this series of Warburtonian Lectures is to direct attention to such portions of the prophecies as may be fairly regarded as fulfilled beyond any reasonable doubt. The author observes the excessive positiveness which so many interpreters of prophecy have shown in putting forth their opinions, and he alludes to the doubt which has thence been created in some minds, even on the most important points in prophecy. He addresses himself in various parts of his work to the more literal views maintained by Maitland and Todd, and argues against them. In the interpretation of the Apocalypse, he concurs with the generality of Protestant interpreters in identifying the Church of Rome with the beast. Archdeacon Harrison appears to be a careful and thoughtful writer, and to have studied his subject thoroughly. Into the particulars of his interpretations we cannot attempt to follow him.

XLIII.—*An Introduction to the New Testament; containing an Examination of the most important questions relating to the authority, interpretation, and integrity of the Canonical Books, with reference to the latest enquiries. By SAMUEL DAVIDSON, LL.D. Vol. I. The Four Gospels. London: Bagster.*

FROM all we have seen of the volume before us, we are of opinion that it is calculated to be of considerable utility to the student of theology. It notices all the latest objections of German infidelity against the genuineness of the Gospels, and meets all the difficulties, as far as we can judge, in a very satisfactory manner. As an assemblage of all the arguments which may be brought against the Scriptures, with their refutations, the work will be highly valuable. It exhibits very great and praiseworthy research.

XLIV.—*Short Conclusions from the Light of Nature. London: Rivingtons.*

THE “Light” of Nature, as this anonymous author describes it, is, we fear, little more than “darkness.” He admits, indeed, the



existence of a Deity ; but he doubts whether that Deity is or is not a material Being of the same substance as the earth ; and he denies any spiritual nature in the human soul. Such, at least, is the impression left on us by the whole tenor of his work. The work is written professedly to aid the cause of religion when it is assailed by rationalism ; but we must disclaim any such assistance as this. We do not believe the author to have had any directly infidel objects, or he would not have expended so large a part of his book in endeavouring to establish by reasoning the moral attributes of God ; but still we do think his views on many points most dangerous. He intimates pretty plainly in one passage that he is a disbeliever in the doctrine of eternal punishment.

“ The moral state of each person at the time of his death will determine his degree of happiness or misery on his arrival. But whether that state will be a final state, or it may please God to give other means of moral discipline, means of correction to the good, of real conversion to the evil, we can but conjecture. The latter supposition is an exceedingly probable, and a most delightful one, but liable to much perversion ; and it becomes us to check every presumption that may arise in our frail hearts on such a glorious prospect.”

This is the language of a Unitarian.

Our author maintains that all events are ordered by certain regular and inviolate laws, in accordance with the constitution of nature ; and that God never interferes with the operation of these laws, or exercises a particular Providence for our benefit : so that, as he implies, prayer to God to alter the course of events, is “ irrational ;” and we have, in fact, merely to trust to *ourselves*, and the exertion of our own minds, for all blessings :—

“ If, then, mankind in general were as sure of the invisible nature of the laws of matter as the scientific are, they would cast off the idle expectation, that these laws will be violated to bring them prosperity, or defend them from evil ; and they would trust to their own minds, guided by the inspiration of God, for all temporal and spiritual blessings. Therefore, this is not merely a speculative subject, which it is almost presumptuous to investigate, but a practical inquiry, showing us ‘ *whence our help cometh.*’ ”—p. 41.

We marvel at the writer’s last words. How strongly does his doctrine contrast with the words of the inspired Psalmist, to which he refers !—“ My help cometh even from the Lord who hath made heaven and earth. He will not suffer thy foot to be moved : and he that keepeth thee will not sleep.” In order that we may be at no loss as to his meaning, he explains that “ the inspiration of God,” of which he speaks as guiding us, is

not meant of any special guidance or direction, but of the gift of sense and understanding which we all have from God; quoting, for this purpose, Job xxxii. 8: "But there is a spirit in man: and the inspiration of the Almighty giveth them understanding."

The question here is, indeed, a "practical" one, and of the highest importance. According to our author, it is "irrational" to pray to God for deliverance from evils, or for blessings of any kind: we ought to leave every thing to the direction of His good Providence; and we ought to depend on our own good sense and intelligence for getting through difficulties, or for obtaining benefits. This may be philosophy, but it is not religion.

XLV.—1. *Antichrist: a Poem, with Notes and Sketches of Oriental Scenes.* By the Rev. H. NEWTON, A.B. Seeley, Burnside. and Seeley, 1847.

2. *The Flight of the Apostate: a Poem, in Three Parts. With Thoughts on our Present Pre-millennial State.* By the Rev. H. NEWTON, B.A. London: Wertheim and Macintosh. 1849.

How to deal with the Rev. H. Newton, and his works, in very sooth we know not. He is a gentleman of a fiery mood, apt to yield blow for blow with interest, and so wrathfully vigilant against all critical censures, however mild may be the shape they take, as to cause us to approach the theme with some degree of sacred awe, such as may be supposed to possess a heedless urchin, tempted to play with his master's rod, though the master may break in upon him at any moment, and lay it about his shoulders. Our unhappy contemporary, "The Morning Post," "just hesitated dislikes," most politely; and Mr. Newton has taken dire revenge, digging up the carcass, as he says himself, for the purpose of an awful post-mortem examination. "Wilful and deliberate falsehood," is the most kindly expression applied to the good critic's labours, who, to tell truth, had been excessively lenient, but had obviously only spared the rod to spoil the child. More detestable nonsense than Mr. Newton's verses, we never remember to have met with! And when we say this, let not Mr. Newton lay "the flattering unction to his soul," (as he, of course, *will* do, say what we may!) that we are secret beadsmen of the Pope, and sworn knights to the service of the Scarlet Lady. It does so happen that Mr. Newton's millennial notions, for the most part, tally very much with our own, though we could never undertake to define them with as much audacity as this adventurous gentleman. We shrink from speaking too boldly and too positively on matters which we can see only "through

a glass darkly." Not so Mr. Newton; he does not scruple to denounce the folly, and blindness, and so forth, of all those who differ from himself; and speaks of the future throughout his books, almost as if it were already past. Yet the prose in either of these volumes contains not a little to interest, and even to inform the mind, and seems infinitely removed from the extraordinary rubbish which Mr. Newton looks upon as poetry, and poetry of the very highest order! He tells us so in so many words, that there may be no mistake about it. What do our readers say to this rhapsody, extracted from "Imagination, at the Poet's Study," which occurs in the former of Mr. Newton's "works?" The said Newton is addressing the angels—we presume, of poesy:—

"Angel power! inform,  
What burning thoughts of imagery adorn  
My glowing page; what shape of lightning storm  
Electrifies? &c. &c.

————— Whence, in tracing these,  
Have I th' ineffable spiritual fire,  
To awe, to charm, to terrify, to please?"

Whence indeed? And echo answers, "Whence?" This is excessively funny, yet we think it is surpassed by certain passages in "The Flight of the Apostate," wherein "the minstrel" descends to the judgment-hall of Antichrist, and gives Satan, Belial, and all their hosts, as hearty an intellectual drubbing, as he had bestowed upon the unhappy "Morning Post." But, in truth, the theme is too solemn to bandy jests about it, and, therefore, we refrain. Mr. Newton's idea of versification is marvellous. Crackjaw couplets in alternate rhymes, or "quatrains," as our author calls them, constitute the form he has every where selected; a form which may be acceptable in "Grey's Elegy," but becomes wholly insupportable in a longer poem. As a sample of the author's powers, we quote the opening of the first dedication "to Poetry:—"

"Celestial angel fair! whose soaring flight  
Wings along th' azure heaven's blue arching deep:

(What a line have we here!)

"Or in heaven's ambient glooming infinite  
(Better again!)

"Soaring, where nimblest wings of angels sweep  
The starless expanse—or when stooping o'er  
(A rather lame flight this, we must own!)

"Our world of waters from, a lowering night  
Of storm; thou mov'st along the trembling rear  
Of thunder!————"

But, "jam satis!" our readers will surely cry; and so we break off, leaving far more wondrous things unkenned. The honest truth is, that Mr. Newton has not the remotest notion of rhythm, and seems to lose the possession of his sober senses (in which fact he doubtless glories) as soon as he betakes himself to rhyme. Even whilst he is *talking* about his "poetry" in prose, "he wanders wide," or in other words, he raves; but, setting this verse-mania aside, we have no doubt he may be a very useful member of society, and are quite willing to yield all due attention to his exposition of his "scriptural views." Let him be assured that we write in sorrow, rather than in anger, and not confirm himself in his very extravagant mistake, because "The Church and State Gazette," and "The Hampshire Advertiser," applaud his bardic efforts! We must give our readers one more extract, but this shall be a prose one. "The author, having sent forth such an 'Antichrist,' was prepared for open and violent attack from *the real Antichrist's true supporters.*" (Of course! There *we* are branded: *well* may we shudder!)

"But" he confesses, "that, through long absence from England, and want of acquaintance *with the hidden mysteries of London reviewing*, he was not prepared for that which met his eyes! Albeit, he well knew that, wherever Antichrist is naturally exalted, his spirit of lies must overshadow the nation, *it was to him a matter of no little astonishment, that the same week or day should send forth on the same poem regarding the execution, and even on the same topics, the most flatly contradictory statements.*"

Marvellous, indeed, that any two men should differ as to the merits of any literary production! Every body knows that tastes never *do* differ,—so that if two critics contradict one another, one of them must have lied, and that too of malice prepense. Such is Mr. Newton's highly charitable and still more reasonable creed! So again, a little further on, our author is in ecstasies of admiration and anger at a criticiser, most supremely mild and kind, in "The Gentleman's Magazine," which must have been "false" and "malicious:" for why? because, "it was contradicted throughout by one which appeared in the 'Hampshire Advertiser.'" Was not this contradiction "a marvel and a mystery?" Is it not patent to the meanest understanding, even that of a Quarterly Reviewer, that the Jesuits must have been at work? But to leave this tone, one thing is quite patent to *us*, that kindness and pitiful leniency can be of no service whatever to poor Mr. Newton. He must be whipped, not coaxed, out of this poetic madness; and though we can afford no more time to the application of the knout, we must beseech the offender, in conclusion, not to desecrate such awful themes by

perpetrating such unmitigated rubbish respecting them. We really believe that there is that stuff in him which might yet prove of service to God's Church, rightly applied and developed; but we do adjure him, even by those sacred principles he professes to reverence, not to expose them to the scoff of the infidel and the laughter of the worldly-wise, and thus do his little all to establish that "kingdom of Antichrist" which he would wish so earnestly to overthrow. We now bid him farewell. When we meet him again, let it be in the paths of honest sober prose, in which he really may have a testimony to bear, "to this generation."

XLVI.—*Chapters on Deacons. By the Author of "Hymns and Scenes of Childhood."* London: Masters.

THIS is a very delightful volume. Its prose more especially charms us: with the poetry we could have dispensed, because, although prettyish, we do not think it rises to the level of its theme. The general tone of the book is thoroughly and healthfully Catholic, and most distinctly anti-papal. The chapter we like by far the least is that on "S. Benedict:" in fact we could wish this away. A very admirable section follows on "Cuthbert Sympson." Many of the suggestions of this authoress are most valuable; and altogether her little volume is a very welcome contribution to our literature for deacons and on deacons.

XLVII.—*The Theologian and Ecclesiastic. The Churchman's Companion.*

BOTH these publications are issued by Mr. Masters, though they breathe a different spirit. The second is reverential, affectionate, charitable, Anglo-Catholic: of the first we cannot speak with satisfaction: it reminds us sometimes of the tone of the "British Critic." We would instance articles on "Stephens on the Book of Common Prayer" and on "the Dedication of Churches." There is some good in both these articles, but a loveless tone permeates them (more especially the second of the two); and they are calculated on the whole to effect more evil than benefit. "The Churchman's Companion," though containing too much second-rate versifying, and fabulous hagiography, has much more claim on our regard. We particularly like its articles under the heading of Church News. There is an article, too, in the November number on those lately deceased fellow-labourers in the vineyard, the Rev. G. Cornish, vicar of Kenwyn, and the Rev. R. Lampen, vicar of S. Probus, which for its simplicity and beauty can scarcely be extolled too highly. We also like the hearty, cheerful, loving tone, which rings like true metal, of the preface to the last volume, in the December Number, dated from Stoke Damerel. We are delighted to hear that there is one

Church at least where the Eucharist is daily offered, though we know not where that church may be ; and we only trust that this glorious privilege is not marred by any miserable Romanizing in those who practise it.

**XLVIII.**—*The Ten Commandments. By the Author of "Hymns and Scenes of Childhood."*

A PRETTY little book, applying the spiritual sense of the commandments in simple verse for village, or indeed any, children. We could wish saint and virgin worship to have been especially protested against with reference both to the first and second commandment ; and can only entreat the authoress not to be restrained from telling the truth, from any fear of man,—not even of her spiritual pastors. This would be selling her birthright, God's truth, for a mess of potage, man's praise.

**XLIX.**—*Ruins of Many Lands. A Descriptive Poem, by NICHOLAS MICHELL, Author of "The Traduced," &c. Second Edition. London: Tegg.*

THIS volume of poetry, though not inspired by the highest order of genius, is yet, on the whole, well written and pleasing. It is wholly descriptive ; and to the young it will be found a useful and, as far as we see, an unexceptionable gift.

**L.**—1. *A Manual for the Study of the Sepulchral Slabs and Crosses of the Middle Ages. By the Rev. EDWARD L. CUTTS, B.A. London: J. H. Parker.*

2. *Christian Monuments of England and Wales. By the Rev. C. BOUTELL. London: Bell.*

THE first of these works, comprising as it does a series of engravings of flat and raised tomb-stones, and monumental crosses, arranged chronologically, and ranging in point of date from the fifth century down to the sixteenth, will be indispensable to all those who are interested in obtaining a superior style of monumental design to that which so generally disfigures our churchyards. There is a great want of taste in such matters ; but we look to the clergy to encourage a better style of memorial by their influence in their respective parishes.

Mr. Boutell's work has a similar object. It is being published in parts, and is most beautifully executed, and will, we have no doubt, be most valuable to the student, and to the parish priest.

**LI.**—*Romanism as it exists at Rome. By the Hon. J. W. PERCY. London: Seeleys.*

THIS volume comprises a great number of curious inscriptions



copied at Rome by Mr. Percy, and illustrative of Romish superstitions. It well deserves study, and a longer notice than we can at present give it.

LII.—*Two Sermons on the Duty of Keeping the Lord's Day, and the manner in which it should be kept.* By RICHARD HARVEY, M.A., Rector of St. Mary's, Hornsey, &c. London: Groombridge.

IN this little publication the author enforces the doctrine of the continual obligation of the Sabbath, and the duties thence resulting. His argument is clear and convincing, and his exhortations are very effective.

LIII.—*The Nation, the Church, and the University of Oxford: Two Sermons preached before the University, in November, 1849.* By WILLIAM SEWELL, B.D., Fellow and Tutor of Exeter College. Oxford and London: J. H. Parker.

WE commend these noble Sermons, not merely to all who are directly interested in the Universities, but to the whole Church. We advise their perusal, not for the sake of their pure morality, their high philosophy, or their most eloquent truth; but for their enunciation of those great principles of action on which the welfare of the Universities and the Church in these times of trial depend. May the deep practical wisdom of the course recommended in these Sermons, be felt and recognized before it be too late! We tender our most earnest thanks to Mr. Sewell for the service he has thus rendered to the Church.

#### MISCELLANEOUS.

A GREAT variety of minor Publications are before us, to which we can only briefly advert at present, reserving such of them as we may deem expedient for more full notice hereafter. Amongst these we may mention "The Outlaw's Confession," and other Poems, by B. Fairclough (Cleaver), as rather pleasing; "Westminster Abbey," by O. Howell, also pleasing; and "California"—Stanzas by M. H. P. Hall—good; "Sacred Lyrics" (J. R. Smith), contains some pleasing lines; "The Magazine for the Young," (Mozley), a very nice publication; "Ten School-room Addresses," by J. P. Norris, M.A. (Rivingtons), very well done indeed; a remarkably nice portable "Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament," by Rev. T. S. Green (Bagsters); "A Review of the Mexican War, on Christian Principles," by the Rev. Philip Berry, A.B. (Columbia S. C.); "A Letter on the late Post-Office Agitation," by C. J. Vaughan, D.D. (Murray), containing a defence of the recent alteration; "Remarks on Mount Serbal being the true Mount Sinai," by J. Hogg, Esq. (Hughes and

Robinson), a learned and curious Essay; Mr. Macaulay's Character of the Clergy," by C. Babington, M.A. (Rivingtons), a very useful publication; "The Ecclesiastical and Architectural Topography of England"—Buckinghamshire (J. H. Parker),—a continuation of the series. "Remarks on Noble's Appeal in behalf of the doctrines of Swedenborg" (Richardson),—a Romish publication; Charges by Archbishop Whately, and Archdeacon Manning; both on the subject of education;—the one upholding the Government scheme of Education in Ireland, the other in opposition to similar tendencies here: "Auricular Confession," a Letter from Kappa to Delta (Davy); "The Judgment of Charity," by Rev. T. Vores, urging the hypothetical interpretation of the Baptismal Service; "A Letter to Charles W. Packe, Esq., M.P., on the Desirableness and Necessity of a Church Association in Parliament," by the Rev. F. Merewether, M.A. (Rivingtons), an excellent and important pamphlet, well worthy of attention and circulation; "Tracts and Thoughts for the Additional Curates' Aid Society, Manchester" (Hatchards), disapproving of Mr. Leigh's conduct; "The Holy Eucharist," by Rev. J. Marshall (Edinburgh)—an attack on the Appeal of the Rev. W. Palmer, of Magdalene College, to the Scottish Church; "The Book of the Prophet Joel" (Bagster), a specimen of the Hebrew Bible arranged on the system of parallelism; "A Memoir of a Sunday Scholar," by Rev. A. D. Newell (Rivingtons)—a tract which ought to be circulated in parishes; "Baptism accompanied by Conditional and Unconditional Grace," by Rev. C. R. Cameron (Wertheim), an attempt to reconcile conflicting opinions; "The Shadow of the Future," by a Layman (Rivingtons), a work on prophecy giving the prophecies of Daniel and St. John, with their explanation in a columnar form; "The Bible of Every Land" (Bagster), a very curious work, now coming out in numbers, giving specimens of every version of the Bible, with notes; "The Day of Prayer and the Day of Thanksgiving" two excellent sermons by Rev. J. Jackson (Skeffington); Sermons (4) "On the Calling of a Medical Student," by Rev. E. W. Plumptre (J. W. Parker); "Twelve Short Sermons for Family Reading," by Rev. J. Atkinson (Longmans)—an excellent series; the Rev. A. J. Dayman's Sermon, "The Houses of God," &c. (Rivingtons), an unfortunate publication, and by no means well-judged; an *excellent* sermon by Rev. R. S. Savage, "On the Ministerial Office" (Rivingtons); "An Ordination Sermon," by Rev. C. E. Kennaway; "Family Worship," a Sermon, by Rev. J. D. Jefferson; Rev. J. G. Shepherd's Sermon on "Public Prayer;" "The Kingdom of God," a Sermon, by Rev. T. Lowe, M.A. Other publications, now before us, we must defer noticing till next Number.

## Foreign and Colonial Intelligence.

**AUSTRALIA.**—*Protest of the Bishop of Adelaide against Popish Intrusion.*—The following appears in the *John Bull*:—"The Popish Bishop of South Australia having issued a public appeal for a subscription to the fund which is being collected for the Pope in all parts of the world, with the title 'Catholic Bishop of Adelaide' appended to his signature, the Bishop of Adelaide, Dr. Short, has promulgated an official protest, with the concurrence of the Diocesan Chapter. The following are the documents:—

" 'Augustus, by divine permission, Bishop of Adelaide, and pursuant to the letters patent of Her Gracious Majesty Queen Victoria, bearing date at Westminster, June 25, 1847, ordinary pastor of the Diocese of Adelaide.—To the Clergy and all the Faithful in this Diocese, grace and peace be multiplied.

" 'Dearly beloved Brethren—Whereas it hath been brought to our notice that alms have been solicited for the purpose of supporting the Bishop of Rome in his pretended claim to carry on the government of the Universal Church, such claim being contrary to the Word of God, the primitive order of the Catholic Church, and the law of England, affirming the Queen's Majesty to be, under God, within her dominions, supreme in all causes and over all persons, ecclesiastical or civil; and whereas such claim, and all jurisdiction, superiority, or pre-eminence emanating therefrom, under any such style or title of Catholic Bishop of Adelaide, has, by solemn protest, bearing date March 25, 1843, been dissented from, and contradicted by the Right Reverend William Grant, Bishop of Adelaide, our predecessor, now Metropolitan of Australasia, Tasmania, and New Zealand: we, feeling in duty bound to maintain the lawful supremacy of our Lady the Queen, the canonical order of the Catholic Church, publicly wounded at this time by the pretended universal jurisdiction of the See of Rome, the rights of it by law established in England and Ireland, as well as those of ourselves and successors, Bishops of Adelaide, do hereby publicly protest against any and every act of episcopal authority done, or to be done, at any time by any person whatever, by virtue of any right or title derived from the assumed claim of the said Bishop of Rome to ecclesiastical sovereignty. Fare ye well.—Augustus, by Divine permission, and favour of our Sovereign Lady the Queen, Lord Bishop of Adelaide.

" 'Given at Adelaide, Tuesday, the 3rd day of July, 1849.'

" 'We, the undersigned Presbyters, duly licensed, within the diocese and jurisdiction of the See of Adelaide, having been summoned by the Lord Bishop of Adelaide, to advise with him concerning the matter referred to in the above protest, and having maturely considered the same in Chapter assembled, do heartily concur in the said protest, and recommend its being publicly read in the Cathedral

Church, on Sunday, July 8th, at morning prayer, after the Nicene creed.—JAMES FARRELL, Dean of Adelaide; MATTHEW B. HALE, Archdeacon of Adelaide; W. J. WOODCOCK, Canon; T. P. WILSON, Canon.' "

*The Precedency Question at Sydney.*—The same paper has, in an extract from the *Sydney Guardian*, the following statement:—"Only two clergymen—one of them unlicensed—attended the levee on the Queen's birthday, an intimation having been conveyed to his Excellency the Governor, that in consequence of the extraordinary and anomalous position assigned to the Metropolitan Bishop of Sydney, and the Clergy of the Church of England, by the precedency given to Dr. Polding, by reason of the title of Archbishop, bestowed on him by the foreign Bishop of Rome—those whose loyalty to the Queen, and respect to her Representative, would have naturally led them to Government House on that day, could not be present, without both giving sanction to a principle directly subversive of constitutional right, and at the same time allowing the pre-eminence and authority to a foreign power which, in their oath of the Queen's supremacy, they had sworn to deny. We trust the laity, as well as the Clergy, will not let the matter rest here. Many laymen, we know, did absent themselves on the same occasion; and in compliance with an intimation to that effect, an address, we are happy to add, is now in course of signature, expressive of the reasons for their absence, of which we subjoin a copy:—

" ' May it please your Excellency,—

" ' We the undersigned, members of the United Church of England and Ireland, beg to assure your Excellency of our unfeigned regret that we should have been compelled to be absent from your Excellency's Levee, held on the 24th inst., in honour of Her Majesty's birthday.

" ' The unconstitutional edict which forced upon your Excellency the necessity of then publicly surrendering to an intruding Bishop, owing his title to a Foreign Power, precedence of the lawfully constituted Metropolitan of the Province of Australasia, thereby conceding to the Church of Rome a pre-eminence, contrary no less to the discipline of the Church at large than alien to the spirit of the British law, compelled us at the same time to decide that the honour of waiting upon your Excellency, under such circumstances, could be enjoyed only by a compromise of our allegiance as English Churchmen.

" ' Your Excellency will be pleased, therefore, to accept, through the medium of this address, those warm assurances of fidelity and loyalty which we had anxiously desired personally to offer.

" ' With our earnest hopes that instructions from Her Majesty the Queen may speedily restore to your Excellency's Court the Bishops and Clergy of this Province, and to their people the happy duty of approaching your Excellency with their lawful pastors on every occasion on which loyalty shall demand their presence,

" ' We beg to subscribe ourselves, your Excellency's faithful and dutiful servants,  
[Signatures.]' "

CANADA.—*Convocation of King's College.*—An extraordinary and melancholy interest attaches this year to the convocation of King's College, Toronto, being the last year of that solemnity taking place under its present constitution. There were, it appears, already indications perceptible of the coming change. We extract the following, from the account given of the proceedings by the *Toronto Patriot*:—

“The proceedings closed with an address from His Excellency, which riveted the utmost attention. He paid the highest compliment to the institution—pointed out in beautiful and forcible language the advantages to be anticipated from the pursuit of knowledge for itself, without any reference to the spirit of acquisitiveness which pervades so deeply the present age. His reference to the ideas excited by the view and recollection of the classic cities, hallowed by the thoughts of the philosophers, poets, and orators who once taught and sung there; and the comparison between them and the feelings excited by the commercial cities of Tyre and Carthage, was a splendid burst of oratory. Having no notes, we cannot trust our memory with even a sketch of this magnificent address. A passing allusion to the Annexation folly was the only bit of politics introduced, and even that was so slight as to escape the observation of many. We feel assured, that however opinions may be divided about political affairs, those present that day cannot forget the excellent speech delivered at King's College by its noble Chancellor, and we trust that not the least pleasureable recollection to him will be the day that he took part in its proceedings.

“Some painful ideas, however, force themselves upon the mind. When the noble Chancellor, in feeling terms, pointed out to some of the young gentlemen the importance of carrying religious feelings with them into the world, and expressed his conviction that the value of such institutions depends on the high tone of mind imparted, he could not have recollected that in less than three months all religious teaching would be banished from King's College—that the Act under which this change is to take place states in its preamble the importance of the University being conducted on Christian principles, and yet banishes every semblance of religion from its precincts by expressly excluding nearly all ecclesiastics from its management, on the single ground of their being ecclesiastics—and that some of the highest honours bestowed at this very time were connected with religious teaching. Talents and diligence like Mr. McKenzie's and Mr. Evans's will meet at the Toronto University with no encouragement in those pursuits which tend most to ennoble the mind of man, and raise to the highest moral dignity, by the contemplation of the wisdom and love of the all-wise and supremely benevolent Creator!

“We cannot but lament that the obvious tendency of the New University Act is, to bring about the very evils which His Excellency so feelingly deprecated, and to overthrow the very advantages which the system hitherto pursued has been so successful in developing.”

The *Toronto Church* adds:—

“The Convocation presented many features, gratifying to the lover

of purely secular learning. As the noble Chancellor observed, the attainments of the members of the institution would have insured them 'high standing in honours, either in Oxford or Cambridge.' But the pious Churchman must have been pained to mark the anxious jealousy with which the most distant allusion to Christianity was guarded against by the more prominent speakers. Eloquently did Lord Elgin eulogize the literary treasures of Greece and Rome; but the sectarian malaria which pervaded the scene prevented him from dwelling upon that knowledge which is 'eternal life,' and, divorced from which, all other learning is worse than useless. With this sad exception—for the sin of which he was not chargeable—His Excellency appeared to great advantage, and worthily sustained the reputation which he has earned, of profound and elegant scholarship.

"At the dinner, by some unaccountable overlook, the name of the Lord Bishop of Toronto had not been included in the list of toasts. This omission was as far as possible supplied by his Worship the Mayor, who, in returning thanks for the toast of the City Corporation, took occasion to characterize, in terms at once eloquent and truthful, the services rendered by the Right Reverend Prelate to that University, which apparently had forgotten his very existence. Most grateful must the worthy President have been to his Worship, for thus affording him an opportunity of discharging a duty, the neglect of which would have cast a stigma upon the proceedings of the evening.

"Chief Justice Robinson spoke with the graceful boldness of the Churchman and the Christian gentleman, in denouncing the new Act which rejected religion, as a leprous thing, from the halls of the University. The ears of not a few of his expediency-worshipping auditors must have tingled under the concluding words of this excellent man, which echoed through the hall like a warning Ichabod—"How can we expect the blessing of God upon it [the University], when every trace of His worship is determinedly cast off!"

CHINA.—*American Mission at Shanghai.*—The following extracts from the report of Bishop Boone, to the Board of Missions, respecting the operation of the Mission at Shanghai, will be read with interest:—

"The school is doing well, and has contributed its quota of those who are, as we trust, in penitence and faith, seeking the salvation of their souls; three of the number being from among its members. As the boys increase in age, and advance in their studies, we are made, in that proportion, to feel the need of a layman to aid in carrying on its operations; indeed, male superintendence is becoming every day more and more indispensable. Shall we call in vain upon all the young laymen of the Church, for aid in so important a work—a work which, although but just commenced, is already bearing fruit to the glory of our Divine Master?

"I am persuaded that, if our young men, whose hearts' desire is to live for the advancement of our Saviour's cause, only knew what an opportunity is afforded them in this school, of influencing the future progress of the Gospel in China, at least so far as it shall please God



to make the exertions of our own Church instrumental to this end, they would press forward in numbers, eagerly demanding of the Foreign Committee their passports to China. . . .

“We are so fully persuaded that we shall not do all for the Chinese that our position and their necessities demand of us, if we content ourselves with merely teaching the adults among them, *viva voce*, and by means of books, that we have determined to get as many native schools under our control and direction as possible. For this purpose we offer to Chinese teachers a bonus of one dollar per annum for each boy; in compensation for which we claim the right to direct the studies of the boys, to have the Scriptures and our Catechism studied, in addition to the Chinese classics, and to have prayers and other religious exercises whenever it may suit us to visit the school. Of course there is no attempt to teach the English language in these schools. Last year we had one such school, under the care of Mr. Syle. This year we shall endeavour to increase the number—ultimately we shall hope to have two or three under the care and superintendence of each presbyter, as part of his parochial charge, that our blessed Lord’s injunction to feed the lambs, as well as the sheep of his flock, may be attended to.

“We have one candidate for Orders, Chae, the youth who accompanied me to the United States. He continues steadfast in his desire to serve the Lord in the ministry of the Gospel, and we trust that, towards the close of this year, he will be found ‘apt and meet to exercise the office of a deacon, to the honour of God and the edifying of his Church.’ He is at present very usefully employed in aiding in the distribution of the alms of the Church, visiting the sick, aged, and infirm; and in assisting to superintend the Chinese school above mentioned. . . .”

FRANCE.—*Provincial Councils*.—A striking feature in the attitude which the French Church has assumed since the Revolution, is the independence with which she has *de facto* vindicated her right to hold synods according to the ancient canonical system of the Church Catholic. The initiative in this important movement was taken by the Archbishop of Paris, who, without any previous warning, save a semi-official intimation, a few days before, in the *Ami de la Religion*, issued on “The Feast of the Nativity of Mary,” the 8th of September, a circular to all the priests and religious communities of his diocese, demanding their prayers for the success of the Provincial Council, shortly to be held at Paris. It is a singular feature in the case, worthy to be specially noted, that not only this circular is dated of the “feast of the Nativity” of the Virgin, but that the “holy enterprise” was expressly placed by the Archbishop “under the protection of Mary,” whom he requires to be “invoked and supplicated, in order that she may obtain for the Council, from her Divine Son, Jesus Christ, all the graces of which the Council shall stand in need.”

This independent proceeding took the republican government by surprise; and as the Council was convoked for the 17th, the Minister of Agriculture and Commerce, charged *ad interim* with the portfolio of public instruction and worship, had barely time, on the 16th, to present

to the President of the Republic a report, informing him that the proposed ecclesiastical assemblies required the express sanction of the executive; which sanction was given on the selfsame day by a decree of the President conceived in terms sufficiently autocratic, but regarded with sovereign contempt by the Popish hierarchy, whose measures were taken altogether irrespectively of the secular power, and would, no doubt, have been proceeded with, if the decree in question had not been promulgated.

The Council for the Province of Paris was opened on September 17th, at the seminary of *Saint Sulpice*, and continued to sit till the 28th. The decrees which it promulgated were on the following subjects:—

1. *De Auctoritate summi Pontificis.* 2. *De Dignitate Episcoporum.* 3. *De Obligationibus Episcoporum.* 4. *De Metropolitano ac Suffraganeis.* 5. *De Concilio Provinciali.* 6. *De Capitulis Cathedralibus.* 7. *De Parochis ac eorum Vicariis.* 8. *De Unitate Servanda in ritibus ac cærimoniis.*

Since then, similar Councils have been held in the Provinces of Reims, Tours, (where the Archbishop took the Jesuit Ravignan with him as his theologian,) Soissons, and Avignon; and others, it appears, are about to be convened.

*A new Schism.*—A new reformer has risen up in the Romish Church in France, in the person of an Abbé Chantome, who has addressed a petition to the Pope for a variety of ecclesiastical reforms. The following are the principal points of his petition:—That the education of the Clergy be public, in secular schools chosen by the Catholics, where they may become acquainted with public life, and learn to love the institutions of their country, upon a well-harmonized system of Catholic or universal science, embracing the arts and every branch of human science. That preaching be not left by the Bishops to the parochial Clergy, in an anarchical state both as to subject and method. That public worship be recalled to its ancient forms, and that the French language be gradually admitted into all parts of the Liturgy specially destined for the people. That the use of Communion in two kinds be re-established. That all ecclesiastical vestments be restored to their ancient patterns. That the old *agapæ* or repasts taken in common in the parishes be restored. That in imitation of the middle ages halls be opened for the representation of national or religious historical dramas. That the Church renounce all endowments, and refuse the salaries proffered by the State. That the principle of the *solidarité* of Catholics in regard to their property be proclaimed by the Church. Another reformer, of a still more advanced character, the Abbé Anatole Leray, holds up Father Ventura as “the living personification of the Catholic idea, and announces himself as “a Socialist, who will have no more aristocracy, titles, money, classes, or offices.”

**TURKEY.**—*State of the American Church Mission.*—The *New York Churchman* publishes, from the *Spirit of Missions*, the Report of Bishop Southgate to the Board of Missions, which, as it exhibits the actual

condition of that interesting but, we fear, failing Mission of the American Church, we give it here *in extenso* :—

*“Fifth Annual Report of the Right Rev. Horatio Southgate, D.D.,  
Missionary Bishop at Constantinople.*

“Dear Brethren,—In looking back upon the past year, I find abundant cause for gratitude. I have seen the field of the Mission’s influence, for a time, at least, enlarging, the number of its friends increasing, and the sphere of its usefulness widened. In almost every department, there was, during the early part of the year, a decided advance. In education, I increased the number of my students ; while the numerous applications which I received from others whom I could not take, evinced how strong was the interest felt by our Eastern brethren in this new department of labour. From my pupils, generally, I received tokens of decided advancement, both in religious and secular learning. This department I have been much urged to enlarge, and several have pressed upon me the importance of adding to it a female seminary. This I should be most happy to do, but the day for such large efforts seems not to be close at hand.

“In Mossoul, also, the department of education was enlarged by Kas Michael’s taking charge of the new Syrian school, which was established early in the year by the benefactions of our Church, and partly sustained by them. With more than a hundred scholars chosen out of the Syrian community, with an enlightened and devoted Deacon under him as teacher ; with the approbation of the Bishop, and the unanimous consent and gratitude of the people for his support, he seemed to have the prospect of great good. The letters which reached me from that city, during the first half of the year, gave most encouraging testimony of the wideness and promising character of the field. They were sometimes signed by Bishop, clergy, and laity, all of whom entreated me, in the most ardent manner, to take the work of their instruction into my own hands.

“Kas M. also added to his labours in Mossoul (which, besides attendance at this school, consisted in instruction in his own house,) a field in the mountainous district north-west of Mossoul, where he found a body of Nestorian Christians belonging to the Southern or Mesopotamian Church, who seem to have never before been visited by a missionary. He says of them, that they received him with open arms. He preached among them ; opened schools ; sent thither another clergyman, who is now there, acting as teacher, and who is represented to me as a pious and excellent man ; has himself visited the mountains three times ; and desires to enlarge his labours there by the addition of six other schools, which can be supported, exclusive of books and stationery, for about eighteen dollars, or three dollars each a month. This is a field in which I have always felt the deepest interest, and which has always offered the most decided encouragement. I should be glad to see the Church enlarging her efforts there. I have had no direct communication with the Syrian Patriarch during the year, but I

have had assurances of his sanction, and of the continuance of his long-preserved friendship. I heartily recommend to the Board this interesting and important field, and I would beg again to suggest the desirableness of our having at least one clergyman of our own Church there.

“ In the department of publication, the Prayer Book in Armenian was out at the time of my last annual report, but the distribution of it has been chiefly within the past year. I have had the most encouraging tokens of its success, both in gaining the approbation of clergy and laity, and in doing good among them. I have met with no exception, in the Armenian Church, to its kind and friendly reception. All have seemed pleased with it, and many have voluntarily given me their thanks, and expressed their joy at its appearance. I cannot but think that it will be a minister of great good. Many evidences have come to my knowledge that it has been so already. In addition to the facts which I have reported on this subject through the *Spirit of Missions*, I may mention one which, as it is of very recent occurrence, is now particularly upon my mind. The rector of a church, (a man already holding reformed views in many respects, but who, for want of a guide, found his mind entirely unsettled as to the course which he ought to take,) upon reading our Prayer Book, was so impressed with the excellency, and purity, and primitive simplicity of its doctrines and rites, that he determined to make it his model in all his efforts in behalf of the improvement of his people, and has accordingly collected from his congregation the most intelligent and most advanced, to whom he is communicating his views, and forming them into an association, for the purpose of gradually bringing their own practice in accordance with the guide which he has chosen. His preaching, I am told, is eminently evangelical, and himself advancing daily in the knowledge and love of the truth. To this I might add many other instances if the limits of my report would allow it.

“ With the Prayer Book has generally been circulated my little Treatise on the Anglican Church, which I have found useful in leading the way to the Prayer Book, and preparing men's minds to receive the latter with a stronger relish. It has been useful, too, as setting forth, in a brief and summary manner, the peculiarities of our branch of the Church Catholic, and thus leading men to an idea of what a reformed Church should be. I have great cause for gratitude that I have been permitted to prepare it, and for acknowledgment to the excellent Society, (our own P. E. Tract Society,) which has aided me in publishing it.

“ I have also re-written the same treatise, had it translated into Greek, and am now on the point of publishing it for the benefit of our Greek brethren, among whom there has been a much-increased degree of inquiry during the past year. The number of Prayer Books circulated among them has been larger than any former year. I have distributed, of these and other works published by, or kept in the depository of, the Mission, several hundreds—perhaps twelve or fifteen hundred.

“With regard to personal and general intercourse with our Eastern brethren, I have, as in former years, seen the great advantages of it. This intercourse, the last year, has been less than usual; but still, I suppose, that in hundreds of cases, sometimes in my own house, sometimes abroad, the Gospel has been preached, the Church defined, the corruptions of the Church designated, distinguished, and resisted, a true and healthful reformation urged, and men’s minds awakened to the subject. These discussions, conversations, and efforts have been with the highest as well as the lowest, sometimes in large companies, sometimes in the solitary interview in private. They have been cheering to me, as indicating, in many instances, the readiness with which the truth is received, and the facility of proclaiming it. I have much hope from such efforts: but still I think that the true, legitimate, and most hopeful way of effecting large and permanent results, is by training those who may hereafter become the agents of good to their own nation. This I have endeavoured to do with the few students I have had, and this was my design in the larger effort of that kind which I have had in view.

“But I am obliged to speak of these things as passed; for my educational labours are now almost entirely abandoned, and will soon be so altogether. I am obliged to say the same of the work of distribution and publication, and of the efforts of the Mission at Mossoul, so far as I am concerned. All these things are, in a manner, passed, and my own hopes of usefulness in them are, for the present, at an end. This leads me to speak of what has been disadvantageous in the history of the last year; believing that I am equally bound by the Canon to report what is adverse as what is favourable. (See Can. VII. sec. 7, of 1844.) I shall, therefore, present to the Board an account of the reverses of the past year, as, without them, you could have no accurate view of ‘the state of the Mission under my supervision.’

“I will commence with the first department of those of which I have just spoken—that of Education. My design was to enlarge this, until it should contain as many students as I could attend to. These were not to be children, nor was the institution a ‘school,’ in the common acceptation of the word. It was rather a seminary for training a select number of young men for the work of Christ within their own churches. The patriarch has given it his approbation and his express sanction to the students to attend the services of our Church. I announced this design, I believe, for the first time, at the last triennial meeting of the Board. A few months later I had two students. The introduction of the new financial system, as it created some confusion in my plans, prevented me for several months from further enlarging the number. I then ventured to add a third, while the earnest applications that were poured in upon me showed me how highly the effort was appreciated.

“Soon after the middle of last year, means for the support of the few I had, began altogether to fail. From the first of August, for some months, my receipts from the Foreign Treasury did not equal a third of

my own salary, which, when entire, barely suffices for my support. From the first of July to the end of the year—a space of six months—the sum received for that period was 277 dollars, 58 instead of 2000, the appropriation for the period. It soon became apparent that, so far from enlarging the number of my students, I could not retain those that I had. As the expense on account of them was regular, nothing could provide for them but a regular receipt of remittances. But the amount received for the whole six months barely exceeded a third of my salary for the same time. I held on, however, until my own means utterly failed, and I finally abandoned the idea of maintaining students only when I came to find that winter was near, clothes would be necessary, and I had not even the means of giving them their daily bread. It had become evident to me that it would be impossible for me to carry out the scheme of education which I had formed before the new financial system commenced. I therefore abandoned it, declined to receive any more students, and retained only one that I had, until I could determine upon some mode of obtaining an education for him, which his high promise made me especially anxious to secure in his behalf.

“The like, or nearly the like, occurred at Mossoul. In 1847, I had promised the Bishop and his people that I would undertake a work among them, relying then on the expected appropriation of the next year. When July, 1848, came, that appropriation almost entirely failed. I did something for the Syrians during the first half of the year, but the irregularity of remittances even then considerably affected my plans. But when the last half of the year came, and I was left almost entirely destitute, I was compelled to neglect Mossoul. This offended the people there, who regarded it as a violation of promise, as, *literally*, it was. The Bishop became alienated, so that, after the first half of the year was gone, we lost much of our vantage-ground. The Bishop ceased to correspond with me, and it was wholly out of my power to make him understand the changes and crises in our financial arrangements at home. I do not mean that he is permanently disaffected, but that both he and his people seem to be vexed, and I know not whether we can regain the confidence we have lost. I presume, however, that we can, without much difficulty. Indeed, I will be responsible for that, under a different system; but I cannot safely be responsible for any thing under the present arrangement.

“Before, however, coming to that point, I have a few more words to say of the effects of this arrangement. I have been desired and besought by Kas Michael to aid him in his efforts among the interested body of Nestorians that he has found. If I had my appropriation, and had it regularly, I could do this. I can now do nothing. He has appointed a teacher, and wishes to appoint others, but I have no security for paying them regularly, and could undertake such a work only with the prospect of being soon embarrassed by arrears of appropriation remaining unpaid. Kas M., in his last letter, under date of January 8th, states the matter as follows:—



“ ‘ Last year, you wrote, and ordered me to go to the mountains<sup>1</sup>, and report to you about the state of the community of the Nestorian Christians, and whether there was an opening for establishing schools for the improvement of the spiritual state of the people. I lost no time performing my duty, and, instead of once, I went three times among them<sup>2</sup>, and found the Nestorians very anxious for instruction. Their priests are like the generality, ignorant and poor, occupying themselves in agricultural pursuits ; and all the villagers are poor, and cannot provide for a school. I represented to you formerly that these schools want money to pay the schoolmasters, and paper for writing, &c. &c. ; for, without some assistance in money, my labour will be in vain.

“ ‘ In one of my former letters, I told you about Ishaya, another monk from Rabban Hormuzd, (a convert from Popery,) who came to me. I took him to the mountains, and opened a school among the Nestorians, and asked you to fix him a small salary. But I have received no answer ; and only a few days ago I received a letter from Ishaya, stating that he had about twenty children in the school, beside several full-grown men, who came for a few hours every day to receive instruction ; but he complains of poverty and want of money for his support.

“ ‘ Last year you wrote me that you would remit me some money, but I am waiting in vain, and am now at a loss what to do. With respect to schools, if you would appropriate 500 piastres (about twenty-one dollars) per month, I could support seven schools in the mountains. Shemmas (Deacon) Ishaya would be content with eighty piastres (about three dollars) a month.

“ ‘ Last week another monk left the convent of Rabban Hormuzd, and came to me. He wishes to join us, and tells me that there are three others very anxious to come. If you take the matter into consideration, and can make some provision for schools, I will accept these individuals, and make schoolmasters of them.

“ ‘ Now I entreat you to send me a decided answer as soon as possible, that I may be able to go to the mountains shortly ; for, without money in my hand, I will appear very awkward ; for the schools have now been opened for several months, and have not received a farthing from me. I trust you will not forget the communion-service you promised to send me, and excuse all the trouble I am giving you.’

“ To resume : My book-distributing department has suffered, if not equally, at least severely. The small expense which it requires, I was unable, during the last half of last year, to afford ; and, finally, as it was wholly out of my power to pay the monthly rent of my depository with regularity, I was obliged to abandon it.

“ I might say the same of my intercourse with the people ; but I will not enlarge.

<sup>1</sup> There is a slight inaccuracy here ; I sanctioned the journey after it had taken place, when I first heard of it. The matter, however, is of no importance, excepting for the sake of exactness.

<sup>2</sup> The second and third journeys were under instructions from me.

“And now, if I say, brethren, that, with all these details, I have given but a very imperfect view of the reverses which have befallen the Mission the past year, you will be prepared, I doubt not, for what I am about to add.

“After long and careful deliberation—after an experience of more than a year, which experience was not necessary to convince me of the probable effects of our new fiscal arrangements—I must say, in all simplicity, honesty, and frankness, that I cannot carry on the Mission of the Church in this country under them. It is simply an impossibility.

“Neither can I enter into controversy on the subject. I have been led, by the action of the Board at the last Annual Meeting—(prescribing that no change be made in our present missionary organization)—to the conclusion to which my mind has long been tending, viz., that the Mission is to be henceforth under the direction of the Foreign Committee. I fully concur in the action of the Board on this subject. I believe that to take a Mission from the hands of the regularly constituted authorities of the Church, would be to place it in a disadvantageous and abnormal position, which would be highly injurious to it. I feel convinced that we had better not undertake any missionary labours which we cannot undertake through our constitutional agency. I have regarded this Mission, therefore, since the last meeting of the Board, as under the direction of the Foreign Committee, and I cannot give my assent to its being hereafter removed from their jurisdiction. There cannot, therefore, be any discrepancy between them and me; their will, as the directing power during the recess of the Board, must prevail. This is the only condition on which I shall feel at liberty in future to carry on the Missions of the Board in this country; and this condition absolutely prohibits me from engaging in any opposition to the Foreign Committee. Nor could I accept a system of financial policy in which they did not cordially concur; since this would be to put us at variance again.

“I would, therefore, respectfully suggest to the Board, that the subject of this portion of my Report be not made a topic of consideration at the Annual Meeting; but that it be left to the Foreign Committee and myself to confer upon it during my visit to America, which now seems indispensable. If I should succeed, as I think there is some hope of my doing, through a plan which has occurred to me, and which is not wholly inconsistent with the present system, I shall be most happy to continue the work of the Board in this country. Otherwise I must not hesitate to make the sacrifice which a failure of success on this point would seem to require of me.

“I am truly happy, in conclusion, to declare my belief in the rectitude of the Committee's intentions. I have no doubt that they have acted as they believed to be best for the interests of the Missions committed to them. I have no doubt that they will so act in future. In remarking upon the effects of the new system, I do not complain of them. I did not complain of them the last year in the sense that was supposed. My report was greatly misunderstood on this point. But,

inasmuch as that misunderstanding arose, doubtless, from something unfortunate in my mode of expression, I humbly take the entire blame of it to myself. At present, also, my only wish has been to state the effects of the system upon this Mission, as illustrative of its state during the past year, and my own course in consequence. I have done this without a single hard feeling towards any one—which I do not at all entertain.

“ Finally, that you, dear brethren, and the Foreign Committee and myself, in our respective spheres, may be guided by wisdom from on high, and especially by God-like charity, is the humble and earnest prayer of

“ Your fellow-labourer and servant in Christ,

“ HORATIO SOUTHGATE,

“ *Constantinople, April 2, 1849.*

“ Missionary Bishop, &c.

“ POSTSCRIPT.

“ *Constantinople, May 4, 1849.*

“ *To the Board of Missions of the P. E. Church:*

“ Dear Brethren,—In writing my Annual Report, my expectation was to receive the means of visiting the United States very shortly. But I have been disappointed in this, and now it seems hardly possible to leave before fall. Moreover, if the present financial arrangement continue, it will not be possible to leave then, for the plan of remitting funds after they are actually in the treasury, requires that I receive them long after the time for which they are due, so that they are expended before they come to hand, and cannot, therefore, be used for a journey.

“ It seems, then, necessary to bring this subject before the Board. I would have much preferred the plan suggested in my Report, viz., that it be left to the Foreign Committee and myself; but, as this now appears impracticable, I would respectfully request your attention to it.

“ I see no way in which I can propose the matter to you besides that which it would, in all probability, have taken, if I had been able at this time to visit America. I allude to my resignation. I see not how this is to be avoided. The Committee have informed me that they feel bound to maintain the new financial system; the Secretary adds, that it is a matter of necessity with them to do so. It is clear to my own mind that I am not able to conduct a Mission to this country successfully under such an arrangement. I had thought of proposing another plan, to which I made allusion in my Annual Report. But, besides that, I had little hope, at first, that it would prove acceptable to the Committee. I now see, from the course that contributions and remittances are taking the present year, that it cannot be adopted without abandoning the principle of the new system. It would, therefore, be useless to suggest it.

“ It remains, then, that the arrangement established by the Foreign Committee must stand, unless set aside by the Board. I am convinced

that such a proceeding on the part of the Board would not be advantageous to the Mission. No scheme is desirable which has not the concurrence of those who are to execute it. I have, moreover, pledged myself to the Committee, not to act in opposition to them in this matter. The general grounds of this promise are contained in a letter to the Foreign Secretary, dated Sept. 18, 1848. I cannot, therefore, come in conflict with the Committee; and, as they are settled in the conviction that it is their duty to continue the new arrangement, no course is left me but to retire.

"I do, therefore, humbly and respectfully resign to the Board all the charge and responsibility concerning their operations in this country. I do this with profound gratitude to them for their many acts of kindness, and for the support which they have almost uniformly vouchsafed to me.

"It remains only to provide for my return. I propose to leave about the first of October. I would, therefore, respectfully desire that the appropriation to that date be forwarded to me, together with the sum of one thousand dollars in addition, for the necessary preparation, and for the journey. I intend to sustain the Mission till the time of my departure, and to pay the salaries of my assistants here and at Mossoul to the end of the year. It will be very desirable that the funds just mentioned be in my hands by the first of September, and, in order to this, they should be forwarded from the United States by the middle of July. I beg the particular attention of the Board to the necessity of providing for these expenditures at the Annual Meeting.

"It will be for the Board to decide whether their operations in this country shall continue. In case of their continuance, I would beg to recommend to you the Rev. Presbyterian in Mossoul, and the lay-assistant in this city, whom I shall leave in service at the time of my departure. They have both been faithful and successful in their endeavours on our behalf.

"I remain, dear Brethren,

"Your humble and grateful servant,

"HORATIO SOUTHGATE,

"Missionary Bishop, &c."

The Bishop, in conformity with the intention expressed in this report, has left Constantinople. He arrived with his family at New York on the 6th of November.

UNITED STATES.—*Meeting of the New York Convention.*—The Annual Convention of the diocese of New York was opened on the 26th of September last. Among the subjects discussed was the necessity of enforcing the canon for collections to be made in aid of the diocesan funds; when it was stated that, from want of confidence in the Committee which has the administration of the funds, the enforcement of the canon would prove nugatory, as the congregations would not contribute; and it was ultimately resolved to appoint a new Committee. The next important subject was the proposed alteration in the third article of the Constitution, approved by the Convention at the

last Annual Meeting, viz. "The Convention shall be composed of the officiating ministers, being regularly admitted and settled in some church within this diocese which is in union with this Convention; and of lay members, *who shall be communicants*, consisting of one, *and not more than three* delegates from each church, to be chosen by the vestry or congregation; and clergymen employed as missionaries under the direction of this Convention, and clergymen engaged as professors or instructors of youth in any college, academy, or general seminary of learning duly incorporated, may be members of the Convention."

The words in italics are the amendments.

In opposition to this motion an amendment was moved to this effect, —That the further consideration of the subject be postponed until there was a Bishop in the chair of the Convention, on the ground that most of the difficulties under which the Church in Eastern New York laboured, were to be attributed to a paralysis of that member of the diocese, in the existence of whom was found the principal difference of the Convention from a presbyterian synod, and that so important a matter as the one proposed to be decided should not be decided on in the absence of a Bishop, in a maimed Convention.

After a protracted discussion, the postponement was carried by the following votes:—

Clergy,—ayes, 62; noes, 48. Laity,—ayes, 76; noes, 28.

Several other proposals for amendments in the new article of the constitution were then made; but the opinions becoming more and more discordant as the discussion proceeded, it was ultimately agreed to let the whole matter lie on the table.

By far the most important subject, however, which occupied the Convention, was the course proposed to be taken for the relief of the diocese from its present difficulties, by reason of the indefinite suspension of the Bishop. On this subject the Rev. Dr. Sherwood first of all brought forward his resolution, proposed at the last Annual Convention, which was to the following effect:—

"Whereas, the Rt. Rev. Benjamin T. Onderdonk, D.D., Bishop of the diocese of New York, was, on the 3rd day of January, 1845, by a sentence of his Peers, the Bishops of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America, as a judicial tribunal assembled, indefinitely suspended from all exercise of his episcopal and ministerial functions; which sentence still continues in full force:

"Whereas, this sentence of indefinite suspension of the Rt. Rev. B. T. Onderdonk, D.D., does in its very nature and of necessity reach, and most injuriously affect, and, for aught that appears to the contrary, on the part of the tribunal that inflicted it, and which alone has the power now to remit or terminate it, may, for many years to come, continue thus to affect, the best interests, the just rights, and the acknowledged independence of the Church in the diocese of New York, depriving it not only of the parental care, essential services, and watchful supervision of its own constitutional head, but also of all voice and representation in the higher branch of the General Councils of the

York in connexion with a Bishop suspended from the exercise of his Episcopal functions :'

"Whereas, this Convention owes it to itself, to the Diocese of New York, and to the Church at large, to assert the rights and maintain the independence and equality of its Diocesan character ; and feels, moreover, bound to use and exhaust all lawful and peaceful measures, to bring to a righteous termination the difficulties under which we now are and so long have been labouring ; to restore quietness and peace to the Church in this Diocese ; and, if possible, to regain the independence of her Diocesan character :

"And whereas, the house of Bishops can grant relief in no other way than by terminating or modifying the sentence they have inflicted upon the Right Rev. B. T. Onderdonk, the Bishop of the Diocese. Therefore,

"Resolved, That the standing committee of the diocese of New York be requested to present forthwith an address to the house of Bishops, asking them to terminate at once the sentence of suspension, inflicted by them upon the Right Rev. B. T. Onderdonk ;—or, if unprepared to do this, and thinking the honour and purity of the Church not yet sufficiently vindicated, to request them to specify on what terms, or at what time, said sentence of suspension shall cease."

On the plea of these resolutions, which brought the subject before the Convention, in the regular order of the day, the Rev. Dr. Higbee proposed, with the consent of Dr. Sherwood, who withdrew his own, the following resolutions, as a substitute :—

"Whereas, the house of Bishops and the House of Clerical and Lay Deputies, in the General Convention of 1847, passed a canon in the words following :

"'Whenever the penalty of suspension shall be inflicted on a Bishop, Priest, or Deacon, in this Church, the sentence shall specify on what terms, or at what time said penalty shall cease.' And

"Whereas, the Diocese and Diocesan of New York have been for a long time suffering under the disabilities which it was the design of the Canon to prevent in future—Therefore

"Resolved, That the Standing Committee be requested to present, at an early day, an address to the house of Bishops, praying that venerable body to adopt such measures as may render the wise provisions of said Canon of 1847 available to the relief of our Diocese : that so the objects may be accomplished of the unanimous prayer of this Convention, addressed to the General Convention of 1847."

To this an amendment was moved by the Rev. Dr. Whitehouse, consisting of a preamble, the two first clauses of which were the same as the two first clauses of Dr. Sherwood's preamble ; after which it ran thus :—

"Whereas, the house of Bishops can grant relief in no other way than by terminating or modifying the sentence they have inflicted upon the Right Rev. B. T. Onderdonk, the Bishop of the Diocese, the probability of which relief is in itself 'so slender and remote :'

"Whereas, if the house of Bishops should specify on what terms, and



The vote was then, without further debate, taken upon Dr. Higbee's resolution, when the numbers were:—Ayes,—clergy, 91; laity, 69. Noes,—clergy, 36; laity, 46.

A protest was about to be proposed, to be entered on the journals, but the Convention refused to entertain the motion, which was negatived by the following votes:—Clergy,—ayes, 29; noes, 84:—laity, ayes, 29; noes, 61.

This difficult question being thus disposed of, the Convention, after transacting some current business, adjourned, *sine die*, in the usual manner.

The protest which was rejected by the Convention, has since been published in the American papers. It is dated, New York, September 28th, 1849, and signed by 27 clergymen and 41 laymen, and runs as follows:—

“ We, the undersigned, members of the Convention of the Diocese of New York, under a deep sense of our responsibility to the great Head of the Church, do most solemnly

“ Protest against the act of this Convention, calling upon the house of Bishops for a termination of the sentence whereby the Right Rev. Benjamin T. Onderdonk, D.D., was suspended from the office of a Bishop in the Church of God.

“ The Convention has never ventured to complain that a judgment pronounced by the highest judicial tribunal known in the Church, was in any respect illegal; it has not ventured to assert either the innocence of the suspended Bishop or his subsequent penitence and reformation; and in resting the application to have the judgment set aside, only on the ground of the inconvenience to which it subjects the Diocese, the criminality of the Bishop under suspension is tacitly admitted.

“ If then the Right Rev. B. T. Onderdonk, D.D., was unworthy, at the time of receiving his sentence, to exercise the office of a Christian Bishop, that unworthiness has been highly aggravated, not only by the absence of all indications of repentance, but also by his denial of facts most abundantly proved, and by his accusations against the ‘law, the court, and the witnesses.’

“ Under these circumstances, it is our complete conviction that no temporary inconvenience experienced by the diocese is for one moment to be compared to the awful amount of injury which would result to the cause of Christianity and our Church, by the restoration to his high spiritual functions of an impenitent Bishop, convicted of gross immorality.

“ We feel assured that it is as little worthy the Convention as it is positively disrespectful to the House of Bishops, to suppose that such a body of Christian Prelates are to be induced to abandon their deliberately formed convictions of what they owe to the purity of the Church of God, merely by the insensibility this Convention may evince to the most serious moral delinquencies in asking for the termination or modification of such a sentence. Viewing then, as we do, the restoration of the Right Rev. Bishop Onderdonk to the exercise of his Epis-

copal functions, as being pregnant with the most wide-spread and withering evils to the cause of religion, as inflicting an indelible disgrace upon the Christian Ministry, as in our view in direct contravention of the rights secured to us by the Constitution and Canons, and as being fatal to the unity, harmony, and usefulness of our Church; we do most earnestly and solemnly protest against it, and before God and man do we disclaim all responsibility for the flood of mischief which must flow from such an outrage upon the religious sensibilities of our people, and so reckless a defiance of the just indignation of the whole Christian world."

Considering the aspect which the case has now assumed, our readers may not be sorry to have placed under their eyes, in addition to the foregoing official proceedings, a letter which discusses the whole question very fully and temperately, and which appears in the columns of the *New York Churchman*:—

*To the Right Reverend Father in God, Philander Chase, D.D., Bishop of Illinois.*

"Right Reverend Sir,—Another year having brought round the Convention of the Diocese of New York, its present unhappy and imperfect condition is naturally forced afresh upon the recollection of all who are interested in the welfare of Zion.

"You will probably remember, when you see the signature, that I am not immediately connected with your branch of the Church Catholic, but I will not fear your asking, what right I have to interfere in the matter, because, as an aged prelate, you must have often felt the force of that declaration of the Apostle respecting the Church—'the Body of Christ,' 'And whether one member suffer, all the members suffer with it!'

"I address you, Right Reverend Sir, because, as the senior Bishop of the Church in the United States, it seems proper that the first authoritative step towards the relief of the Diocese of New York from its present oppressed state should be taken by yourself; and because, as your venerable years proclaim that you must, ere very long, be called to render an account of your high and awful office, I would hope that you are so prepared by the pure and charitable Spirit of Christ for a blessed entrance into His presence, as to be able now to review all the circumstances connected with the late trial of the Right Reverend Father in God, Benjamin T. Onderdonk, D.D., Bishop of New York, uninfluenced by that party and wrathful feeling which perhaps might at the time have unwittingly influenced even your judgment, venerable sir; for you know the Church teaches us that 'this infection of nature doth remain, yea in them that are regenerated.'

"I wish then to draw your attention, first, to the fact that the Bench of Bishops in the United States are at the present time inflicting a grievous wrong upon the diocese of New York, by forcibly and arbitrarily, without its own consent and beyond the power of its own control, depriving it, for an uncertain and indefinite period, of the care and

superintendence of a Bishop of its own; thereby placing it under the guidance and control of a committee of presbyters and laymen; a mode of government which is nowhere recognized in the Bible, and to which, therefore, no peculiar unction of the Holy Spirit is in any way promised! An act of Episcopal oppression this, which, so far as my limited knowledge extends, is unparalleled in the annals of the Catholic Church!

“I am sure, sir, that you would not wish to enter the eternal world without first having the solemn conviction that you had done every thing in your power to remedy so unscriptural a state of things; especially as it was your unhappiness to be one of the principal agents in bringing this unfortunate diocese into this very sad condition. For if a Bishop be one of Christ’s most important legacies to His Church, then to be deprived of one for years together must be a fearful injury; and no one can have better opportunity than yourself, Right Reverend Sir, of knowing that the transient visits of prelates, whose own dioceses demand all their care, can by no means make up the loss.

“That for this act of oppression against the diocese of New York the house of Bishops is alone responsible, is clear from the character of the sentence passed upon their Bishop, which is indefinite suspension. Now, so long as the Bishop is only ‘suspended,’ his diocese cannot elect another, however they might desire to do so;—and it is the house of Bishops only who are competent to reverse the sentence, or to increase it to ‘degradation;’ by either of which the diocese would be again restored to its scriptural and Catholic integrity. What makes the wrong done to this diocese yet more glaringly unrighteous is, that the trial and condemnation of their Bishop was entirely unsought by its members as a body!

“I am aware that it was always hoped, by many of those who sentenced the Bishop of New York, that he would resign the episcopate, and that in this way his diocese would become free to choose a successor. But, venerable sir, was it justice to that large and important portion of the flock of Christ to leave them at the mercy of a man whom a majority of his judges had declared to be so vile as no longer to be fit to have the rule over them? Ah, sir! surely their expecting such an act of self-denial from Bishop Onderdonk is proof that his episcopal brethren could not really have believed him to be the fallen man they professed to have supposed him! And yet on the other hand, if innocent, it was surely probable that he might feel that to resign would be giving place to the devil, (false accusations,—at least, most uncharitable constructions,) and thereby encourage the evil one again to stir up false accusers against the brethren. Or, under the circumstances, it might have been supposed probable, that he would suspect that the chief motive for his accusation and condemnation was to be found in the exception they took ‘against him concerning the law of his God,’ and that therefore to resign would be to enable his enemies to give, through him, a deadly thrust at what he considers the purity of ‘the faith once delivered to the saints.’ But, however these things

the fact, that while his friends say that additional proof of his innocence can be adduced, I have heard it said, on the other hand, that there are matters of accusation which are perhaps worse than any that were brought forward on the trial, and which make his restoration utterly impossible! But surely, Sir, this method of dark insinuation cannot be the justice of the American Church? For, first, this stabbing of a man in the dark, much more a chief ruler in the Church of Christ, would disgrace a pagan! And, secondly, who that had one spark of love to the purity or peace of the Bride of Christ, would permit her to suffer as she is doing in the Diocese of New York, when, if these insinuations are not damnable falsehoods, they know those things of its guilty head which, by causing his instant and unquestioned removal, and so enabling the diocese to elect a holier chief, would at once restore peace within its distracted borders!

“Permit me, then, Right Reverend Sir, most respectfully to remark in conclusion, that it is due to the character of the American bench of Bishops, due to the holy rights of the oppressed Diocese of New York, due to Bishop Onderdonk himself, and, above all, due to the honour of Christ, who Himself established Apostolic Episcopacy, that the said Right Reverend B. T. Onderdonk should without further unjust, unscriptural, and ruinous delay, be at once, either restored to his Diocese, or altogether degraded from his high and holy office.

“I have the honour to remain, with profound veneration for your sacred office, Right Reverend Sir, your obedient humble servant in Christ,  
“A CATHOLIC.

“*Canada West, Oct. 8, 1849.*”

*Secession to Rome.*—A great sensation has been created at New York by the secession to Rome of the Rev. Dr. Forbes, a divine of nearly twenty years' standing in the American Church. Not only had he, up to a very late period, held the charge of the parish of St. Luke's, in New York, to which he was appointed in 1834, but he had, at different times, filled other important offices; he was twice a delegate to the General Convention, in 1844 and in 1847; and has been a Trustee of the Theological Seminary since 1835; and a member of its Standing Committee since 1846. In 1844 he was one of the principal defenders of Church principles during the discussions which took place at the General Convention in Philadelphia. In 1847, in the discussion of the unhappy case of Bishop Onderdonk, the course which he took was less favourable to the suspended Bishop than that of the party with which he generally acted. Nothing had transpired to lead to a suspicion that his allegiance to the Church was shaken till very recently, when rumours of his proposed secession got abroad, but were disregarded by many, until the appearance in the public prints of the following document:—

“*New York, 21st Nov. 1849.*”

“To the Rev. Wm. Berrian, D.D., President of the Standing Committee of the diocese of New York.

“Rev. and dear Sir,—You may conceive that it is with no ordinary

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